

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

EDITED BY
ANDREW J. PALM AND HENRY RANDALL WAITE.

LIBRARY

Vol. VI.
January to June,
1895.

NEW YORK:
ANDREW J. PALM & CO.,
38 PARK ROW.

380356

J

YJH9811 080714

INDEX TO VOL. VI.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1895.

- Africa, East, Prospects for Trade in, 500.
Aldrich, Wilbur. Reform from the Farmer's Point of View, 399.
Allison, Hon. Wm. B. The Probable Benefits and Dangers of the Recent Election, 81.
Altruria, 168.
Anarchist, The Cry of, 408.
Barber, Prof. Henry H. The Church and the Labor Question, 63. The Free Public Library, 469.
Barnes, Lemuel C. Socialism and a Municipal Commonwealth, 260.
Beck, Hon. James M. The Probable Benefits and Dangers of the Recent Election, 81.
Bimetallism vs. The Single Standard, 413, 483, 603.
Brimley, Charles A. The Probable Benefits and Dangers of the Recent Election, 81.
Brooks, Mary Elizabeth. Suffrage for Woman, 158.
Bryan, Hon. Wm. J. The Probable Benefits and Dangers of the Recent Election, 81.
Buck, Hon. George M. Indeterminate Sentences, 624.
Burchard, E. M. Economic Cooperation, 151.
Burton, Charles E. Why Municipal Reform is a Failure, 611.
Canada, The Future of, as Seen by Canadians, 281.
Catholic Church, The, and the Coming Social Struggle, 144.
Cawthorne, C. Emma. That "Fallacy of the W. C. T. U.," 288.
Chisholm, William B. The Social Pressure in Politics, 440.
Christian Endeavor, The, and Politics, 102.
Church Property, Should It Be Taxed? 543.
Church, The, and the Labor Question, 63.
Citizen, The, 196, 216.
Citizenship, 181, 516.
Civics, 202, 217, 323, 327, 554, 632.
Civil Service, 330.
Civilization and the State, 456.
Coffee-House, The, as a Rival of the Saloon, 589.
Collins, J. A. The Decadence of Home-Ownership in the United States, 56.
Colonial Relationship, 379.
Commons, Prof. John R. Progressive Individualism, 561.
Constitutions, Revision of, 387.
Cooperation, Economic, 151.
Cornwall, Mrs. A. L. Shall We Nationalize the Liquor Traffic? 317.
Credit, National, 172.
Criminal, Dealing with the, 225.
Currency, An International Paper, 48.
Cutter, Horace F. Jury Reform, 621.
Dale, Arthur B. Some of the Dangers of Free Coinage, 42.
Debs, Eugene V. The Cry of "Anarchist," 408.
De Land, Fred. The Elements of Good Citizenship, 181.
Eberhart, Hon. Gilbert E. Are American Homes Decreasing? 291. Is Monopoly Always Victorious? 584.
Economic Cooperation, 151.
Economic Value, What Is It? 348.
Election, The Recent, 81.
Ethics and Politics, 86.
Farmer, Education of the, 303.
Farmers and Taxation, 523.
Feinberg, Isaac. An Argument for the Single Tax, 1.
Flashback, Hon. W. M. The Failure of Government in the Indian Territory, 96.
Fisher, James S. State Rights and Federal Encroachments, 533.
Flesher, Helen Gregory. Canada's Future as Seen by Canadians, 281.
Gold and Silver Both, 21.
Goodale, Wilmot H. Patriotism, 353.
Government, City, 548; Clubs, 215.
Harley, Louis R. The Doctrine of Malthus as It Relates to Modern Society, 13. The Modern Theory of Representation, 337.
Home-Ownership, Decadence of, 56, 201.
Houston, A. C. The Coming System of National Credit, 172.
Howerth, I. W. The Coffee-House as a Rival of the Saloon, 589.
Hume, John F. An International Paper Currency, 48.
Indian Territory, 96.
Individualism, Progressive, 561.
Irwin, Hon. H. M. Presidential Possibilities, 616.
Johnson, A. A. Civilization and the State, 456.
Joslyn, R. W. The Single Tax, 310.
Jury Reform, 621.
Keplinger, L. W. What the Citizen Owes the State, 196.
Kitson, Arthur. What Is Economic Value? 348.
Labor Question and the Church, 50.
Labor, Unskilled, 32.
Laird, Rev. William H. Should Church Property Be Taxed? 543.
Lee, Alfred E. An Historic Legislative Crisis, 369.
Legislation, Energy of, 274.
Library, The Free Public, 469.
Liquor Problem, 317, 426, 589.
Lockwood, Belva A. The Growth of Peace Principles, 504.
Logan, Hon. Samuel James. Education of the Farmer, 303.
Long, J. H. Colonial Relationship to the Mother-land, 379.
Macomber, William. The Republic: Endurance by Means of Revolution, 190.
MacQueary Rev. Howard. Ethics and Politics, 86.
Malthus, The Doctrine of, 13.

INDEX.

- Middleton, James. Farmers and Taxation, 528.
 Militarism in Civil Schools, 223.
 Mohonk Conferences, The, 206.
 Money, 113, 239.
 Monopoly, Is it Always Victorious? 584.
 Murder, Statistics of, 551.
 Outlook, The Civic, 99, 213, 323, 435, 547, 650.
 Parkhurst, Rev. Charles H., 324.
 Patriotism, 202, 355, 392.
 Payne, Edward B. Altruism, 168.
 Peace, The Principles of, 504.
 Phelps, William W. Revision of Constitutions, 387.
 Political Sins, Woman's Part in, 575.
 Politics and Ethics, 86.
 Politics, Social Pressure in, 449.
 Powell, Edward P. Energy of Legislation, 274.
 Prince, Hon. L. Bradford. Bimetallism vs. The Single Standard, 413, 483.
 Prison Reform, 136.
 Quarles, James A. Money, 113, 239.
 Reeves, Ellis Biddle. Do the Victors Own the Spoils? 287.
 Reform from the Farmer's Point of View, 399; Jury, 621; Municipal, 611; Prison, 621.
 Representation, The Modern Theory of, 337.
 Republic, The, 190.
 Republican Party, Opportunity and Peril of, 99.
 Robinson, Charles. The Catholic Church and the Coming Social Struggle, 144.
 Roeder, Adolph. Distinctive American Citizenship, 516.
 Sabbath, The, as a Civil Institution, 432.
 Scoop, Prof. H. A. Gold and Silver Both, 21.
 Selleck, Rev. W. C. What is Prison Reform, and How Does it Concern the Public? 138.
 Sentences, Indeterminate, 624.
 Sherman, Roger. What True Patriotism Demands of the American Citizen, 392.
 Sibley, Hon. Joseph C., 616.
 Silver, 21, 42, 603.
 Single Standard, The, 413, 483.
 Socialism, 280.
 Sparhawk, Frances C. The Mohonk Conferences, 206.
 Spoils, 287.
 State, The, and Civilization, 583.
 Suffrage for Woman, 158.
 Tax, The Income, 552; Single, 1, 310.
 Taxation and Farmers, 523.
 Value, Economic, 348.
 Vedel, P. What Ails Unskilled Labor in America? 32.
 Waite, Henry Randall. Civics: A Science for Citizens, and a Creed for Patriots, 202. Decennial of the American Institute of Civics, 632.
 Wanamaker, John. The Probable Benefits and Dangers of the Recent Election, 81.
 Ward, Henry O. Some Aspects of the Liquor Problem, 428.
 Warner, Gen. A. J. The Issue in Ninety-six, 608.
 W. C. T. U. That "Fallacy of the," 296.
 Whipping-Post, The, 224, 445.
 Williams, Henry Smith, M.D. Shall We Look Backward or Forward in Dealing With the Criminal? 225.
 Williams, Rev. B. W. The Sabbath as a Civil Institution, 432.
 Winston, Ella W. Woman's Part in Political Sins, 575.
 Womanhood, 213.
 Woman Suffrage, 158, 447.
 Woman's Part in Political Sins, 575.
 Woman's Work, 222, 340.
 Zingg, Charles J. American Trade Prospects in East Africa, 500.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

JANUARY, 1895.

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE SINGLE TAX.

BY ISAAC FEINBERG.

THE October number of THE JOURNAL contains an article by Mr. Arthur Kitson, which he appropriately entitled, "A Criticism of Henry George's Single Tax Theory." The appropriateness of the title rests in the fact that the argument is mainly an attempt to prove, not that the single tax theory is itself untenable, but that Henry George in his exposition of the theory has been guilty of making certain statements, of endeavoring to establish certain propositions, which are contradictory and mutually destructive.

Mr. George unquestionably occupies a high position in the single tax ranks. He may justly be considered the leader as well as the author and most notable and untiring advocate of the single tax movement of the present day. Were it not for him, it is extremely unlikely that this generation would have heard of any feasible plan for establishing an equitable system of land tenure. But, however exalted his position and however eminent his services, he is neither the originator of the single tax philosophy nor do his writings constitute a Single Tax Sacred Scripture. It is possible to maintain the proposition for the communalization of rent by arguments other than those used by Mr. George, and it is not at all impossible that he, availing himself of a privilege we all enjoy, may have often been inconsistent and self-contradictory. But to the student of economics, as to the student of truth in any form, it must have occurred, that a proposition obtains final acceptance, not because of the

unerring exactness of the arguments of any particular advocate, but because of the harmony of the proposition itself with the eternal truth. Be that as it may, to argue that, since it is possible to convict Mr. George of contradictions, therefore the single tax theory is false, is a *non sequitur* too evident to require further comment.

Nor, to do him justice, does Mr. Kitson, though the body of his article consists of this personal assault, depend upon it entirely. He advances certain propositions of his own, in opposition to the single tax position, and claims that certain vital single tax arguments mutually destroy each other. Though not thus expressed, his main argument amounts to this: that, as a man is entitled to all he produces, the only just exchange is one that consists in a reciprocal transfer of equal values. Things without value cannot equitably be exchanged for things having value. Wealth alone possesses value. The earth has no value. Land values have no existence. Rent has no economic basis. To exact rent is, therefore, to take wealth, *i. e.*, value, and to give none in return; in short, it is robbery. The single tax is rent. The single tax is robbery.

It is true that justice demands that, in any transaction involving an exchange of values, equivalent values must be surrendered on each side. It is therefore necessary to determine the basis of value in order that we may judge, in every case that arises where value is demanded from one side, whether an equal value is returned by the other side.

On page 363 of the October JOURNAL, Mr. Kitson says:

"Land is not, properly speaking, a part of wealth. To class the factors of production with the products themselves, is contrary to a true science of economics. It is opposed to every sound economic principle, for it involves and leads to inevitable slavery. Labor is the father and land the mother of wealth. Now these two factors are the source of an infinite supply of wealth. They are themselves, therefore, of infinite value and cannot be properly classed with their products. Their value is incommensurable with any form of wealth, and can be expressed only by the sign of infinity, viz., zero."

Having thus reduced the expression land value to an economic absurdity, in the next paragraph, in endeavoring to clinch his argument, he unwittingly betrays himself and arouses a suspicion that he must be unaware of the real basis of all value. Rent or land value is, he contends, the price of monopoly, precisely as slave values were the price of monopoly. By abolishing slavery, slave values were wiped out of existence. He would have us assume as a consequent corollary that, by abolishing—what?—perhaps landlordism, land values would disappear. "If," he goes on to say, "land is not, properly speaking, wealth, land values are not, properly speaking, real values. And if land is ever excluded from that category, land values will disappear. For whatever is of value is a part of wealth."

With this statement I take direct issue. Instead of wealth, in itself, being the only thing possessing value, it is the one thing which has not and never had any value. In the above paragraph, Mr. Kitson touched the true source of value and allowed it to slip by him unnoticed. Monopoly is now and always has been the true and only basis of value, and the extinction of any form of monopoly necessarily implies the extinction of the correlative values. Wealth is merely the denominator, the term by which monopoly values are expressed.

In order that man may live, he must have those things which are necessary to life, and since all men desire to live and desire that life shall be made as agreeable as possible, they desire those things that are necessary to life and to an agreeable existence. The things so desired may be either natural forces and materials, as air, heat, light, shade, and shelter, or they may be the materials of the earth's substance, changed in form and location, by the use of human energy assisted by those natural forces, animate and inanimate, which man is able to bend to his service. The things thus produced are called by economists wealth.

When wealth is used by the producer, or freely given by him, without any expectation of return, the idea of value never occurs. Should any one, however, desire the wealth of another, he may, in order to induce the producer to part with it, offer

his own wealth or some other form of service, or he may take it and give nothing in return. Should any one desire the use of any natural substance or force, as the air, sunlight, the land, or the labors of man or beast, he may render service in order to obtain these uses, or he may avail himself of them and give nothing in return.

If any desirable thing, whether artificial or natural, may be taken by all who desire it, without rendering service in return, that thing will have no value. If any desirable thing, whether artificial or natural, can be obtained only by the rendering of service, that thing will have value. The amount of the value will be the amount of service that must be rendered in order to obtain the desirable thing, and this quantity will be expressed in terms which are apparently terms of wealth or of its representative, money, but which are, in reality, terms of service. That which determines whether anything shall or shall not possess value, is not the amount of labor that has been expended in the production of that thing, nor whether it is a product of labor at all, but whether service must or must not be rendered in order to obtain it. No one will render service for any desirable thing unless he must do so. It follows, then, that any natural or artificial thing will possess value only when some individual or group of individuals is able to withhold that thing from those who desire it, *i. e.*, when it is monopolized.

Value can, therefore, properly attach itself not merely to objects of wealth but also to any tangible substance naturally existing, or to any intangible privilege created by human enactment or custom, the use and enjoyment of which is desirable and which can be obtained only by the performance of service, in some form, by those desiring it. Land values are thus seen to arise from the same source as all other values. If land values are not, properly speaking, real values, then no values are, properly speaking, real values. Any attempted solution of the land question which takes as its major premise the ignoring or denial that land may properly possess value must be incorrect, any attempt to apply it must be ineffective, since it is vitiated by a gross fallacy.

But, it may be argued, all monopolies are not of the same class. Some are just and right, others unjust and wrong. The monopoly of land is unjust and it is only necessary to abolish the legislation sustaining it, and the monopoly and its concomitant value will be extinguished. "I am inclined to think," says Mr. Kitson, "that if occupancy and use determined the right of individuals to possession of land, the evils of which Mr. George and his friends complain, as inherent in our present system, would rapidly disappear." The questions as to the justice or injustice of any monopoly and as to the proper terms and methods by which anything, whether in its natural form or in a form produced by the exertion of labor, may be held, bring us to the borderland which separates the domain of economics from that of sociology.

In spite of all that has been urged to the contrary, I am unable to divest myself of the belief that, behind the veil of misleading appearances, the sum of which makes up that which we call our knowledge of the universe, there is an infinite reality, and that, behind all the confusion and uncertainties which perplex us, there is an eternal truth. All our investigations are but an effort to comprehend this reality; all our longings and aspirations, our struggles for right individual and social conduct, are but an effort to adjust ourselves to this truth. An attempt is, however, being made, and very properly, to establish a science of social conduct which shall not depend upon supernatural sanctions. All truth being one, the truths attained by experience and investigation cannot conflict with any other truth, no matter how acquired. And, as a matter of fact, it is precisely these truths of experience and knowledge that are most generally accepted and most firmly established.

After all our groping for definite principles on which to found a science of sociology, almost nothing has been determined which shall, like the truths of mathematics, find unquestioning acceptance. When any great principle is announced and its application demanded, a thousand and one interests that are based on the violation of this principle, rise up in wrath and denounce the new idea as false and iniquitous. It is necessary

then for each investigator to begin at the bottom and to build up carefully from some secure foundation, before he can be sure, even in his own mind, that his structure conforms to the lines of truth, and is founded on justice.

All men, finding themselves alive, are eager to continue their existence. This universal desire for life has resulted in the acknowledgment that all have an equal right to life; for an attack by any one on the right of another is virtually an attack on his own right. Now whether this right vests in any individual by prescription or is the consequence of a natural law, is not vital to the argument. The dispute as to the existence or non-existence of natural rights is here of no importance. It is sufficient to the present discussion to know that, urged by the instinct of self-preservation, the equal right to life is generally admitted. Direct murder and those evident acts by which one individual may indirectly shorten the life of another, are universally condemned.

Flowing as a consequence from the right to life, is the right of each individual to his own life and to all its possibilities, that is, the right of each to himself, to all his powers and capacities, and to the enjoyment of all those things that the exertion of his faculties is able to procure for him. Since it is impossible to demonstrate that any one has a greater right to another than he has to himself, he therefore owns himself. This is the primary monopoly, the monopoly of each man in his own person and in his own faculties. Hence each individual has a value which attaches itself to the service he is able to render.

Not alone the services of the laborer, so called, of him who serves indirectly by producing wealth, but also the services of those who directly minister to human needs and desires, as the physician, teacher, musician, clergyman, or actor, have a value. If these services can be readily obtained, that is, if the monopoly be of a low order, their value will be small. If there are but few who can render the service desired, if the monopoly be close and well held, the value will be great.

In all civilized societies, the monopoly of each individual in himself is sustained as ethically just, and his right to refuse to

exert his personal powers for the benefit of another, without exacting service in return, is unquestioned. The more evident invasions of this right, as by means of chattel slavery, unjust imprisonment, robbery, forgery, or breach of trust, excite the horror and condemnation of civilized men.

Now it is clear that though the evident invasions of the rights to life, to property, and to person, are thus universally reprobated, there are many diminutions of these rights constantly practiced, which are either quietly permitted or openly approved. Are these rights, then, unlimited, or are they qualified by other considerations not yet touched upon?

Up to this point in our investigation of the principles of human association, we have discovered a fair degree of unanimity. From this point, especially when we consider the relations of the individual and of society to each other, we shall find divergent and antagonistic opinions.

On the one side are those who contend that the state, organized society, is the seat and origin of all authority, the preserver of order and peaceful development, the restrainer and punisher of crime. Those who do not trust to the righteousness of the individual, who are affected by the exhibition of power and authority exerted by large and well-organized bodies, are inclined to accept this principle. Many go to the point of demanding that all things should be directed by the state.

Over against the principle of state authority has been set that of individual sovereignty. The individual is supreme. No one can control him, for none can show an authority over him greater than his over them. To those of keen perception and a strong sense of personal rectitude, to those who clearly perceive the evils arising from the abuses of which the state has ever been guilty and who feel sure that the consequences of wrong-doing will be the best preventive of crime, this principle appeals most strongly.

Between these two extremes we have the various hodge-podge systems for the government and regulation of human affairs, of human rights and obligations, each of which is strongly condemned and each of which is as strongly commended. Any

fact, therefore, that can lead us surely through the intricacies of argument, to a correct conclusion, should be gladly welcomed and employed.

The science of society is but a branch of the science of life. The broader science of all life, not being subject to the selfish considerations and warped judgments that affect the solution of all purely human problems, is more likely to furnish us with principles on whose correctness we may depend and which may serve as a guide in fashioning a right social system. Biology may thus offer us some general deduction which, applied to those matters specifically human that are subject to uncertainty, will clear the atmosphere of the doubt which now befores our vision and enable us to move confidently forward over a sharply defined path, toward the goal of justice and truth.

There is one universal law of life which may be thus applied. The life of any species is always held to be superior in importance to the life of any individual of that species. The individual is always sacrificed when necessary, in order that the species may be preserved. The philosophy of such a law is evident. It is that which prompts the captain to sacrifice even the most valuable part of his cargo, in order to save his ship. The life of humanity being then superior in importance to the life of even the most exalted human being, humanity will institute some device for racial preservation. This device will naturally not be individualistic in its character. The state is the institution which has been devised as the defender of the race.

We have now two clearly defined entities which are seen to be not antagonistic but complementary to each other: the state, with the right to do all things necessary to the preservation and happiness of the race, but with no right over the individual that is not demanded by that necessity; the individual, with the right to do all things necessary to his own preservation and happiness, but with no right to do anything detrimental to other human beings, *i. e.*, the race. Any human relation or institution, the continuance of which would hazard the existence of the race, is a matter for state regulation. Any

human relation or institution which does not affect the continuance of the species is of purely individual concern. All attempts by the state to regulate or control such relation or institution is a usurpation, mischievous, intolerable, and destructive of the very purpose for which the state has been established.

For it is clear that the highest development of humanity can come only through the greatest possible freedom of growth of the individual. Any attempt to check this individual development, by legislation, purely restrictive and not defensive in character, by checking individual variation and constricting individual breadth, instead of benefiting, injures the race. In their individual aspect, men are, therefore, not equal, nor is it desirable that they should be so.

From the social standpoint, on the other hand, it is evident that the life of the race depends in the highest degree on the *equal right* of all to do those things necessary to life, for the denial of this equality to one is a practical denial of the right of all. This is in no wise inconsistent with the greatest possible right of the individual to himself but serves rather to strengthen it. Whatever tends to prevent or restrict the free exercise or development of the faculties of each individual on terms of perfect equality of access to all natural means of enjoyment and use, that is, any monopoly other than that of the individual in himself, is a direct attack on the life of the race. Such monopolies create invidious distinctions, cause unnatural antagonisms, loosen the social bond, and invite social disintegration and racial destruction. All monopolies which are the product of human legislation should be abolished by the repeal of the laws sustaining them. All monopolies which arise in the nature of things and are not sustained by human enactment are properly a subject of social adjustment. The monopoly of land is of this nature.

If Mr. Kitson imagines that the abolition of our present land laws and the substitution of tenure by occupancy and use would abolish land monopoly, he has done nothing to show the reason for the faith that is in him. That it would cause a con-

siderable amelioration is undoubted, but monopoly would still remain. The most equitable private possession is monopolistic possession, precisely as the most inequitable private ownership is monopolistic ownership.

Let us suppose a community which, without any fixed system of land tenure, would settle on some considerable tract. Before long certain portions of this land, either through superior fertility, the presence of mines, or by becoming the centers of large populations, would enable their possessors to obtain a superior livelihood with no more, or, perhaps, less exertion than required of those occupying less favorable localities. The old story would be retold. Those occupying the poorer lands would forcibly dispossess their more favored neighbors, to be in turn themselves driven off. Thus would be instituted a series of forcible dispossessions and re-dispossessions until some organization was effected which would define and defend land titles. This has been the history of the development of security of land tenure, and in England it has been only within recent years, about 1838, that the persisting right of an original possessor, as against the right of an intruder, was fully acknowledged.

We might conceive the members of our community to be so peaceful, or to have so fine a sense of moral obligation, as not to violently dispossess each other. The possessors of desirable estates, those on which it was possible to obtain a maximum of product with a minimum of exertion, would then be in the same position as though they were protected by an authoritative body, by a state. What would then happen would be what, under similar circumstances, constantly is happening. Those lands which could be freely obtained by all who desired them would have no value. Those lands which were in private possession, that is, monopolized, and which possessed a producing power greater than that of the free land, would possess value. They would acquire value in virtue of the fact that the necessary monopoly of their possession would enable their possessors to obtain service in return for the transfer of their possession. The amount of service rendered would be the differ-

ence in the productive power between the monopolized and non-monopolized land. And it must be noted that it would not be necessary for Henry George or any other single taxer to incite him to exact this service that economists call rent. It would be tendered to him freely and willingly by those who would desire to possess themselves of his monopoly.

Private possession of land is necessary to the best development of the individual. The inequalities of access to the natural sources of wealth, resulting from the monopoly values produced by this private possession, are detrimental to individual growth and happiness. How shall we reconcile these contradictions? Evidently, by equalizing the injurious inequality, by the state, as the defender of the race, taking the land values from the individuals who now wrongfully appropriate them, and using them for the general good. This, though it may be done in the form of a tax, is not a tax in the sense of a confiscation of private property for public purposes. It is in reality the collection of a value inherent in a natural, unavoidable monopoly, and its diversion from those who now unjustly seize upon it into the public possession where it rightfully belongs. Before attempting to criticise the single tax, it is necessary to demonstrate that monopoly is not the true basis of value and that economic rent has no existence. Mr. Kitson has done neither.

There are some minor objections in his paper, to which a few words may be given. In order to ridicule the idea that communal growth is the cause of the increase of land values, he depicts an ideal community which toils not, neither does it spin, but which should be able to maintain itself in more than Solomonic glory, on the rent due to the presence of population. And in another place he objects to the argument that because communities create rental values, they are therefore entitled to them. Communities as such, he contends, produce nothing. It is individuals alone who produce and they alone who are entitled to anything. This is a mere playing with words. Rent arises, not from the passive presence of population, but from the presence of a dense population rendering more inten-

sive activities possible. And further, communities, as such, do produce true monopoly values, but the point of the argument is not that land values belong to the community because it has produced them, but that they do not belong to the land monopolizer, because he neither owns the land, nor has he produced the land values.

Finally, Mr. Kitson says that "there is scarcely a business or profession the value of which does not increase with the growth of the community. In fact, where communities decline, all businesses and professions decline with them; and where they increase, increase in values appear." Here he has innocently admitted the whole single tax contention. These increases and diminutions which are dependent, not on individual capability or lack of it, but on increases and diminutions in population, invariably find expression in the rise and fall of rents. It is not necessary to tax and untax doctors, lawyers, bootblacks, and drug clerks, as he would have us do, in order to be consistent. It is necessary only to confiscate rent.

The matter sums itself up in this: Since all have an equal right to life, all have an equal right to do those things necessary to life. Whatever diminishes the return of a man for his labor, whatever exacts from him service without rendering an equal service in return, nullifies his right to his own life and to its results. In order that the race may continue, these equal rights must be maintained. The state is the institution whose duty it is to defend the race. Monopoly is the source of value. The monopoly of the individual in himself enables him to obtain service for service. All other monopolies, by creating values without rendering service, assail the right of the man in himself. All other monopolies are therefore injurious, inequitable. Wherever possible, the state must abolish them; wherever that is impossible, the state must control them or equalize their values. The monopoly of land being necessary to individualistic use, is unavoidable. It is the duty of the state to equalize the resulting values. The single tax will do this. The single tax is just.

ISAAC FEINBERG.

THE DOCTRINE OF MALTHUS AS IT RELATES TO MODERN SOCIETY.

BY LOUIS R. HARLEY,* A.M.

THE elements that increase and diminish population concern the geographer, while the economist is interested with population and its relation to well-being. The problem whether unrestricted population can be followed by prosperity is a modern one. Down to the beginning of this century, politicians were concerned with numbers and not with the well-being of man, while philanthropists were engaged in founding Utopias. Thus each century develops certain attitudes of thought. The tone of the eighteenth century thinkers was optimistic. They were endeavoring to break down national lines and build up the brotherhood of man. From Adam Smith, we should not judge that the world is full of crime and vice. The optimistic view arose from the causes of the French Revolution. The cry was the equality of man, followed by a reaction against the theory of total depravity. The doctrine of total depravity was impressed upon the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the eighteenth century broke away from this theory, and the philosophers claimed that if all obstacles were taken away, man would be good. Thus Rousseau said that if the boy were removed from society and placed with nature, he would grow up to be good. The French philosophers claimed that if grinding institutions could be gotten rid of, all would be right. Thus in the French Revolution they thought they were justified in breaking down such institutions, and believed that man could so adjust himself to his surroundings as to be immortal. Another element of eighteenth century thought is intellectualism. Man was taught to disregard the

* Honorary Fellow in the University of Pennsylvania.

feelings and run himself by rules. James Mill was a representative of this age. When the theories of the French school reached England, a reaction set in on account of the atrocities of the French Revolution. There was a small party in England working the ideas of the French school. Their leader was Godwin, whose book, "Political Justice," caused great opposition and an attempt was made to suppress it; but it sold for three pounds, and it was not feared, as the common people could not buy it. A century ago, Adam Smith made his inquiry into the causes of the wealth of nations, but the nineteenth century is inquiring into the causes of poverty. The material furnished by Malthus formed the basis for Ricardo to develop his theories. To Ricardo fell the lot of discussing the unpleasant side of industrial life, making us look for its causes and remedies.*

Malthus was attracted by Godwin's book, and he wrote an essay defending English society. He wanted to show that the scheme of the French Revolution would not work, but that it would break down in fifty years on account of the increase in population. He speaks of so many places at the table, and if another is born without a place, he must blame nature. Malthus believed that government has nothing to do with the food supply; nature must do that. While Godwin believed that political institutions are of first importance, Malthus gave precedence to economic institutions. We are yet very slow in passing over from political to economic attitudes of thought, but we are liable to face such a problem in the near future. So slow is the mind to grasp an economic truth, that the work of Malthus produced great opposition, and for ten years replies were showered upon him. Up to the time of Adam Smith, economics was looked upon as a support to natural theology, but when Malthus wrote, it made a great break. Darwin got his ideas from Malthus, and he originated the doctrine of evolution. In the opposition that followed, the economist was looked upon as an atheist, and the free trade movement was the first popular one to allay the excitement. In a second edition of his

* Patten's "Theory of Dynamic Economics," p. 16.

work, Malthus tried to allay the opposition, and bring himself into harmony with the moralists. In his first edition, he stated that war and vice keep down population, but in the second edition he speaks of moral checks. If the second edition had been the first, the opposition might not have arisen. But even at this time men like Henry George always quote from the first edition of Malthus.

Thus we see that at the time of the French Revolution the idea arose that all men had equal rights. In all states with large populations, the right to material happiness has not always been equal. The indictment exists that there is poverty. The socialists believe that if all do not have equal happiness, it is the fault of the social order. Malthus claimed that it was impossible to furnish equality to all members of society. We know that it is essential to the welfare of society to have a low death-rate. But what shall we do to keep the death-rate down? The physician says we should have better sanitary arrangements. The birth-rate among savages is 60 per thousand. If we suffer a death-rate of twenty per thousand, the difference will be forty. The lower we push down the death-rate, the greater will be the difference. In twelve or fifteen years the population is increased one half, and in twenty years it is doubled. Where are we to get food for this population? The agriculturist tells us that the food supply will not double on land in twenty-five years. So there must be less food, or harder work. Accordingly, Malthus came to the conclusion that the increase in numbers will overtake the food supply, and if the amount of food is lessened, the death-rate will increase. He formulated the plan that the population must be kept within the limits, either by preventive checks that diminish the birth-rate, or positive checks that increase the death-rate. Malthus did not believe in legislation to prevent marriage, but his method was prudence and foresight, and he recommended moral means, pure and simple.

Malthus has been criticised on three grounds: 1. Impiety; 2. The doctrine was theoretically unproven and untrue; 3. It was irrelevant to the case at hand. During the first generation that

followed Malthus, the criticism was on impiety. His opponents said he was a pessimist. But we have come to learn that Malthusianism is not peculiar to society. We have sat at the feet of Darwin and have learned that all labor is a struggle. He was a believer in natural selection. If Malthus is correct, he is not impious. The first criticism was made by unthinking people, but the second was made by people in all conditions. They said that population will take care of itself. It is noticeable that the people who objected to Malthus were those who lived in new countries where the population was small, and where there was a demand for more settlers. In new countries with a scant population, the conditions that Malthus pictured cannot be understood. Up to the present time, our own country has needed more laborers. The United States is remarkable in this respect. It did in its short history what it required Europe five thousand years to accomplish. The first settlers found people here in the hunting state, 'as Europe was five thousand years ago. But when a country has once filled up the results are different.

The critics of Malthus also claimed that his arguments were irrelevant to the case at hand. They said that the increase in population was not the real cause of the misery of society, but that the cause of poverty was to be found in bad distribution, bad government, and bad institutions. His critics pointed out the fact that rich people had only a few children, and that while overpopulation might be one cause of poverty, it was not *the* cause. It is true, there are other causes of poverty. Is the small number of children the cause of wealth or the effect of wealth? If the cause, Malthus is correct; if the effect, he is wrong. To correctly answer the question we must refer to industrial history. Malthus believed that preventive checks were necessary, but he erred in thinking that the checks must be conscious, or known to the individual himself. He supposed that all morality must be conscious morality. The family, according to Malthus, was the greatest of these checks. History will verify the statement that where the family does not exist, overpopulation is a cause of poverty,

and that the family has grown up as a check to overpopulation.

The critics of Malthus said that although overpopulation was a cause of poverty, it was not *the* cause. But history shows that civilization has repressed poverty by checks to overpopulation. Let us look at the condition of things in a rude state of society. In the loosely organized horde, the increase in population means increased difficulty in getting food. In case of a great harvest there is no means of preserving it, and so it is no good. The first check to overpopulation in primitive times was female infanticide. It seems to have been a necessary step toward civilization, just as slavery was a step toward civilization. It was morally bad, so a higher step was taken, and we have the maternal family. The responsibility of the children was given to the mother. This custom was seen in the American Indian tribes. Herodotus also describes such conditions. In such a condition much power was given to woman. It was extremely good in localizing the responsibility, but it had the effect of placing the responsibility on those physically weak. The next stage of advancement was the military family. Here the responsibility was placed in the hands of some feudal superior or owner. This change had disadvantages, but it had the one advantage of placing the responsibility in strong hands. Social progress then passed through the form of the paternal family, until the form of the monogamic family was reached. This change necessarily came about on account of the cessation of war and the equality in number of the sexes. Each of these developments in its time acted as a check on population. The first effect noticed, of course, was a limited population. This was followed by the accumulation of capital, making it possible to improve the arts, and thus in turn support a larger number. Another effect noticed is the development of hereditary economic virtue. A family organization gives the parents power to teach their virtues to their children, and hereditary qualities may pass to the children by education.

It is true that the birth-rate is low among well-to-do people. In this case, they are both the effect and the common cause. It is the development of prudence, and it also increased the

family wealth. Strong evidence is shown that when these families emigrate to a new country, where the population is scant, the birth-rate is higher. In the early days of New England, a man's large family of children was considered an important part of his wealth. It is recorded that at a New England Christmas dinner twenty-four children gathered about the festive board of the parents.

During the existence of the English poor laws, there was an increase in the birth-rate. The people had not been taught prudence. An increase in wealth will increase the birth-rate unless it is connected with prudence. The institution of the family has localized the responsibility, and the individual is given a motive to be prudent.

At the present time our own country has reached a point when it seems necessary that some restraints should be placed upon the rapidly increasing population. Our population doubles every twenty-five years. At this wonderful rate of increase, in three hundred years it would reach the enormous number of two hundred and sixty thousand million people. One of the most necessary restraints at the present day clearly is a more careful restriction of foreign immigration. It is true, there may be forces at work tending to counteract the effects of overpopulation. The improvement in machinery and productive agents may to a certain degree overcome the law of diminishing returns, but still the fact cannot be overlooked that there is poverty and misery in the world. The idea of Malthus that there should be moral restraints still holds true, but the historical and deductive methods applied in his time now require a modification. Political economy, even down to the time of John Stuart Mill, was physical in character, but Mill was gradually breaking away from this view. All through the eighteenth century science was made up of only two parts, natural philosophy and supernatural philosophy. The mass of thinkers believed only in natural philosophy, and left out all supernatural elements. The term natural philosophy had a different use then than it now has, meaning only the science of the physical world. Even up to 1850 this view of natural

science had great influence, but when Mill wrote the thought was going through a change and he was led to study human institutions. He looked forward to the time when society might be reconstructed and not depend merely on the laws of nature. Another change took place in economic theory. Darwin applied the law of natural selection to biology, and this has also had its influence in the economic world.

Another idea developed in this century which must not be overlooked in a restatement of the Malthusian doctrine. In early times the laborer was looked upon as a mere animal. The expense of the laborer was the food he consumed, and this led to the wage fund theory. Thus a certain portion of the food supply was set apart for the laboring classes. The wage fund theory supposes that the laborers make no savings of their own. Mill set forth the theory that there was a ratio between the population and the food supply, which was found by dividing the food by the population. But to-day the laboring class is looked upon as an integral part of society, and even Mill, in 1872, abandoned his wage fund theory.

The great press of population in our country to-day has called forth many discussions on remedies for low wages. When the great commercial panic occurred in 1837 many people moved to the West; but the West to-day is practically filled up. Greeley's advice, "Go West, young man," had some essence at one time, but to-day it would not be advisable to do so. The question of the unemployed in the cities now stares us in the face, and we are also confronted by the slum problem. Cheap ocean fares has enabled Europe to get rid of her pauper population, and this problem had not arisen when Mill wrote his book.

The changed position of woman in our day will no doubt have a strong tendency to diminish the birth-rate. In the beginning of this century the position of woman was domestic. In Europe a woman who supported herself was looked upon in suspicion, but even in Mill's time a gradual change in her position began. Various employments are now being opened to women, thus delaying the time of marriage. This will no doubt

have a marked effect, as it is the early marriages that are followed by large families.

Much is expected in the near future toward the elevation of society from the contributions of the American economists, among whom Professor Patten, of Philadelphia, is so prominent. Patten insists upon the necessity of a careful study of the subjective causes of economic phenomena. He subordinates external nature to man and lays great stress upon the study of consumption and the changes brought about by it. He believes that a rise in the standard of life will be followed by higher wages, and that by reducing primitive appetites, by arranging an economic order of consumption, and by the association of articles, new utilities are acquired. A greater variety of consumption follows, forming a barrier to a fall in wages.* This doctrine furnishes a valuable method for working the general problem of economic prosperity. The central thought is man, and by increasing the desires and wants of man, a higher standard of life is attained, which affects not only wages, but which in turn will have an increasing influence upon the question of population, and many other problems important to the well-being of society.

LOUIS R. HARLEY.

* Patten, "Theory of Dynamics," p. 134.

GOLD AND SILVER BOTH.

BY PROF. H. A. SCOMP.

THE United States Congress has repealed the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman Law, and the business of the country must, for the time being, adjust itself to the changed conditions.

But will silver cease to be both a political and an economic factor in the future? Hardly. Through the West and the South especially, the discontent is deep and murmuring is loud. The question touches a vital point—the pocket; hence it will maintain its place in our politics. It cannot long be side-tracked to give right of way to other measures. It is with us to stay. A metal so valuable, so long the chief money of the world, whose civilization it has done much to mold, will not relinquish its place without a desperate struggle. The political horizon of the future has something more than a lining of silver.

The political platforms of 1892 all declared for gold, silver, and paper. However little value the politicians attached to these utterances, the people took them seriously, and interpreted the silver planks to mean silver money. Bitter has been the disappointment of the silver advocates. The stopping of the purchase of silver bullion at the mints is a heavy blow at the silver states of the West. The party of the future which would gain their support, must champion silver money. In the eager competition for electoral votes parties will *promise* all that the silver men demand, just as they have bidden for the anti-Chinese vote of the Pacific States and have involved us in shameful violations of solemn treaty stipulations before the eyes of the world.

Party lines are breaking before this question and new align-

ments are forming. Vote-catching platitudes in the platform must take on definite interpretation when the party comes to legislate. The fine art of ambiguity has no place in the cold, prosaic "Be it enacted" of Congress. Silver will loom up darkly in the horizon of '94, and yet more darkly in the campaign of '96. The South and the West will call upon Rehoboam to lighten their burdens and lessen the tale of brick. If the people believe that silver is necessary for business, they will find means to carry out their purpose. Great parties are not born at the behest of politicians, but at the will of the people, and to be instruments of their purpose.

Most men concede that our paper currency has value simply because of popular confidence in the government's honesty and ability to redeem its bills fully and completely. Otherwise, our paper money would be worthless.

What are the government's assets? Revenues from various sources, wild lands, public buildings, and some other property of minor worth. But revenues paid in worthless paper would also be worthless. An American creditor might be forced to take in payment barren lands in Alaska, an old ship of the line, or some discarded muskets, but no party, no man, has yet dared to put forward such a proposition. The nation's credit can only be maintained by its manifest ability and determination to pay its debts as per contract.

For this purpose government must have command of enough of the precious metals to meet its obligations. For trade we all wish a something for a financial basis which shall contain great value in small bulk, be easily transportable, everywhere valuable, of sufficient amount, and practically indestructible. This basis we have in gold and silver and nowhere else as yet discovered.

Thus far there is a general consensus of thinkers, barring the dreaming of some theorists who maintain that a government's fiat and *faith* (?) are a sufficient basis for a circulating medium. These reduce their abstract into the concrete by asserting that all the assets of the nation are behind the government's pledge to make good its paper issues; though just how these assets are

to be made readily convertible into a medium of exchange when the paper is refused, we have not been told. We must go back to the metals.

Shall we make one metal the standard by which the other is measured? or shall we try to maintain a fixed ratio between them? or shall we leave the coinage of both free and without any legal ratio?

The precious metals, coined or in bullion, are commodities independent of any government stamp. The market price of the bullion controls even the coins; for should this price much exceed the coin value, the coin will speedily be again put into bullion, and disappear from circulation. Undoubtedly, much of the precious metals have thus disappeared from the current money of the world, to be used in the arts. An undervaluing of one or the other of the metals in regard to the fixed ratio would also drive that metal out of circulation into the arts, or into a foreign coinage where its relative value might be greater. The citizen can convert his coin into bullion when he pleases, but cannot convert his bullion into coin—a purely governmental function; therefore, the tendency of personal interest is steadily to decrease the sum total of coined money in a country. In other words, a legal ratio operates through individual greed to lessen the circulating medium, by continually drawing off the undervalued metal. Thus we may account for the disappearance of most ancient coins. Who ever saw one of these in current circulation? The few that we still have were found where they were lost, or hidden, by their ancient owners, and they are now in public or in private collections. Otherwise, why should we not have in our circulation of to-day the old Attic didrachma and the golden stater; or the silver denarius, or the gold aureus of Rome; or the shekel of the Maccabees?

These coins would all be valued now according to weight and fineness. The obvious answer is, that as they became more valuable in the arts, or under the stamp of foreign nations, they were remelted and changed in denomination or in use.

We have probably lost little of the gold and silver of the ancient world. Men do not willingly lose or wantonly destroy

such treasures. Most of these old coins are now doing duty as current money, bearing modern stamps and denominations. They have not been lost. They furnish an object lesson to show that coins suffer continued transformation, and that any national currency is subject to constant depletion from the warring interests of its individual holders.

Gresham's Law works uniformly, like that of gravitation. Individuals decrease the amount of currency, but never increase it. Money cannot lose the commodity character of its bullion state. It is still subject to the laws which controlled its raw material form. No effort of legislation can prevent the reduction of the total of currency, should the state of the metal market render it profitable to remelt the coin into bullion. Given a metallic currency of equal amounts of gold and silver for any country, and let any fixed ratio be established between them—no addition to the total of the currency to be made. Suppose this land separated commercially from all other lands—the varying values of the two kinds of coin would gradually drive one or the other of the metals out of the money form and into the arts, until one or both would partially, if not wholly, disappear from circulation.

If this fixed legal ratio then produces such friction between the metals as to steadily force one or the other out of coinage, would it not be true policy to remove it altogether, make each metal stand upon its own value in the world's market, and place it independent of the other as its standard of value? Is it not folly to attempt to regulate the flow of two such ebbing fountains as those of gold and silver production?

Government is dependent upon private owners for the raw material for its coinage, for these times of "corners" and "trusts," when coal and iron mines and others of nature's bounties are passing into the hands of monopolies, it is by no means inconceivable that the greed of speculators may bring the most valuable of the gold and the silver fields into private possession, and, by playing the metals against each other, control both. This would be by far more easily accomplished in lands where a fixed ratio is established; for inflation or con-

traction' would be in the hands of the metal owners. Gambling in wheat or cotton futures would sink into insignificance beside such gigantic monopolies.

Why not let the metals stand upon their market value, as in the early ages? Why should government hold the scales and pay the differences between gold and silver? When the government stamp assures the weight and fineness of a coin from its mint, what other responsibility should be assumed? Before we had a coinage of our own, Spanish milled dollars were everywhere current; but for the assaying or weight of these the colonies were in no wise responsible. They passed really upon the presumed market value of their metal. So in many lands having little or no currency issues of their own, foreign coins are the media of trade, receivable always upon their presumed bullion value. If A sells B a horse for 50,000 grains of silver, coined or uncoined, how can he be wronged whatever be the price of silver in the market? If C sells D a house for 50,000 grains of gold, does he not get his covenanted equivalent, whether gold go up or down upon the bourse? The value of silver fluctuates less than the value of the horse. Gold and silver being real values, is it possible to coin too much of either, or of both? Would the government or any individual be esteemed poorer because of such possession of *real* values?

But, of course, we shall meet objections to this system of independent coinage issues. What of our paper currency and its basis of redemption? Shall it be in gold or silver? If notes are redeemed in one metal, will not the other be depreciated? If in either indifferently, will not the national treasury have to stand as surety for maintaining their equality, and so be the victim of all holders of its paper? Undoubtedly this would follow. The independent values of the gold and silver coins would compel separate and independent issues of paper currency based respectively upon gold or silver. In other words, we should have a gold paper currency and a silver paper currency—each redeemable in its own metal. But would not this produce confusion in trade? To some extent, perhaps, should we not change the financial nomenclature somewhat. But sup

pose that silver, for example, should retain the present denominations—dollar, dime, and cent for its coins, and “dollar” also for the paper currency redeemable in it—while another name should be adopted for the gold dollar and the gold paper;—what confusion could arise? A change of name for one coin and for its multiples in paper, or in metal, would not surely seriously encumber our vocabulary of finance. No lesson is learned more rapidly by the public than that of the relative money values of their currency’s denominations. Many changes, vastly more complicated, have already been introduced and soon established.

But which metal shall be legal tender? Either, according to contract. Little trouble need arise on this head between responsible parties knowing full well the difference of nomenclature between the coined metals. A contract made in dollars must be referred to the silver standard. One made in the gold denomination must be measured by the gold gauge. All future notes, bonds, contracts, etc., would be drawn for a specified consideration in one or the other metal denomination; therefore, no wrong could be done to the party thus entering voluntarily into such agreements. He promises to pay gold or silver, he should abide by his contract. He has proffered a commodity (coined) for a commodity uncoined. Both commodities are subject to market fluctuations, and no injustice is done to either party to such contracts.

Jefferson’s words were statesmanlike when he declared that: “The proportion between the values of gold and silver is a mercantile problem altogether. . . . Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions altogether, to inquire into the market price of gold in the several countries with which we shall be connected in commerce and to take an average from them.” Has a century of trial of a “legal proportion” brought us a whit nearer the goal of a just equivalency between the metals than we were in Jefferson’s day?

But in what money shall the government’s revenues be collected and disbursed? Already, since revenues have been made payable in silver, as well as in gold, both metals are paid into

the treasury, and silver as well as gold may be used to discharge all government debts—save in the matter of the gold bonds. Of course, our national honor demands that government contracts made squarely upon a gold basis be discharged according to the plain intent of the bond. But with a double standard of metal values, the future contracts of the government, like those of private persons, would be made in one or the other money, as might seem at the time most advantageous.

But would not the revenues be always paid in the cheaper metal, and the government thereby become the loser? But would there be any “cheaper” metal when the legal ratio is removed? Any other two commodities are not reckoned as *cheaper*, or *dearer*, with regard to each other, but with relation rather to their own former, or usual prices. Wheat is not accounted cheap or dear by the corn standard, but by its own general market price; but the failure of the corn crop would indirectly cause an advance in wheat. The failure of the gold mines would cause an advance in the purchasing power of silver in the market. Should the revenues be paid in silver, for example, the effect would be to lower the market price of gold by lessening its use—therefore its price—by the amount of such revenues. The tendency must be to bring gold again into more easy circulation, and thus each metal seeking its own level the general equilibrium will be maintained.

But if silver in other lands be cheaper than gold, would not all imports paid at our custom-houses, and all balances of trade due us from abroad, be paid in the white metal? Most likely for a very short period this would be the case. It could not continue very long, however, unless we should be visited with a series of crop failures, thereby keeping down our exports far below our imports. We must remember that most of the silver and silver mines of the world are upon our side of the Atlantic, and the silver to pay imports and balances of trade due us, must soon be first obtained from America. The heavy drafts upon the scanty stock of Europe must soon exhaust the supply and enhance the value of silver there, making it more con-

venient and profitable for foreigners to send us gold again. Thus the two metals will naturally regulate themselves, and neither will drive out the other, provided no hostile legislation, imposing a parity in violation of the laws of nature and of trade, be fixed upon them. A Siamese ligature binding these two metal giants together will only cause them to rend each other, like gladiators, before our eyes. Let both metals have free right of way, unfettered by a galling bondage to each other, and they will seek their own level and have a mutually adjustable method of equalizing their values in the world's market. Take off this enforced legal ratio and what have we to fear from Indian rupees and London bankers? The rupees must be gauged and priced in the world's market according to the universal standards of weight and fineness; and the bankers are the last men to hoard either gold or silver with no prospect of gain in the future. London could not then be made an intermediary to control both the American and the Indian ends of the balance and reap the profits from both.

No other land holds such a vantage ground as ours in the commercial world. Holding an empire of our own with the smaller American republics naturally connected with us by reciprocal trade, or capable of being easily brought into such relations by judicious measures on our part, we have an independence in trade and an abundance of resources unequalled by combined Europe. The western world even furnishes to the older continents the very money material with which they again straiten our commerce and industry.

But what of time contracts, leases, mortgages, and deferred payments of every kind? Will not they be seriously affected by the change in the money system, and will not great injustice be done to one or the other party to such contracts? Here is undoubtedly the part of our problem most difficult of solution according to the principles of perfect equity. What shall be the standard of adjustment that neither party may suffer wrong in the settlement? True, such problems have often been met with in our history. The old continental money system and the change to another standard wrecked thousands. The finan-

cial changes resulting from the old United States bank and their results, brought ruin to the nation. Our national bank system has affected millions, some favorably, very many adversely. Every change in our finances must be felt more or less by very many.

The problem before us is to so adjust our system as to inflict the least possible loss upon either of the parties to lawful agreements entered into under other conditions. The adjustment of these matters would, of course, be in the hands of the law-making power, and to the wisdom and sense of justice of the legislators the details of the matter would have to be intrusted. Doubtless, comparative prices of the chief articles of trade at the time of contracting and at the time of paying, the amount and values of the circulating media at the same periods, etc., would be most important factors in the making of the final verdict. Our great difficulty, indeed, would be with these old outstanding agreements—some of which might be impossible of literal fulfillment of their old conditions under a changed financial system.

But are the difficulties in the way of the change at all to be compared with the advantages which would accrue from a currency whose security is established and subject to but a minimum of variation between the two elements of which it is composed? To deprive one metal of most of its power to "corner" or banish the other, would be a victory in finance worthy of a triumph. Let us not delude ourselves with the idea that legislation, by its own fiat, can bring in gold or silver. They are independent of statutes. For their acquisition men toiled in deep mines, braved death-bearing climes, crossed trackless deserts and tempestuous seas, long before "a parity of the metals" was ever heard of. Their value was established before financial legislation had entered into man's wildest dreams. Their place in human estimation is assured beyond all peradventure; nor laws nor legislators can displace them. For our exchanges—therefore, for our civilization—they are indispensable. Shall we not then rather give to these instruments of our civilization free and untrammelled course, according to the

laws of nature, than hinder that course by arbitrary enactments which will continually react upon ourselves?

Stability is the *sine qua non* of an efficient money system. Such a system once established, all business adapts itself to the new conditions, and wild speculations have comparatively few opportunities to victimize and wreck the people. For more than four hundred years England tried by proclamation to control the ever varying ratio between the metals; and only the newly-discovered treasures of America and India saved her from financial wreckage.

A slight difference in ratio made England a gold and France a silver country. The old Attic stater aurens, the stater Cyzicenus, and the stater daricus, ranged from twenty-five to fifty drachmas; while the Roman aurens of Livy and Pollux was but little more than three fourths that of Tacitus; so far may the proportions range, and so true was Jefferson's remark that ratio was a matter pertaining to mercantile, not to legal control.

No effort on the part of government to fix the prices of commodities has ever yet succeeded, and gold and silver are no exceptions to this general rule.

Would a holder of silver paper rush to the bank to have his paper redeemed when he knows that at any time, and in any case, he can draw just so many grains of silver—no more, no less—for his paper? He prefers to keep his more convenient paper; nor will he concern himself about the "ups" or "downs" of gold when the yellow metal has no money relation to the white. The same would be true also of gold and of gold paper. Of course, certificates issued against the bullion of either metal would be in the same category with bills redeemable.

We have tried the fixed ratio with the practical result of driving out gold for more than forty years; then, with a changed ratio, we were forsaken of silver—save in token coins—for a generation. Of what possible good is a nominal parity which we cannot maintain, and which is only efficient to drive out one of the metals, however much it may be needed? Let each metal be referred only to its own standard of measure-

ment, *i. e.*, its purchasing power in regard to other commodities.

Under such a system and such conditions, is it possible for the government to assay, coin, and stamp too much of either metal when presented at the mints by the owners? or, can it purchase too much of a *real* value—worth as much in bullion as in coin—save the mintage? How can the addition of *real* values hurt the circulating medium when the metal uncoined is worth as much? How else can we settle this eternal contention about relative values, than by abolishing the legal ratio and leaving the metals to their own intrinsic values in coin as in the arts?

H. A. SCOMP.

WHAT AILS UNSKILLED LABOR IN AMERICA?

BY P. VEDEL, C. E.

A CONSCIENTIOUS and expert physician does not prescribe the same medicine in all cases of the same disease. He watches his patients, studies their particular constitution, and modifies the doses in the prescriptions accordingly. So also when we want to remedy a social evil. What has been tried or is in use in other communities, in other countries, and with other people should, of course, be carefully studied. Social experiments are too expensive and too dangerous to be tried when dear-bought experiences of other nations tell us the result beforehand. But every country has its own natural and social peculiarities, its own political and economic history, its own exterior and interior conditions, and every nation has its national characteristics, physical and mental, temperament, intelligence and education, customs and institutions, and—we may add—religion. What applies to a cold-blooded Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian may not apply to a hot-tempered Italian; what an ignorant, oppressed Russian peasant submits to, a free-born, independent American would not stand; what is good Latin in Mashonaland may be entirely out of place in China. Like a skilled physician, must therefore the politician and economist, equipped with a thorough knowledge of what remedies have been proposed and tried elsewhere, before recommending any cure, set to work to study the peculiarities of the case before him.

In dealing with the labor problem—as with any of the great social problems—no country in the world has such difficulties to contend with as the United States. In Europe the government, or a politician, legislates usually only for a very limited area, of one climate, one nature, one kind of soil, and more or less uniform

resources. He deals with one nationality only, that one to which he belongs himself. Instinctively he understands his compatriots, his heart beats in harmony with theirs, his sympathies, disposition, feelings, and habits are theirs. In America we have all kinds of climate, from Alaska to New Mexico, from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast; we have all kinds of nature, soil, resources; we have industries and agriculture, mines and commerce; and we have all nationalities of the world to legislate for. Our representative in Congress, to fill his vocation, must study and understand not one and his own nationality but all nationalities, whether brown or black, red or white. And be his own temperament ever so much different from theirs, he must try to see with their eyes, think as they do, and feel as they feel. For he has to legislate not only for the native-born American whose ancestors for generations back were Americans and whose original race characteristics have therefore to some extent been effaced, but for the German-American as well as for the Irish-American, for the Scandinavian as for the Italian, for the Russian as for the Frenchman, for the Chinese as for the negro. This is why the labor problem is so infinitely more complicated here than elsewhere. The same laws shall govern the independent, active, and industrious American and the ignorant, filthy, unambitious Bohemian, the frugal, good-hearted, but hot-headed Italian, and the intemperate, in politics meddling Irishman, the sturdy German or stout Scandinavian, and the little, squint-eyed opium-smoker whose wants are few and aspirations none.

But heterogeneous though this population of all nationalities is, there is one feature common to everybody who sets foot on American soil, one bond that ties the newcomer to the ancestors of the native American and to the pilgrims of the *Mayflower*, one characteristic which is common to Pat and John Chinaman, Ole Olson and the Dago, they have all crossed an ocean. They are selected people, picked from all countries. They have been accepted as members of the commonwealth only after a rigid examination. They have all been asked the same questions: Can and will you leave your country and home, your father and

mother, your friends and all that is dear to your heart? Can and will you leave all your traditions, language, and customs behind you and go on a long and perilous voyage, thousands and thousands of miles, to a foreign country where you hardly know anybody, where they speak a language you do not understand, where climate and nature, history and customs, are different from all you have seen before? Do you have the courage to intrust your life to one of these enormous arks which on the fathomless deep will be tossed about like the tiniest toys? Are you possessed with energy and self-confidence enough to begin life anew and make your own way yonder across the sea? Do you have the persistency and self-command that you can save out of your scant wages what your passage will cost? And do you have the resoluteness and composure of the mind that, without wavering when the parting hour comes and woful tears fill your eyes, you can take this decisive step? Only those who answer all these questions in the affirmative and act accordingly are admitted. Therefore the immigrants are a picked gang of the most resolute and daring, adventurous and restless of all nations.

Restlessness is the characteristic of this country and this people. Restlessness brings the immigrant here, restlessness is the inheritance of the native American. That peculiar nervous disease which afflicts the "wandering Jew" is not unknown here. "Globe-trotters" are a production of this country, the same as "tramps," "hobos," "Coxeyites," etc. And when it has been said with some exaggeration, that, outside of New York and some of the other large cities, Americans have seldom a home but are usually "camping," then this is only what might be expected, considering their roving existence. Hundreds of thousands of tramps annually steal rides on the trains of all the railroads; rare, indeed, is the freight train which does not carry a dozen or more. Thousands and thousands of miles do they ride, from ocean to ocean, from frontier to frontier. The enormous development of the railroads may have benefited the country, but it has, to some extent, aggravated the national disease. If tramp-riders were not tolerated by the trainmen and the pay-

ing public could have been restrained from excessive traveling, the doctoring economist might now have a somewhat easier task. But every American has, unfortunately, a tramp within him. The great facilities which the railroads afford induce him to travel more than what is customary in any other country of the world. The summer camping of wealthy young people of both sexes originates from atavism. The tramp is always camping, only his sleeping quarters may be less comfortable than theirs, at least during a cold winter night passed in a haystack, on the ground under a brush pile, or in a hovel built of some old boards or sods.

The roving tendency is, indeed, the constitutional deficiency of the whole population. But most distinctly do we observe it in the unskilled labor classes. Take as an example, which strikingly illustrates it, such great public works as the Chicago Drainage Canal. All along the line do you find the tramps, sleeping on the ground, philosophically smoking their pipes, cooking the provisions they have begged or in some other way got possession of, on a winter day keeping themselves warm at a fire they have built, on a summer day, perhaps, in a paradisiacal costume waiting for their washed rags to dry in the sunshine. A "hobo" seems to be a tramping laborer of no profession, who works on a job only so long that when pay-day comes or he asks for his time, his earnings suffice to keep him properly drunk for a couple of days. Then, when sobered up a little, with his last nickel successfully landed in the saloon keeper's till, it is to go to the next camp and apply for work. Two weeks may terminate in another lay-off for a few days, and Pat or Mike tramps to the next camp. When finally arrived at the end of the line, he may return visiting the camps in reverse order; or a freight train takes him to some other place, probably to Chicago, whence, after a while, he may go over the line again. Such is hobo life, and such are most of the laborers on this and other similar works. Mostly, perhaps, Irishmen, they count Germans, Hollanders, Englishmen, Scandinavians, and native, white, and colored Americans in their number. Italians, though migratory, are, as a rule, not heavy drinkers:

the drawback with them is their ignorance of the language.

Drinking is the great evil which, combined with the natural restlessness, produces the hobo and the tramp. Nearly all the wages, after the board has been deducted, goes to the saloon, and all desires seem to be centered on beer and whisky. Whether money enough cannot be spared or it is a physiological result of the excessive drinking, it seems as if sexual pleasures are comparatively little indulged in.

The diagnosis being made, what are now the remedies? To cure the drinking habit we leave to the temperance specialist. There certainly lies a vast field open for missionary work, temperance societies, and the Salvation Army. From the very heart of the second largest city in the country to a distance of about thirty-five miles along the tow-path of the old Illinois and Michigan Canal, camp follows camp at intervals of less than a mile. Never, to the writer's knowledge, has a minister or temperance preacher tried to reform this motley crowd of about five thousand drunkards, no church do they worship in but the saloon, and when some Catholic sisters visit them it is for the purpose of begging alms for some charitable work, perhaps thousands of miles away. But preaching alone would not suffice. These men have no friends, no family, nothing to live for. They do not know how to save even if they would. If they carry their savings in their pocket, they are sure to be robbed; and to go to the nearest town to deposit a few dollars in a savings bank is expensive and too great a draft upon self-control, considering the many saloons met with on the way. The men should therefore be taught saving, and some means should be tried to induce them to deposit with an itinerant savings-bank official part of their wages immediately upon the receipt of the money from the paymaster.

The unskilled laborer should be educated. But we cannot begin teaching him the three R's, or history or politics. Even if he understands the language we cannot expect any patriotism from him. He knows nothing of American history, is perhaps not of a very patriotic disposition, or he had not left his own country, and could not possibly bear the love of a native to a

country which he has hardly seen and where he probably found the way to success far less easy than what he had anticipated in his dreams. Many of the immigrants most in need of education cannot at all be reached by any lesson because they do not understand the language. But there is an international language which everybody understands, even if only a few speak it, and its name is not "Volapük." It speaks intelligibly and eloquently to every one of us; it penetrates into the heart of the little street-urchin or the daughter of sunny Italy, makes its way through the rags and filth of the Bohemian Jew or through the smoke and whisky odor around the boisterous Irishman in the saloon. Let the music speak to them, give the first polish to their uncouth manners, soothe their obdurate minds full of bitterness and hatred, make strings vibrate in their bosoms, strings that have been silent so long but still can resound with love and hope, happiness and peace, piety and praise of all that is beautiful and good. Did not the great Pythagoras say that music had formed everything in nature and of chaos produced harmonic order? Let bands play regularly every summer evening, not in the parks and rich residence-quarters, but in the very "toughest" parts of the cities, in the slum and tenement-house districts; give free concerts in large halls where light beverages and refreshments can be served at reasonable prices; provide the poor with ennobling, educating, and recreating pleasures, build people's palaces, art galleries, and museums in their very midst; and you will, by opening their eyes and ears for what is great and good and beautiful, give them the lever by which they can raise themselves to a higher life. For the common man can neither see nor hear, just as the educated man can hardly ever read. The music should be light, melodious, with a strain of sentimentality in it. But we must leave to the specialists, the musical experts, to study how it should be administered. The composers and bandleaders should study the nature of the class of people and the nationality which they are to educate, in each particular case, and find out what kind of music suits them the best and harmonizes with their character. Some may

be most impressed by patriotic songs and marches, others by their own dreamy, national peasant-songs, others by dance music or operas, and some perhaps by sacred music. But if rightly chosen, music is the most powerful, polishing agent we have and can reach to the soul of almost every human being.

What we shall, however, direct our attention particularly to here is the roving proclivities of all native and foreign-born Americans and the general instability of all labor relations resulting therefrom. Statistics which show this instability are rare and difficult to get at. In the fifth annual report of the commissioner of labor, 1889, some light is thrown on this migration of labor as far as railroads are concerned. For 60 systems of railroads, representative of the different parts of the country, out of a total force of 224,570 men employed as laborers and foremen, brakemen, carpenters, conductors, engineers, firemen, machinists, switchmen, telegraph operators, etc., about 25 per cent worked less than 25 days out of the whole year and 59 per cent less than half a year for the same road. Some of these may have been laid off when there was no more work for them or during the inclement season; but for brakemen, who come third, and firemen, who come fourth in the list of restlessness, this does not apply. For organized labor, though, the effect of strikes and lockouts should be remembered. Taking the working year to be 310 days, the average per cent of the year worked for the same road was: Masons, 30; laborers, 32; brakemen, 49; firemen, 50; telegraph operators, 53; carpenters, 53; switchmen, 57; machinists, 62; conductors, 67; engineers, 76; foremen, 79. And this in a comparatively steady occupation, such as railroad work is, where a job, even as section-hand, is quite coveted by the wage-worker! How much worse may we not then expect to find it in other kinds of labor, especially in such as great earth-works, where unskilled labor of the very lowest class is employed. The experiences from the Chicago Drainage Canal would be amazing if the statistical data were collected. The winter emigration of day laborers to the South and their return in the spring is familiar to people in the Northwestern States. Coxey's army was a mi-

gration from West to East, caused by peculiar circumstances, beneficial by scattering the unemployed over a larger area and somewhat like the periodical migrations of the Lemmings in Norway.

Now for the remedies! Could we but induce the men to marry and found a home and a family to which they were tied and for which they would work! But marriageable girls are not easily smitten with "hobos," and marriage is difficult to cultivate by law enactments, unless such drastic measures are taken as the tyrant Rosas resorted to in Buenos Ayres. He had founded a military colony in Azul and to make it a permanent success it was necessary to provide the soldiers with wives. On a beautiful summer evening, therefore, when everybody was out enjoying the cool night breezes, the police officers of the capital were secretly ordered to arrest every woman met in the streets without male escort; and next morning they were all, street-walkers as well as wives and sisters of senators and prominent citizens, carted down to the colony to get married. As Americans might, perhaps, object to such procedure, we shall not recommend that it be adopted here. A somewhat less severe remedy—but not as effective—would be to encourage marriage by making life insurance compulsory for the laborer, either directly or indirectly, through his employer. The married man would feel safer with his wife secured against poverty if he should die; and the unmarried man, if he had nobody to provide for, would, without any benefit whatever to himself, contribute to the support of his fellow-laborer's widow and children.

More may be achieved by a law of direct bearing upon the evil to be remedied. Establish obstacles in the way of leaving as well as discharging from employment. Let it be enacted by law that, unless he has plausible reason, an employer shall not discharge his employee and an employee not leave his employ without having given due notice. Let this term of warning bear a certain relation to the term between pay-days, such as one half, for instance. Thus the wage-worker, whether he works by the hour, day, week, or month, if he is only paid

once a week, once every two weeks, or once every month, should be notified half a week, one week, or fifteen days before being discharged, and, *vice versâ*, give his employer notice of his intention to leave his employ the same length of time in advance. If such notice is not served in due time and due form, either written or verbally in presence of witnesses, the offending party should compensate the aggrieved party for loss sustained, an amount equal to the wages of a full term between pay-days, unless it can be proved that other employment or other employees could be procured, in which case damages are reduced by what was or could have been earned or paid as wages before the first regular pay-day; work actually performed always to be paid on that day by the employer. This is, provided that no greater damages can be claimed for distinct losses caused by the premature breaking of the labor contract. The cases could be laid before a justice of the peace, a circuit court, or court of equity or any other official body, and the compensation awarded the plaintiff could be paid out of the wages due the defendant or levied by execution; if no property can be seized, imprisonment with or without hard labor might be resorted to.

That laws of such tenor have existed and do exist in certain kinds of labor, should here be remembered. Sailors, by the navigation laws, are bound to serve a certain length of time or as long as a voyage lasts, if leaving their ship before they are deserters. The English "Employers and Workmen Act, 1875" and Lord Elcho's "Master and Servant Act, 1867," contain, in regard to break of labor contracts, similar provisions as here proposed for any kind of labor without an explicit contract. A similar measure has been included in a bill recently laid before the public, entitled, "An Amendment to an Act to Regulate Commerce, 1887," and applicable only to railroads and railroad employees.

The difficulties which would arise in administering such a law are, of course, many. The laborer, after he has made up his mind to quit, will take little interest in his work and try to shirk it wherever he can. The employer, when trying to get rid of an employee, can make life a burden to him. And it

will always be questionable and a matter of dispute—in fact, a source of continual controversies—what constitute valid reasons for discharge or for leaving employ. But these are working details and legal difficulties which we know can be overcome, inasmuch as *ab esse ad posse valet consequencia*, and they have been overcome in the above mentioned laws.

It is not the intention in this article to frame any bill. Its purpose is only to emphasize the necessity of counteracting the roving tendencies and to show that in the restlessness are evils rooted which embrace not single professions but the whole community. What is needed is a law to regulate the relations, not between railroad companies and their men, but between every employer and his employees, be the latter a day-laborer or a school-teacher, a city or a railroad official, a clerk or a saleswoman. They must all be protected and restrained in their relations to their employer. But most particularly this applies to the unskilled laborer, the man of no friends and no home, no hope and no ideals, the drunkard, hobo, and tramp of the tramps.

P. VEDEL.

SOME OF THE DANGERS OF FREE COINAGE.

BY ARTHUR B. DALE.

ONE of the worst features incident to the development and improvement of a new country, such as has taken place in the territory west of the Alleghenies in the last sixty years, is the tendency to experiment with various schemes of government and finance that the experience of older sections has proven to be fallacies of the most pronounced type, and for which the experimenters always pay the penalty. States partake of the nature of the people who compose them, and as the individual pays the penalty of a departure from sound economic and business principles even so does the state suffer from like errors. It matters not that the underlying principles of political economy and all the experience of the past argue that there is but one sure way to real wealth and commercial prosperity; the youthful individual and the equally inexperienced commonwealth always insist that their circumstances and surroundings, the existing conditions in their particular case, exempt them from the ordinary result of such a course. Yet they almost invariably reap the aforesaid result. The old-fashioned methods of frugality, perseverance, and grit do not meet with universal acceptance, and a tendency toward a short cut to wealth and power has developed into one of the greatest dangers of the present time, both as to the individual and the state.

Among the most dangerous of the above mentioned fallacies is the idea that our government can establish the free and unlimited coinage of fifty cents worth of silver into a dollar without regard to the action of other great commercial nations. That this idea has reached its present proportions is due to its ardent support by two classes, the mine-owners, who have silver to sell, and the politicians who see in its advocacy an op-

portunity for personal advancement. It seems incredible that any person who passed through our experience with fiat money during the sixties, should believe that any single government however strong can by legislation establish and maintain a value in an article other than that controlled by the laws of supply and demand. Money must have either intrinsic or representative value to be issued without limitation.

Our nation has the very best system of coinage now in existence. Under its operation the very largest quantity of silver possible to circulation at parity with gold is maintained, while still resting upon the foundation universally accepted as sound ; namely, the gold standard. There is no place under our flag where a silver dollar will not do all that a gold dollar will do. It is legal tender for all debts public and private ; it is receivable for customs ; it may be held as the reserve of national banks, and in no way is it inferior to gold with the single exception that its coinage is limited in order that the parity of the two metals may be maintained.

At no time in our history have we had a double standard as a matter of fact. Its very conception is confusing, and its application and maintenance are impossible. Nominally and legally we used a double standard until 1873 ; actually we were on a silver basis up to 1837, and have been on a gold basis ever since, all statutes to the contrary being non-operative. In 1873 the statute passed simply made a matter of law what had been a matter of fact for thirty-six years. The reason for this condition is easily given. Previous to 1837, the commercial value of gold exceeded the monetary value, hence according to a well-established law of economics it disappeared at once, being worth more as bullion than as coin. The same facts are true as regards silver subsequent to the law of 1837, which changed the ratio of coinage so that while still nominally adhering to the double standard we in reality changed to a gold standard. Under the law of 1837, a little over six million silver dollars were coined and at once went out of circulation for the very good reason that they were worth \$1.03 each.

The oft-repeated statement that the circulation of the country was reduced one half by the act of 1873 lacks the vital element of truth in view of the above statement; for as there were no silver dollars in circulation at that date, the demonetization of that metal could not possibly affect the circulation.

Another claim equally false is that there is a scarcity of money in circulation at the present time. The truth of this statement as regards certain individuals cannot be denied, and it is from them that the loudest howl for free coinage comes. They are mistaken, however, in their idea that this would bring the desired relief. An acquisition of correct business methods would work a much more speedy and effectual cure. As a matter of fact, our per capita circulation has been steadily on the increase since 1860, as the following figures taken from the treasury reports show:

1860.....	\$13.85
1870.....	17.50
1880.....	19.41
1890.....	22.82
1892.....	24.44

Note that this is the *circulation* per capita and does not include money held in the United States treasury. That this money is not now performing its service to the people as it ought is also a fact, but it is because the opportunities for its safe and profitable investment are scarce, owing to the general disquietude that has pervaded the country since 1892. Once let business confidence return, and the cry for free coinage and an increased circulation will disappear as if by magic. Among the great commercial nations of to-day, France alone exceeds this country in its per capita circulation, owing to the fact that the credit system of checks, drafts, etc., incident to a large number of banking establishments, has not come into general use in that country. In the United States about 95 per cent of commercial transactions are carried on by the use of checks and drafts.

A glance at the unavoidable results of free coinage of silver to the financial world reveals some interesting facts. It is but necessary to follow most of the arguments in favor of free

coinage to their legitimate conclusion to prove that it would be disastrous to capitalists and borrowers, manufacturers and laborers alike.

Obedying the same fixed law that banished the gold coins previous to 1837 and the silver dollars subsequent to that date, when their commercial value exceeded their monetary value, our gold coins being at a commercial premium of nearly 100 per cent of the monetary ratio established, would be at once exported or absorbed into the arts where their commercial value could be realized.

One of the main arguments advanced in support of the free coinage theory is the rise of prices that would follow, and this cannot be denied. All prices including that of gold would indeed rise, but there would be no increase in value. Instead of 25.8 grains of gold being the standard of value for a dollar, 412½ grains of silver commercially worth about half as much as the gold would perform that function, and the 25.8 grains of gold, while still the monetary unit according to the statute, would rise in commercial value to almost two dollars under the silver standard. Hence every ten dollar gold piece would contain nearly \$20 worth of bullion, while it, as coined, possessed a debt-paying capacity of but \$10, and its disappearance from circulation as noted above would be but the matter of a very few days.

Such action would bring us at once to a silver standard, and while under this standard wheat might bring \$1 per bushel, every other necessary of life would have risen likewise and its acquisition be no easier than at present. Where the actual benefit of such a change comes in is not yet perfectly clear.

Again, the fall in prices claimed to have taken place because of the existing system does not necessarily imply misfortune for the producer. M. G. Mulhall, the English statistician, maintains and proves by his figures that a lower price brings the commodity within the reach of a greater number of purchasers and that the number of sales made must thus greatly increase. If the aforesaid fall in prices be general, which it must be to

possess any value as an argument against the gold standard, this operates to the advantage of all producers. It simply means a larger number of sales at a somewhat less profit on the individual transaction. But, it may be argued, a fall in prices has a fall in wages as a necessary corollary, and this is true to a limited extent. Edward Atkinson, the noted sociologist, after an exhaustive research and calculation has proven the following to be the case. Taking the annual consumption of food, clothing, etc., making up about seven tenths of all the necessities of the ordinary artisan's living, the prices of which are unaffected by locality, as a unit of calculation, he finds that the average wages of the ordinary artisan (carpenters, masons, etc.) would purchase as follows :

1850.....	4.9	parts.
1860.....	5.1	"
1865.....	4.2	"
1873.....	5.5	"
1890.....	8.66	"
1892.....	9.	"

That is to say, as a result of the same amount of labor put forth the artisan is able to obtain nearly twice the amount of necessities in 1892 that he could in 1850, and this after a four years' civil war and the so-called demonetization of silver.

One fact should be clearly recognized and continually borne in mind when discussing financial questions ; namely, the two-fold service of money. It is a medium of exchange in trade and is also a measure of value. Of the two the latter is by far the more important. As a medium of exchange it transacts but five per cent of the business of the day, while as a measure of value it is the basis for 95 per cent of exchanges, to say nothing of the multitude of transactions of trade and government in which neither check nor money pass from hand to hand. In view of this fact the importance of an unchangeable standard of value is apparent. Any change involves endless confusion and disaster before a readjustment to altered conditions would be accomplished. One of the principal causes of the disastrous panic of 1893 was the danger of a change in the standard of value as a result of the continued injection of intrinsically de-

preciated currency into our financial system. Of course, this was not the sole cause, but that it was one of the most potent is proven by the flow of money back into the banks as soon as this danger was removed by the repeal of the law of 1890, commonly called the Sherman Law.

International bimetallism has been purposely avoided in this article as being of too great magnitude and involving too many incidental questions to be properly handled except in a separate article. Whether or not the great commercial nations of the world can by a united effort maintain silver at an agree ratio to gold is as yet an undecided question. Certain it is that it can never be done by any one nation alone, and all the talk of "the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for any other nation on earth" is the veriest nonsense. As long as this country continues trade relations with gold standard countries, so long must we settle with them on a gold basis, there being no international legal tender law to force them to take depreciated currency on any other basis.

ARTHUR B. DALE.

AN INTERNATIONAL PAPER CURRENCY.

BY JOHN F. HUME.

EVERYBODY seems to admit that our currency needs amending. But in what particular, or in what particular most of all? Of what especial kind of money do we need a larger or a better supply than we now have? Some say we should have more silver, some more greenbacks, and others more of other accepted mediums of exchange, according to their several outlooks or predilections, but there is one point which the majority of those discussing the subject seem to overlook, and that is the service which is to be performed by the money we are to create. We want money that will do our business, and if that result is attained, it does not greatly matter what materials enter into it. It is the office to be fulfilled, and not the substance to be used, that should be first and chiefly considered.

For what business of ours is there now a lack of adequate currency? It has not been in domestic dealings that we have felt the need of money differing from what we possess. Every dollar in circulation among us has been accepted without question, and as a rule the money supply has been ample. Sometimes it has been so far in excess of business requirements as to cause great accumulations of idle funds. If transactions calling for the use of money were limited to our own boundaries and our own population, there would at present be very little occasion for bothering our heads over the currency question. But when we come to our foreign operations the case is very different. There trouble has existed, and trouble is likely to continue. The reason is obvious enough. Only a portion of our currency has been available for that kind of business, and that portion has been insufficient for its demands. Our paper money, save in very limited quantities, is not acceptable in foreign markets,

and was never intended to circulate there. Hence in outside traffic the bulk of our currency is of no advantage to us. It is only our metallic funds we can use, and, for reasons well understood, silver is now of small account in making foreign exchanges. Gold is the only medium that is absolutely available, and of that, unfortunately, our stock in hand has not been equal to the demands that have been made upon it.

Our financial condition, in consequence of this shortage, has been peculiarly affected. The balance of trade being temporarily against us, and an unusual call for gold springing up abroad, because, in part, of warlike preparations by European governments, and, in part, by reason of the hoarding of that metal which general distrust in the business world always produces, the drafts that have been made upon our gold supply have been uncommonly heavy, with the result that, while our banks have been full of money that was perfectly good at home, our government and our merchants have found themselves embarrassed in providing the cash with which to take care of their foreign accounts. The condition, as I have said, is an unusual one, and yet it is one which is liable to occur at almost any time, and, therefore, it should, if possible, be as carefully and fully guarded against as if the normal state of affairs.

It will from the foregoing be sufficiently plain, the writer thinks, that it is in the direction of foreign commerce and foreign complications that our currency chiefly needs amending. At all events, the trouble pointed out is so serious as to call for remedial action, whatever may be the fact as to other branches of the subject.

But how remedied? The difficulty which, because of its world-wide operation, at first glance appears stupendous, may not after all be so formidable. We are not, fortunately, without a precedent entirely pertinent to the case. We had the same embarrassment in our home business, and we met and overcame it. When we found our stock of metallic currency inadequate for commercial purposes, we resorted to the use of a paper substitute, and in quantities sufficient to meet the necessities of the case. In that way the business of a country that stretches thousands of

miles in every direction, and embraces no less than forty-four distinct and nearly independent states, with several territories, has been satisfactorily accommodated, a consummation that would have been utterly impossible had we relied wholly upon the specie we happened to possess. Why cannot the same result be reached by the same means in the dealings which we and the people of other countries have with each other? In other words, why not have an international paper currency?

Of course, the objection at once arises that paper money is the creation of law, deriving all of its value from statutory enactments, and independent governments are not accustomed to legislate in partnership. But governments that are foreign to each other do come to agreements that are ratified by law. Treaties between sovereign states, depending for their validity upon legislative confirmation, and calling for legislative action in matters essential to their execution, are common enough. In that way we have rules in reference to piracy, the slave trade, and many other offenses against humanity, that are recognized as obligatory by all civilized countries. In that way it was that at the Congress of Paris of 1856, nearly a dozen of the leading governments adopted a code of laws relating to the conduct of the most important business in which nations are supposed to engage, viz., that of making war.

A yet more striking illustration of the principle is to be found in the so-called "Universal Postal Union" that was organized at Berne, Switzerland, in 1874, and participated or concurred in by nearly all the nations of the globe. For a government to issue a five-cent postage stamp that is to pass current in many lands, is quite as much of an assumption as it would be for the same government to issue its note-of-hand, its promise to pay; and if the paper should have the indorsement of several responsible nations, within whose jurisdictions it was to be a legal tender, there would seem to be no reason why it should not so far be a substitute for gold, and do the work that gold now does. The pledges of the nations would ordinarily be quite sufficient. Our government's pledge sufficed for our greenbacks at a time when it was in imminent peril and its credit at the lowest ebb. It would, so

far as any principle is involved, be quite as legitimate for several countries to combine in producing a greenback, or a blueback, or a redback, calling for the payment of a certain amount of money, as that they should separately enter into pecuniary undertakings.

There are but few great nations, if any, that fail to put out bonds or consols, or other paper obligations that find their way into the markets of the world. What reason is there that England and the United States, for instance, should not unite in promulgating paper pledges that would go as money, or rather that would be money—for whatever is an effectual intermediary in exchanges, whether metal, or wood, or bone, or paper, is money—wheresoever the jurisdiction of either country extends? And, if so, why should not other civilized and responsible nations enter into the transaction? Under proper conditions they could not do a more sensible or commendable thing.

And if governments could not be induced to go into company with each other in the business of making money for the accommodation of their subjects, what objection can there be to the establishment by them of a mutual banking system that would do so? The writer can see no good reason why we should not have international banks of issue, with branches and directors in several countries. In former times, owing to the difficulty of communication, such an arrangement would have been difficult, if not impracticable. But now distance is annihilated. With cables and telegraphs and telephones the operation of such an institution would not require the immediate contact of its managers. Personally they might be strangers to each other. Indeed, the day is not far distant when the directors of our railways and other great corporations, who live at distant points from each other, will rarely come together in their own proper persons at executive meetings. Why should they, when they can converse as well a thousand miles apart as face to face? Of course, the consent of several legislatures would be necessary to the arrangement proposed, and on the same line or lines, but that should not be difficult to obtain. What is there that nations can more properly consult about, with a view to coöperative

action, than the matter of the currency? That they do so is shown by the recent Brussels international conference to discuss the question of silver, and the one for the same purpose that was held in Paris in 1878. The members of the later convocation at their next meeting, if they ever come together again, could, with the consent of the appointing powers, just as well turn their attention to the paper currency question, and with the prospect of accomplishing far more satisfactory results.

In our national monetary history there is nothing to be found that militates with the idea suggested. On the contrary, there is much to support it. If that history teaches anything, it is not only that finance is a progressive science, but that our currency has been undergoing a continuous and pronounced evolution. Little that we have has experienced such radical changes as our money. Plenty of those now living can recollect when the only currency we had that commanded universal confidence was gold and silver. Paper money was regarded by very many as an invention of the devil, being considered both vicious in principle and dangerous to handle. Banks in their eyes were sinks of iniquity. From the year 1835, when there was a recasting of political parties in this country, to the time of the Civil War, many of the platforms of one of our leading organizations embodied the following declaration, which was contained in the platform of the Loco Foco or Democratic party of the state of New York in 1836, viz.: "We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency."

During the period referred to, the only banks we had were institutions doing business under state authority. Events, however, that were equally beyond the control and the wisdom of our people, compelled a radical change. From state banks we progressed to national banks, and from bank paper that had but a narrow circulation, and was taken with general misgiving, to a currency that is everywhere gladly received. To the beneficent workings of the present system we need no higher testimony than that in our recent business disturbances and distresses no man has lost a dollar by being the holder of a bank

note. Our trouble has all been with "the coinage of the realm."

What is to be the next step? Finance, being a progressive science, it is fair to assume, has not reached the limit of its development, and is not likely to stand still. An advance from a national currency, or from a national banking system, without, however, involving their abandonment, to an international currency, or to a system of international banking, would seem to be in the natural order of things.

And really, when we come to weigh the proposition in the light of its probabilities, there is nothing about the scheme that is particularly novel or audacious. We are not without precedents pointing in that direction. The so-called "Latin Union" at once suggests itself. That is a compact which four European nations, afterwards joined by two others, in 1865 entered into for the joint regulation of their metallic issues. They even went so far as to prescribe what legislation each in that connection should adopt. Notwithstanding the high contracting parties differ in language, in forms of government — one being a republic and all the rest monarchies, — in domestic regulations and social customs, as well as in foreign intercourse and connections, and their territories are in several instances separated from each other by countries not parties to the compact, the arrangement has so worked to the satisfaction of all concerned that in 1878 it was unanimously renewed and is now in force. If an international convention to create and regulate metallic money serves so good a purpose, why not have one in relation to paper money?

What is there in the way of the successful working of an international bank, fashioned in the matter of its securities and its paper issues, on lines not unlike those of our national banks, with jurisdiction covering one, two, three, four, or a dozen separate countries, provided, of course, legislative sanction is had from those countries? There is no reason why a bank note from such an institution, with contents successively printed on the same sheet in the languages of all such countries, and setting forth the amount for which issued in their several currencies, should not pass readily throughout all of them. It would, in fact, be current the world over.

The advantages to be derived from such a circulation would be manifold. It would prevent what now seems the most absurd of all our business operations growing out of dealings between different countries, in the shuttle-like sending of gold and silver to and fro, particularly in the case of ocean shipments, at great cost and risk, by providing the means of effecting inexpensive and instantaneous settlements. It would be of incalculable convenience to travelers. There is another benefit of much wider application that might be fairly calculated on, and that is the influence it would have in checking the tendency to panics resulting from scarcity or derangement of the circulating medium in unfortunate localities. Now the money of one country, apart from such specie as it may contain, can be of no service to another; but let a common currency be created, and by its inclination to escape redundancy at one point, and to flow wherever it is most needed, it would naturally help to maintain a financial equilibrium and avert the danger of business disturbances. In fact, it could be counted upon, by multiplying and improving its facilities in many ways, to lengthen the arm and strengthen the hands of commerce everywhere.

Nor should the moral aspects of the case be overlooked, being really the most impressive of any. In this regard there are important functions which such a currency would perform. It would be something more than a mere commercial agent. By helping to establish closer relations among foreign peoples through the community of interests which a monetary association would create, it would break down the frowning barriers of ancient jealousy and prejudice. It would largely do away with war, because war would endanger the security in which there was a mutual investment. It would tend to reduce standing armies and substitute friendly tribunals for the settlement of public disputes. It would make the world a better place to live in.

Certain it is that the time has come when no currency system we may adopt can be considered complete without taking the question of foreign exchanges into account and giving it a foremost place. We are no longer a community unto ourselves in

monetary matters, any more than we are in art, in science, or in literature. In their workings we have an interest in all the rest of the world, and all the rest of the world in us. The money that we now need more than any other, is money that will cross national lines without obstruction or depreciation, and do its work under many flags, and to be of the largest utility it must mainly consist of paper rather than of metal. Indeed, metallic money, if not exactly a fetich, as a circulating medium can no longer meet the requirements of our time. It is money still, but its best service is done by proxy. Metal gets the credit, but paper does the work. The adoption of a joint or common circulation by several governments would not necessarily affect the status of either gold or silver. One or both would furnish the standard of value and be to a certain extent the basis of any paper currency that might be put out, but a more modern and more active element of commercial vitality would dominate the business of the world. Until we have such a currency for the convenience and advancement of mankind, one of the best fruits of civilization will not be realized.

JOHN F. HUME.

THE DECADENCE OF HOME-OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY J. A. COLLINS.

THE home is one of the most marked and vital features of our Christian civilization. The home and the citizen are the foundation stone of the nation; the stability of the government and the patriotism of the people depend, to a great extent, upon the sanctity and security of the home, its teachings, associations, and ineffaceable influences. The home should be the palladium of liberty, a sacred refuge against all evil influences; the castle which neither avarice, nor greed, nor chicanery, could ever successfully assault; the one safe refuge of the freeman and patriot. In the homes of a nation should be its surest defense, and there should the garden of patriotism blossom and bear its fruit of devoted citizenship. The preservation of the home sentiment and ties, the effect of early home influences, are of the most vital importance to the welfare and happiness of the people and the stability of their government.

A man without a home is a creature robbed of manhood, of all that delicate and ennobling sentiment that binds him by the strongest ties of affection to the land of his childhood and the scenes of his happiest recollections. He is the prey of any evil influences which may choose to sway him; from such are the tools of despotism molded. But the man who has been reared under the sacred influences of a happy home will ever be surrounded by those pure sentiments and attachments that make his native land a venerated ideal, and in his home will flourish and multiply the sentiments of patriotism and morality, which are true foundations upon which rest the stability of government and of civil society. It is from the ranks of the homeless that the anarchist, the revolutionist, and the dangerous and discontented elements muster their recruits.

Unquestionably the most important step toward preserving the liberties of the people, the contentment of the masses, and the perpetuation of our free institutions is the preservation of the home sentiment, and the protection of the sanctity of the home; the freeing of the homes which shelter the helpless from the interference of any outside power or influence whatever. Effective homestead laws are unquestionably of the most imperative and vital importance, and should be so devised as to protect motherhood and infancy not only from the greed and avarice of the shrewd and unscrupulous, but from the profligacy and weakness of those upon whom rests the great responsibility of the future welfare and usefulness of the family. The home feature of our American life is not only one of its most marked and attractive characteristics, but it is one of the most important, one of the strongest supports of our governmental system.

This being true, the facts developed by the investigation conducted by the census bureau are most startling, and the conditions shown most threatening and dangerous. No patriotic citizen can read the sad record without a sigh of regret and a chill of fear; without a heart pang at the realization of the sad truth that the home life of the people is in its decadence, and that if present conditions are continued, and their results steadily developed, the American home will, in a short time, come to be but a memory; a lovely feature in the legend of an ideal people. The stubborn and ugly facts which confront us in the statistics of home-ownership are the sentinels upon the watch-tower of our civilization, which give us warning of the advance of a powerful and dangerous enemy. Let the tocsin be sounded and the forces of patriotism be rallied to the defense. These figures show an immense, a startling diminution in the proportion of home-owners during the past decade, in every section of the country, in every state of the nation;—such a ratio of diminution as to lead one to question the reliability of the data, yet the facts have been proved beyond question.

A few decades ago the great bulk of the population was made up of home-owners, and their homes were practically free from incumbrance; to-day the vast bulk of the population are tenants:

then, even those who had been so unfortunate as to have fallen into reverses and the clutches of the mortgage system, had an outlet of escape, a refuge, in the vast domain of free lands which invited them to rear new homes upon the virgin soil of the great West; to-day this refuge is cut off and we must face the conditions as we find them.

The census of 1890 shows that on June 1st of that year the total population was about 63,450,760, or 12,690,152 families of five members each, or an aggregate of that many homes, both owned and rented. Out of this 12,690,152 families, the number owning and occupying mortgaged homes and farms was 2,250,000, leaving 10,440,152 families occupying hired homes and farms or those they owned free of incumbrance. About 8,250,000 occupy hired homes or farms, that is, they are tenants, leaving 2,190,152 who occupy their homes free of incumbrance. This is only about 16 per cent of the total number of families, leaving 84 per cent of the total number as occupants of hired and mortgaged homes. As about 18 per cent of the whole number occupy mortgaged homes, the percentage of actual tenants is about 66 per cent. But the occupant of a mortgaged home is virtually but a tenant of the mortgagee, and we find 84 per cent of the families of the nation are virtually tenants.

Think of this startling result having been produced in so short a time, with the vast domain of free lands in the West open to settlers, with the great fields of industry open and offering employment at good pay; and then consider what is to be the result with the great West all occupied, or its lands all monopolized, a population increased by the addition of millions, both by natural increase and by immigration, the mineral lands and mines controlled by syndicates of foreign capital; the transportation system controlled in the interest of a few millionaire owners; the manufactures operated by great corporations in their own interest: with the public lands exhausted, and the home sites monopolized and held by speculators beyond the reach of the industrial masses. All of this, and money constantly appreciating in value while wages and the products of labor are steadily decreasing. What has this nation to offer the great industrial class to secure

its devotion, to develop its patriotism; what is there in the future for this class? In the patriotism of the people is the hope and dependence of the nation. Is the existence and steady development of such conditions as are here shown likely to develop the patriotism of those affected by them?

The burden of debt represented by the mortgages is an important feature of the situation, as it indicates the ratio at which the homes of the people are likely to pass out of their possession in the near future. The following figures will give a fair idea of the status in this respect. On June 1st, 1890, in the state of Kansas, the number of mortgages in force was 298,880, amounting to the vast sum of \$243,146,826, covering 26,590,795 acres, showing a per capita debt of \$170, or \$850 to each family. As the population of the state only includes 286,055 families, this represents more than one mortgage to every family in the state: but of course this number of mortgages covers all classes of property and does not relate to homes alone. The feature of mortgages on homes especially will be given further on. In Iowa the total number of mortgages was 252,539, aggregating a debt of \$199,774,171, incumbering 16,312,176 acres, making a per capita debt of \$104, or \$520 to each family. As the state contains 384,181 families, this represents a mortgage to almost every family in the state. In Illinois there were 297,247 mortgages, amounting to \$384,299,180, representing a per capita of \$100, or \$500 per family, or not quite one mortgage to every two families. These are representative states of the best agricultural section in the West, with every advantage of soil and climate, and every facility for transportation to convenient and extensive markets. The figures are a fair index for all of the Western States. The conditions in the older states of the East are no better, in fact rather worse, but space is too limited to set out the exact figures.

By comparing the figures for 1890 with those of the former decade, it is startling to note at what a rapid rate the homes of the people are passing into the hands of landlords of the lending class, and the population becoming reduced to the condition of tenants.

It may be stated as an undeniable fact that fifty years ago the United States was a nation of home-owners; a mortgaged home was the unusual condition; to-day almost 70 per cent of our population are actually tenants, and a mortgage stands of record against every seven individuals of the entire population, almost one to every family in the nation.

Prior to 1880 the number of mortgaged homes was extremely small; investigations made in a large number of counties, running back as far as my debt appears of record, show this to be the case.

The Eastern States having been longer subjected to the effects of existing systems, show more clearly than those of the West the rapid concentration of wealth and the enormous diminution in the number of home-owners. A comparison of the conditions prevailing in 1880 with those found to exist in 1890 will give us a good basis upon which to rest conclusions.

In the state of Connecticut, in 1880, only 10.22 per cent of the farms were occupied by tenants; in 1890, 17.68 per cent were in the hands of tenants and 25.60 per cent were under mortgage. Now, as before stated, the nominal owner of a mortgaged home is virtually but a tenant, the equity of the owner being subject to the claim of the mortgagee. Taking this view of the case, in 1890 in Connecticut 43.28 per cent of the farmers were tenants; a diminution of 33.06 per cent of free owners in ten years. Of her population who live in towns, 71.30 per cent are tenants and 14.76 per cent live in mortgaged homes, showing 86.06 per cent of her town population to be virtually tenants.

In Massachusetts, in 1880, only 8.18 per cent of her farms were occupied by tenants; in 1890, 15.06 per cent were so occupied and 25.07 per cent were mortgaged; showing 40.93 per cent of her farm population virtually tenants; a diminution of 32.75 per cent. In towns, 67.28 per cent hire their homes and 12.78 per cent are mortgaged, making 80.15 per cent of the urban population virtually tenants. Averaging town homes and farms together, hired and mortgaged, 77.32 per cent of the entire population are tenants. In the city of Boston, 83.57 per cent are actually tenants including mortgaged homes, 89 per cent are virtually tenants.

In Rhode Island, in 1880, only 19.88 per cent of the farms were hired; in 1890, 25 per cent were hired and 14.29 per cent mortgaged, showing 39.29 per cent of her farm families virtually tenants, a diminution of free owners of 19.41 per cent. Of her urban population, 79.26 per cent are tenants and 7.88 per cent mortgaged, making 87.14 per cent virtually tenants. There are no figures given for town population in 1880 in any of the states, so that it is impossible to show the rate of diminution, but it is unquestionably much greater than in the farm population.

In Vermont, in 1880, 13.41 per cent of the farms were hired; in 1890, 17.62 per cent were hired and 36.53 per cent mortgaged, making 54.15 per cent virtually tenants, a diminution in free owners of 40.74 per cent. Of the city homes, 54.39 per cent are hired and 16.82 per cent mortgaged, total virtually tenants 71.21 per cent.

In New Hampshire, in 1880, 8.13 per cent of the farms were hired; in 1890, 10.92 per cent hired and 19.41 per cent mortgaged, making 30.23 per cent of farmers virtually tenants. Of the town population, 60.73 per cent hire their homes and 9.94 per cent are mortgaged, showing 70.67 per cent virtually tenants. In the great cities the average percentage of tenants will reach, at the lowest, 80 per cent.

This group of states being the oldest, with the greatest diversity of industry, has had the best opportunity to benefit by any advantages existing systems may possess; and yet we find a steady and startling diminution in the percentage of free homeowners; in fact, it is clear that over 70 per cent of the population are practically homeless. If these conditions are the result of the experience of the older states, with all of their advantages, what is to be expected for the newer, which necessarily labor under many disadvantages? With two hundred years in which to have benefited by the blessings of our boasted institutions, surely there has been time to have wrought the independence of the masses so far as a mere question of shelter is concerned; yet we find over 70 per cent of the population shelterless and paying tribute to an extremely small proportion for the roofs which cover them.

The figures for the Western States show them to be moving steadily and surely to the condition of the older states of the East. In Wisconsin, in 1880, 9.05 per cent of the farms were hired; in 1890, 13.10 per cent were hired and 37.45 per cent mortgaged, showing 50.34 per cent of the farmers to be virtually tenants, a diminution of over 40 per cent in free owners. Of town homes, 45.45 per cent were hired in 1890 and 16.11 per cent mortgaged, making 61.56 per cent tenants. In Montana, where land should be plenty and easily acquired, in 1880, 5.27 per cent of the farms were occupied by tenants; in 1890, 13.40 per cent were hired and 13.49 per cent mortgaged, making 26.89 per cent tenants; a diminution of 21.62 per cent of free owners. In Minnesota, in 1880, of her farm population 9.15 per cent were tenants; in 1890, 15.25 per cent were tenants and 39.31 per cent were mortgaged, making 54.56 per cent virtually tenants. Of her urban population in 1890, 53.01 per cent were tenants and 16.94 per cent mortgaged; 69.95 per cent virtually tenants. This is a fair index for the West.

In the South the conditions are shown to be no better than in New England, although land mortgages are not so common, the lender preferring a lien on the cotton crop as security, cotton being much more readily turned into money. For this reason the bulk of the debt in the South is represented by crop liens and chattel mortgages. In Georgia, in 1880, 44.85 per cent of the farms were occupied by tenants; in 1890, 58.10 per cent were so held and 1.42 per cent were mortgaged, showing 59.52 per cent of the farmers to be virtually tenants; a diminution of 14.67 per cent in ten years. In cities 80.26 per cent hired their homes in 1890 and 1.08 per cent were mortgaged, showing 81.34 per cent to be virtually tenants. In Tennessee, in 1880, 34.53 per cent of the farmers were tenants; in 1890, 41.88 per cent hired their farms and 1.87 per cent were mortgaged, 43.75 per cent tenants. Of homes in towns 79.72 per cent are hired and 1.73 per cent mortgaged; 81.45 per cent of the urban population tenants. In South Carolina, in 1880, 50.31 per cent of the farms were hired; in 1890, 61.49 per cent were hired and 3.08 per cent mortgaged, 64.57 per cent of the farm population tenants. The general average

of farms and city homes is 71.03 per cent hired and 2.17 per cent mortgaged, or 73.40 per cent of the entire population tenants.

From the foregoing facts and figures it is evident that the same results are developed throughout the entire country, and that the evil is not confined to any section. In every state of the Union there is a steady and great diminution in the number of free home-owners going on. In no state or section is there an increase, nor in a single instance is there even a case where the number has not been seriously diminished. What is to be the result if this constant diminution is continued? Already above 70 per cent of our population are reduced to the condition of tenants, the free home-owner is becoming the exception; a landlord system is being rapidly established, and the great mass of the population, under our boasted free institutions, are dependent upon a class for the very roofs which shelter them; the American people from a nation of free home-owners are becoming the dependents of a favored class; not only for the employment which gives them food, but the roofs which shelter their helpless families. Is there not danger—great danger—in this condition to the liberty of which we have been accustomed to boast, as well as to the social institutions and moral cast of our people? The American home has long been the boast of our people; its teachings and influences have been the breath of life to our institutions; what is to be the future of this nation with this, its most vital factor, destroyed, and its people the dependents of a dominant class, who stand between them and the soil of their nativity, to whom they are under obligation for the roofs which sheltered their infancy and those which cover their children? It is indeed a sad and serious situation, and the destruction of the American home life is a deadly blow at the life of American institutions.

A comparison of the proportion of tenants in the United States with that of the same class of other nations will startle the most obtuse, and ought to awaken all who feel a pride in our country and its future prosperity to the necessity of some action looking to the preservation of this most sacred of all of our social institu-

tions. The United States to-day shows a *greater proportion* of dependent or tenant families than any nation of the civilized world with the exception of Great Britain, and is not far behind that.

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Percentage of Tenants.</i>
Australia.....	10.17
Belgium.....	33.02
Denmark.....	66.09
France.....	28.94
Holland.....	39.60
Portugal.....	28.17
Sweden.....	17.32

United States over 70 per cent. In the United Kingdom the great bulk of the population is of the tenant class. In the other countries the percentage is given of the average, which probably is not far from the percentage of population.

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Percentage of Tenants.</i>
Canada.....	12.01
Germany.....	34.31
Italy.....	55.19
Norway.....	31.82
South Africa.....	55.00

Is it not startling that in the greatest republic on earth, whose free institutions and free homes have been its boast for a hundred years, the percentage of its dependent population should be greater than even in the monarchies of Europe? This startling diminution of the number of free home-owners is an indication that points to a dark future for our country unless something is done to stay the tide of landlordism, and curb the greed of speculation that like an octopus has wound its deadly tentacles about the American home.

J. A. COLLINS.

THE CHURCH AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

BY PROF. HENRY H. BARBER, D. D.

THE problems of industry are to-day the most urgent problems of society and civilization. They press on every patriot and Christian man, and the Church may well give patient thought and effort to their solution. It is not strange that they engross the painful and anxious attention of all serious and thoughtful men. From the Catholic Church to the Salvation Army they are the subject of study, exhortation, and experiment in all religious circles. Leo XIII. is bringing the papal hierarchy into intelligent connection with the needs of the nineteenth century on this theme, and General Booth finds his missionary work for the "submerged tenth" blocked till he can establish saving industrial relations for the shelter of his rescued converts. The churches that hold the service of humanity to be the highest ritual of worship and the end of religious fellowship may well consider the part they have to fulfil in the settlement of the industrial difficulties of the time.

It is as important for religion as for the interests of labor, that it should cherish active interest in the social problems. Enthusiasm for dogma has largely subsided in the conviction that all dogmas are but far approximations to unapproachable Reality. This leaves the growing tolerance of the churches a negative and languid unity; as Bacon has said, all colors agreeing in the dark. It is only interest in life, its great social problems, its seething interests, the method of its true advance, that can revive the slumbering loyalties of religious fervor, and build the platforms of living, spiritual fellowship. Professor MacKenzie is mainly right when he suggests that a remedy for religious dearth and division may be found "in a thorough education of those who are to be the spiritual teachers of their time in a knowledge of

the main conditions of social and individual welfare."* (The emergence of the Gospel from the prison-house of the creeds to lend inspiration to the movements of modern life, is at once the fulfilment of the Christian ideal and the promise of advancing light and good in the struggling, burdened life of to-day.) It is the office of the Church to spiritualize social ideals, and to lift the heated conflicts of clashing interests, of capital and labor, employer and workman, away from merely self-regarding and passionate partisanship toward the high lights of justice, reason, and Christian civilization. "The men of social aspirations," said Dr. J. G. Brooks at Plymouth, "will not leave the Church when they see it sincerely seeking to understand and help in settling social questions."† Those who have left the Church and fancied it outgrown, may become its helpers and votaries when they see it intelligently striving to bridge social chasms and sympathizingly lift the burdens and atone the bitter differences in society.

The first demand, then, is for an intelligent comprehension of the questions and interests involved. Perhaps the most urgent advice to be given to the religious teacher who is moved by the social questions of the time, is that he should avoid being captured by the force of his own uninstructed sympathies, or becoming the prey of the fanatic or the doctrinaire. It is only when the heart flows through the brain that its currents move the social problem nearer to sure solution.

On the other hand, there is peril of being persuaded or badgered into indifference and neglect of these pressing topics by the dogmatism of conventional self-interest or the assurance of deductive economists. In the presence of new forces and conditions, there is no doctrinaire more misleading, often more stupid, than conservative common sense. We need to remember that Christianity lives, as democracy lives, as civilization rises, by achieving the impossible, by transcending the maxims and methods of the past, in the creation of better conditions in response to the prophecy of new aspirations.

* "Social Philosophy," p. 326.

† Report in Boston *Transcript*, of a lecture at the Summer School of Ethics.

Other obvious suggestions are that the Church must be non-partisan, that its method is spiritual and not controversial or mechanical, that its trust must be in augmented moral forces more than in changed outward conditions, that it may hope to do effective good only as it shall help to substitute personal and sympathetic, for mechanical and hostile relations. Its watch-words must be peace, justice, humanity. Amid the warring passions of opposed interests the Church must plead for calm discussion and peaceful settlement of labor troubles. It should urge the enforcement of peaceful composition of differences. Some complaint has been made because of the employment of troops to repress violence during the late disorder in Chicago. I can conceive no better use of the army of the United States than for the suppression of private warfare. Our American way is to settle all disputes by peaceful discussion and the ballot. Neither party to industrial strifes must be permitted to organize or attempt violent measures.

Even for self-defense, the public agencies must be invoked and trusted. Both sides may be granted entire freedom of organization, persuasion, and contract; but all forcible seizure of advantage or defense of claims by one side or the other should be left to the arbitrament of the state, the only rightful depository of force in a civilized community. By legislation, by judicial arbitrament, if need be, by the military forces of the state and the nation, the rights of property and the rights of labor will at length be vindicated. When these fail everything fails. What these will not secure cannot be otherwise accomplished. Rich corporations and impatient labor unions must be taught, are being effectively taught, supreme regard for the peace of the community and the law of the land. The rush to mob violence or to private war is barbaric, feudal, intolerable. The party that resorts to these measures loses sympathy and is predestined to fall. Our Anglo-Saxon regard for law is like the farmer's wall, built, he said, three feet high and four feet thick, so that when it fell down it would be higher than before.

I know that some exception, probably very energetic exception, will be taken on the one side and on the other to this state-

ment. It will be said, on the one hand, that every man has the natural right to defend his own property, that the law gives him the right of self-defense and of unobstructed control of his premises and business, and that the mill or corporation that hires men to defend its premises from violent intrusion, or to protect those who choose to work, does no more than the citizen who shoots a burglar, or hires a private watchman to guard his house.

This position is plausible but not conclusive. When, two years ago, the owners of the Homestead mills brought companies of armed men, hired for the purpose, from a distance, to protect their workmen against strikers, the moral sense of the community condemned their course, and it is significant to notice that in recent labor troubles it has not been repeated. Entirely apart from the merits of the strike this action was seen to be unwarrantable. It was not then forbidden by statute in Pennsylvania and it was difficult to state wherein it transcended the ethical bounds of self-defense. But many of our states have forbidden it, and are amply warranted in doing so. For indefinite as the line may be, there is a clear distinction between self-protection against ordinary violence and the private importation of armed men to coerce a community to terms felt by it to be unjust or oppressive. It is clear that the employer who is even innocently the occasion of the outbreak should not also be judge and executioner of the means of its repression. Granting his position to be wholly just, it needlessly embitters and outrages the men, who, however mistakenly, hold themselves to be already aggrieved and injured. The state is the only rightful depository of organized force, as it is the only impartial agency of the exercise of force. The very need of employing any considerable number of men for such a purpose shows a state of things that makes their employment by private individuals or corporations perilous to freedom and public security. So the magnitude of modern industrial arrangements makes their management a matter of public welfare. The fact of the organization of labor, and its efficiency, and the class interests and passions engendered, are added reasons why the repression of any outbreaks it is concerned in should be in the most impartial and trusted hands—the public

authorities that are responsible only to the whole people and to the laws.

By all these considerations the ordinary right of self-defense is in such cases modified. It is possible that delay of justice, and sometimes large destruction of property, may result from forbearing such armed protection. None the less, must it be insisted on and enforced, since only so can the peace and welfare of the community be assured. The rights of a class can never include the imperiling of society. The hatred of the Pinkerton forces was more than the rage of baffled workmen. It was the perception of a brute, sordid element that had no rightful place in the contest. The enlistment of men to be sold for service to private parties in any quarrel is a business for which a republic has no use ; as demoralizing as it is loathsome, turning our industries into a perpetual prize fight. The soldier in that sense—which was in the original sense of the word—is an anachronism in our industrial civilization.

It is to be hoped that the proved ineffectiveness, if not the essential wickedness, of the system will make it to be henceforth disused. I have dwelt upon it, only because abandoned principles and exploded methods, like popular crazes and speculative panics, are apt to reappear in the experience—or the acquiring of experience—of every generation. This practice should be everywhere forbidden by statute, and swept away by the condemnation of all good men.

So on the other side, in the interests of peace and order, more than that, of social justice and social progress, the Church must visit with equal condemnation the equally barbaric and futile violence of workmen. It is as un-American as indefensible and unchristian, for them to attempt by force to hinder employers from the control of their property and business, from hiring whom they will to do their work, or to hinder any from working who will. Trades unions, unions for mutual protection, for discussion, for free combinations against unjust conditions, are well ; even sometimes for strikes and support of strikers are also well, though not often so well. Though condemned by many, and only just attaining full legal status, the influence of these organ-

izations is on the whole educative and helpful. Their growing power marks the growing freedom and prosperity of labor ; and will come, I hope, at length to mark effective combination and competition against all inequitable demands of employers. Who can help rejoicing that the sweat-shops of New York have lately received a serious rebuke in the speedily successful strike for more adequate wages of the Coat-Makers' Union ? It was backed by the strong moral support of the community, and furnishes a striking instance of the power of wholesome and instructed public opinion.

But this peaceful victory for justice indicates the principle and method of successful strikes. Violent means employed to attain these ends are private warfare, as lawless and unjustifiable, indeed, as the employer's use of arms to protect his industry—more unjustifiable, indeed, as offensive is worse than defensive war. Happily, it almost never succeeds ; producing usually—in this country, at least—a revulsion that defeats for a time even the just demands of the strikers. And when it does succeed, it is at the expense of that good feeling and growth of industrial enterprise which are the needful conditions of prosperity for the workers as well as the employers. Could such warfare usually succeed, the victory would be a barren one ; more disastrous to the victors than defeat, since it would kill enterprise, drive wealth into hiding, and turn civilization back toward barbarism. They in whose name the conflict was begun would suffer first and most. In short, violent effort to change the conditions of wages and employment must issue either in anarchy or revolution. Anarchy is the failure of self-government and the beginning of despotism. Revolution in our republic can achieve nothing that could not be more surely gained by legislation, and so is absurd. There are occasions, as in the late English dock strike, where the wretched condition of the workers made even the riotous refusal to permit others still more wretched to work for the pittance refused, seem almost justifiable, till one put himself in these others' place. The fact that there are other thousands waiting to take the places vacated by the strikers, shows that still more capital is wanted to start industries of one

or another sort in which these can be employed, and this can only come through the peaceful extension of industry. It is almost treason against humanity to limit production by violence, and so make that growth of business impossible through which alone they also could find employment.

Clear as these considerations seem, I know their force is often denied or evaded. But no man can deny that this use of force is demoralizing, and if allowed to grow general would be subversive of all security and property rights. It is un-American and mischievous, and—usually—ineffective. It is the swift school of license and crime. A mob takes the law into its hands, and a reckless multitude rush on to violence and outrage. Stupid demagogues talk revolution, and the unbalanced and ignorant are maddened to plunder and assassination. In the government of all, for all, what cannot be done peacefully and lawfully cannot be done at all, and should not be otherwise attempted. Lawless seizure of mills and railroads and mines, as a way of compelling larger wages and greater industrial freedom, is a midsummer madness which, however it spread, must speedily collapse as it meets the stern determination of society and the force of state and nation.

It is the office of the Christian Church to soften the passions and stay the violence that are as ineffectual in their results as they are mistaken and mischievous. Above all it is called to urge the claims of common interest and knit the bonds of common sympathies in the fellowship of the great human and divine relations it is specially set to interpret and to foster. Most vital to the settlement of the labor difficulties of the day is the call they voice to the intelligent and sympathetic study of the problems involved. They are grave, deep-seated, and widespread difficulties that we have got to meet. They are stirrings of questions that can never be settled until they are settled right. The social question is the question of this generation, as the slavery question in the last, and national independence and freedom in the generations before that. The unrest and impatience of the labor interest involve also the questions of government, society, personal relations, civilization itself. Let us not treat it as the

misfortune of our times, as the wayward and greedy impulse of misguided men simply. It is rather our providential business to see to and settle. These questions are upon us, not because the world is going backward, but because it is going forward, and has come to them in the divine order of human development. Senseless clamors and impossible demands there are, but these are not all. Those are questions that have come to stay until they are answered; and however they alarm and inconvenience us, they are likely to make us think and live to better purpose. Easy chairs for all, and untroubled dreams, the World-Ruler is not careful to provide. The making of many tons of iron and amassing many millions of gold is clearly not his chief intent. There is something better than our wonderful material productiveness; better than luxury, better than splendid churches and spreading factories; better even than hospitals and library buildings, adorned with costly gifts, princely and beneficent; better even than social security and prosperous days. Justice is better. Humanity is better. Better the fierce discussions and strenuous struggles that shall at length teach social sanity and bring the highest to the wise help and uplifting of the lowliest. Progress through discontents, adjustment through conflict and upheaval, the growth of mutual help through mutual need, and the perception born of struggle and experiment that the interests of men are one—such are the lessons of history as to the way the world goes forward.

Nothing is so demanded for the settlement of the labor question as the spirit of justice, and the willingness to give thoughtful and considerate study by each party from the other's point of view. Then the legislation which is for classes would seek the interests of all; the fierce competitions that are murderous to labor because first suicidal of wealth and energy would change to ardent emulation for the best industrial conditions; and the making of iron be subsidiary in a commonwealth to the making of men.

What an anomaly that a great state should be proud of its mines, and careless of its manhood; regardful of its steam-power, and reckless and venal in its statesmanship; protective of its in-

dustrial products, and slow to protect the education of its children and the security of its homes!

The meaning of the labor agitation, under all its crudeness and crazes, is that at length all this is to be reversed; that manufactures are for man, and not man for manufactures; that wages are to be an equitable division of products, and not a mere device to manipulate men for the advancement of a few; and that wealth is a trust. Yes, and the brain power that gathers wealth is a trust, for the final service of all. The political economy that does not teach this will be outgrown; the wage-system that does not subserve this will be reformed or replaced; the legislation that does not aim at this will be condemned; the employer that does not recognize this will fail in the competition of the larger generosity that will then be the larger prudence as it is now the larger wisdom.

Then, too, it will be possible to see what even now is mainly and fundamentally true, that the interests of employers and workmen are one; that capital is not the enemy, but the best ally of labor; and the increase of wealth in more or fewer hands, when the hands are clean and helpful, the best assurance of work and plenty for all. The millionaire may not then be reckoned the most admirable product of the industrial world, since the most equitable methods would hardly produce him; but he would be seen to be at worst a tank of surplus value, able to use his wealth only in its diffusion, and capable of untold benefits in its wise employment. There are many new methods for lightening the conditions of labor and bringing more of cheer and privilege into the worker's life. Some of these are yet in the experimental state, and the conservative instincts of our self-helping American life are prone to look askance upon them, and upon those who urge them. England, Germany, above all Australia and New Zealand, are furnishing object lessons which we shall do well to study. Still more, we should emulate the spirit of pure democracy, the equal regard for all men's welfare, which underlies these measures. Our legislation has been too much for wealth and not enough for life; too much for corporate interests, not enough for welfare.

It is instructive to find these new countries, which within the memories of some of us were only penal colonies and cannibal islands, giving points on the higher civilization to England and America. Christian sociology can but rejoice in these fresh fields of hopeful and energetic social experiment. The Christian Church can do no less than to believe in the final practicability of their ideal of equal industrial opportunity opened and guarded by the state. It may further inquire whether the measure of governmental action preferred hitherto by the self-dependent Anglo-Saxon and Puritan population of this country bounds the demands of the present and the future in the presence of new conditions and multifarious races needing special help and training into Christian democracy.

Human conduct moves in a diagonal between inward impulse and outward influence. The socialist emphasizes one of these forces, the individualist the other. But progress is the acceptance of both. While they work in opposite directions, they alike tend to the common results of personal development and social progress. To ignore either is the doctrinaire's blindness. To condemn all competition of individual enterprise because it may be selfishly pursued, is no more absurd than to fear that enterprise will be fatally lost because of some extension of social control.

I can but name a few directions of study and experiment that demand earnest consideration. The extension of coöperation, the encouragement of arbitration, making it compulsory wherever possible, the cautious extension of governmental ownership and control of natural monopolies—and other monopolies when abused,—and above all profit-sharing or industrial partnership, which seems to combine more hopeful elements for the solution of labor difficulties among intelligent workmen than any other method proposed,—the success attending the employment of these methods in one or another country warrants a larger measure of respect and of intelligence concerning them than has yet been common among us. The immense proportions of co-operative distribution in England, the prosperity and happy effects of profit-sharing in France during fifty years, the public

administration of telegraphs in England and of railroads on the continent, the tax and land systems of New Zealand, give our economists and industrial leaders something to do besides sneer at the failures of the socialists, or to prophesy disaster for the extension of coöperative and governmental functions. A free community can adopt just as much of socialistic industry as it needs for the time convenient and helpful, without committing itself to any hard and fast theories, or finding itself forbidden to turn in a new direction when the conditions change. The history for 250 years of the New England towns—those purest democracies, at once individualistic and socialistic—shows this if it shows anything.

There are, besides, a number of ways in which the life of the great body of working people can be easily enlarged and improved, and in these the Church may lead public sentiment, or in some cases work directly, to open and establish beneficent agencies. I may mention among these free public libraries, postal savings banks, compulsory school attendance, industrial training, public employment, and loan offices. Each of these would greatly advance the prosperity, thrift, and comfort of the community, and furnish the means by which intelligence, wisdom, and kindness would be increased in the discussion of labor and kindred questions.

Another thing that the Church could do to better the conditions of labor is in the direction of better homes for the people. There is no other direction of reform, save perhaps that of temperance, in which so much is said, and wisely said, and so little is yet accomplished. And yet experiments both in England and this country show that there is no more urgent and no more feasible means of raising the condition and the moral life of the cities of our country. It need not even be charity at all in the ordinary sense. No safer investment, with moderate profits, waits the consecrated wealth of our cities than can be found in building and wisely administering better dwellings for the poor. I do not assert that the returns will be as large as conscienceless landlordism exacts—for it seems to be generally true that the more wretched the tenement, the larger the per-

centage paid in rent—but experience has abundantly shown that a fair income may be had on funds invested in wholesome and greatly improved tenements, only, if they are to stay wholesome and improved, they must have the supervision of thoughtful, patient, and humane owners.

There are men and women living on incomes and giving their time and thought to miscellaneous philanthropic or missionary work, who accomplish not a tithe of the good they might do if they would thus devote themselves to redeem the homes of the poor from squalor and overcrowding. No better missionary work could be undertaken by any city church than to purchase and improve the worst tenement house in the city, setting in the wisest and most Christian man or woman the task of collecting rents, suggesting improvements, and in an unobtrusive and sensible way ministering the best life of the church to the lives in that house. That would be a diaconate worth ordination, and a house of God's service in a vital sense that many churches to-day are not. If in any city every church would undertake one such worst tenement-house, in the spirit and power of Octavia Hill's work in London, the tenement-house system in that city would be transformed and regenerated, and the homes-for-the-people problem for it would be solved. It would set a fashion of conscientious house-renting that would compel a reform all along the line. My suggestion for twenty-five years has been that every new church should build or buy a tenement house before building a church tower. It would surely point the community more effectively toward heaven. The most beautiful spire lifted above reeking alleys and swarming basements does not fitly symbolize prayer out of a pure heart and love unfeigned.

Besides this power of the Church to commend and call for the consecration of its members to this service, and its open opportunity to set the good example, it may well invoke the sanction and service of the state. Public opinion, and the statutes, may go much further and work greatly more effectively in correcting abuses and compelling better conditions in tenement houses. It has been said that "all the exhortation of a generation has pro-

THE CHURCH AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

duced less effect than a single sanitary law." We are assured that sanitary reform in Berlin has reduced the mortality in that city forty per cent in the last thirty years. Figures hardly less startling could be cited from statistics of English and American cities. Some of our states, as Ohio, have already legislation that permits cities to remove buildings judged unfit for habitation. The right to abate nuisances and compel needful repairs cannot be questioned, and the minimum of tolerated filth and crowding ought to be greatly lowered. The fundamental importance of this topic to the well-being and content of the laboring people cannot be overstated. Despite the efforts and generous experiments of many individuals and business corporations, the condition of the homes of the poor lags far behind the general industrial advance of the time. There are reasons for it, in the quality of recent immigration and the swarming of population toward the cities, but their condition remains a scandal to our Christianity and a menace to our civilization. Despite the cry of "Socialism," England has done well to empower its municipalities to tear away rookeries and erect better dwellings, and our states may well shame or stimulate the Christian enterprise of our people in the same way.

What the form of the final labor system shall be no man cares to prophesy, except the men who evidently do not know; but the duty of privilege to service, and strength to generous helpfulness, and all to the mutual regard and help of all, is the new way that is coming for the new brotherhood of all workers, the new civilization that leaves none out.

These suggestions seem to me the plainest dictates of social ethics, suggested by the study of the industrial question in the light of the events that the last few years have brought us. They need to be regarded in the name of justice, good-fellowship, and industrial progress and peace. They are vital to the well-being of our civilization, and the right thinking and wise action of workers and employers. They connect themselves with the most pressing and most endangered interests of our time. They lead back to the deepest principles and forces of our nature; they lead on to the highest issues of character and

social security—the quality, the resources, the wise self-rule, the nobility of American manhood. “It must be remembered,” says Professor Ely, “that all reforms are of no avail in the end unless they touch individual character.”

Thus our theme connects itself with the most sacred interests of humanity. Religion has no more sacred service to-day than the intelligent and whole-hearted service of these interests. Christianity has no nobler tasks and no diviner call than to make just, equitable, humane, the economic, industrial, and social relations of man—to atone the keen brains and the strong hands, and to connect both with a larger ideal of duty, and more generous and more brotherly conception of life. It is the fulfilling promise of peace on earth, good-will among men. It is the growing enthusiasm of humanity. It is the way of the Kingdom of Heaven for whose coming on earth we pray. The Church can worship truly only as it studies, instructs, pleads, to bring the spirit of justice, forbearance, brotherhood into the disturbed and embittered relations of labor and employment, wealth and poverty. This call of the Church to concern itself intelligently in the industrial problems, comes from the potency of its influence. The religious motive is a decisive one for any social or political advance. One does not need to accept Mr. Kidd's doctrine that the religious impulse is the sole agency of human progress, to recognize its immense power to help or to hinder. The motive that lifted Europe in the Crusades, that paralyzed Spain through the Inquisition, that transformed Germany and England and made America possible by the Reformation, is yet one of the great allies of all generous and arduous human enterprise. The instances, indeed, show the possible perversion of the motive, and emphasize the demand for intelligent study and wise action in behalf of improved conditions of labor. Because the Church is still potent to bring the mightiest inspiration and sanction to human action, because it deals with the sacred enthusiasms and restraints of man's highest and intensest life, it should lay its purifying and calming touch on the lips that speak for these impassioned and warring claims and claimants of our industrial life. The sacred and the generous plea is ever the

most persuasive, and however defeated and denied, the winning plea at last.

This I emphasize because only the motives of religion can adequately teach and emphasize it. The clash of opposed interests, however intelligently marshaled, nor the teachings of economic science, nor the restraining power of law, no, nor, as I believe, the methods of any set of doctrinaires, could ever solve the difficulties and reconcile permanently the differences between employers and employed. Not one, nor all of these things; for below all systems, present or proposed, will work the passions, the greeds, the uncalculated stormy impulses of human nature, while and wherever human nature is not uplifted by divine sentiments and unguarded by moral principles. That is no excuse for bad methods or oppressive usages; it makes more sternly imperative the need of justice and wisdom. Let the social reformer, the economist, the legislator, the press, do all they can to correct abuses and promote equitable relations in industry, and let all good citizens urge larger justice and humaneness, and strict adherence to peaceful and open measures for the settlement of all disputes. But beyond all this, and as the best hope for all this, Christian men and the Christian Church have supreme call to urge forbearance, self-restraint, the claims of brotherhood, the law of human service, as highest and surest of all. "But yet show I unto you the more excellent way," said St. Paul. Love never faileth. He who made himself the servant of all, the world counts greatest in the spirit of that service.

The favored children of God in America are privileged beyond all other lands and times in opportunity to make this spirit the ideal of a people's use of wealth, and the savior of a nation's peace and progress. The Christian use of wealth in its distribution the world has learned to believe in; the Christian use of wealth in its accumulation, and in the right relations of those who join to produce it, is the next higher step we must take in the new civilization. And not of wealth only. The lesson of generous and gentle and loyal living is a lesson for lowly as for lofty, for workman as for employer. Members of one

body, and that united body the Messiah of a royal brotherhood of the spirit, the Christ of a renewed humanity, such are all toilers and helpers who keep the generous and pure ideal of manhood alive and regnant amid the baser ends, the crude passions and aspirations that still too much prevail. The growth of that ideal is the hope of peace and progress for all classes, the help and healing of all strifes.

I know it will be said that such motives are vague and unpractical, too lofty for the help of this selfish, self-indulgent, grossly-living, coarsely-struggling age. High they are; but only so more helpful; for history bears witness that all progress and security for man, all that gives real worth to life and real help to humanity, has come in their increase and embodiment in human character, and in the institutions that shelter it. Nothing to this end is to be despised of human plan or study or inventive thought. Let all be welcomed, tested, rejoiced in for any good it can bring or prompt. But for complete and lasting help all things else must be joined with the method of the deep-working, all-embracing, and all-serving spirit. Prophecies shall fail, and tongues shall cease, and knowledge shall vanish away—lost in the larger light. But faith and hope and love shall abide; and the greatest of these is love.

H. H. BARBER.

THE PROBABLE BENEFITS AND DANGERS OF THE RECENT ELECTION.

HON. JOHN WANAMAKER.

I regard the result of the last election as an evidence of the education that is going on throughout the nation. Wherever prejudices are put away, and Republican principles are rightly understood, the people take to them naturally.

Very truly yours,

JOHN WANAMAKER.

CHARLES A. BRINLEY.

From the point of view of one who sees the greatest jeopardy for popular government in the fact that the political life of our citizens, excepting those who, more or less, make a business of politics, is commonly limited to the act of voting, the Republican successes of last November afford some crumbs of comfort.

Like the Democratic triumphs of 1892, they indicate the absence from the polls of large numbers of voters dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs by their own party, rather than a widespread transfer of party allegiance. That this is the case shows not only a certain adherence to convictions but a purpose to hold political representatives to accountability. The number of men who cannot be depended upon to support their party, right or wrong, appears to be increasing; dissatisfaction with bad politics is finding fuller expression.

These changes can hardly be attributed to greater enlightenment concerning the duties of citizenship, because our political habits are distinctly unfavorable to such progress. The thing that is being impressed upon the people is the incapacity, untrustworthiness, and selfishness of political leaders. Attention is becoming fixed upon the quality of the men who are the product of the machine; and this is really a more vital question than the currency or the tariff.

It is a far cry to the complete smashing of the machine, but as one set after another of discredited politicians are unseated, the livelihood of the machine man becomes more precarious and his vocation less attractive. An element of uncertainty is introduced into the alliances between the machine and the trustees of large interests who do not hesitate to bargain for legislation, franchises, gifts, favors, non-interference, and, sometimes, for what they have a right to demand and expect, by lending, at the sacrifice of their integrity as citizens, a tacit but definite support to a system which their intelligence tells them is corrupting and degrading a great people.

Men of business will not pay for non-deliverable goods; conscience awakes with increased chances of exposure; without the support of those able to pay more than persons in unlawful trades, the machine cannot prosper; good ballot laws, civil service reform, corrupt practice acts, and some yet undiscovered way of making the people choose their nominees instead of leaving the selection of candidates to the machine, will all help to weaken it, and finally government by the people will have another opportunity to justify itself.

Although the proposition sounds paradoxical, the deepest significance of the Republican victories of 1894 seems to be the same as that of the Democratic successes of 1892; and if the Republicans are now to have a longer term of power, it will be more because that party contains the larger number of men of mental capacity than because its peculiar tenets are acceptable to the people.

Among the more obvious benefits to be derived from the events of 1894 may be cited: the improbability of more legislation one way or the other as to the tariff, for a period long enough to let the business world draw breath; the discomfiture of the Populists; the overthrow of the New York machine, an instructive experience for Democratic leaders; and the fact that the currency question must be handled with the certainty that there are voters to be reckoned with later.

At present there is more danger for the Republican party as a consequence of its recent successes than for the country. Un-

questionably the trend of opinion is in favor of lower rather than higher import duties. If the ridiculous pretensions of the Republican press that the elections of 1894 mean a change of heart in favor of McKinleyism are taken seriously by the leaders, they will suffer another rebuke.

If the Republicans control the next administration, the country will have to brace itself again against the excess and misuse of power coming from the partnership between Republican brains and accumulated wealth.

CHARLES A. BRINLEY.

JAMES M. BECK, ESQ.

The results of the last general election are, in my judgment, in their present and future consequences a national calamity. They illustrate how the destiny of our country is determined by forces that are beyond either the wisdom or folly of parties or party leaders, and how limited is the vision of our wisest statesman.

Republicans and Democrats alike regarded the verdict of 1892 as disastrous to the former, and a victorious achievement for the latter. Time has proven the exact reverse of this consensus of opinion. Mr. Harrison's defeat was at once of greatest advantage to the Republican party, and the greatest possible disaster to the Democracy. Had he been elected, the disastrous panic, whose secondary effects of stagnation we are now feeling, would have come in any event, and would have afforded after thirty years of high protection such a stupendous object lesson of its folly that the cause of freer trade would have been won, and our country would have entered upon a broader and wiser tariff policy with the practical concurrence of both political parties. It is not improbable that the Republican party would have been annihilated, for the present panic under a Republican administration would have made Pennsylvania as reliably Democratic as she was from the beginning of the century to the opening of the Civil War. One of those great popular revolutions would have ensued, permanent in character, turning another leaf, and commencing a new chapter in the history of our country. By the accident of

Harrison's defeat, and the change in the executive branch of the government, the triumphant Democracy of 1890 and 1892, which was then apparently on the threshold of as unbroken a period of supremacy as that which commenced with Thomas Jefferson and ended with James Monroe, is to-day suffering from the most disastrous defeat since 1872 and is apparently as disheartened and disorganized as then. The coincidence of the panic with the accession to power of the Democratic party has changed the whole course of our history, by saving the Republican party from annihilation, and has further retarded the progress of tariff reform for at least a decade, by putting the Democracy upon the defensive.

Moreover, it now seems highly probable that the secondary effects of the panic, namely, stagnation and despondency, may continue until 1896. If so and the Republican party should be then successful, as at the present hour seems wholly probable, the party will have in support of protection the fallacious but most potent argument that the commencement and termination of the panic were coincident with that of a Democratic administration. This may set back the cause of commercial freedom for a generation to come.

On the other hand, we are so plainly in an era of transition, and the fluctuations of popular opinion are so sudden and violent, that the events of a year may possibly, although not probably, turn the tide. Since 1872 until 1894 the elections have swung from one party to the other with almost the regularity of a pendulum. In the important biennial elections each party has won six triumphs, the Republican in 1872, 1878, 1880, 1886, 1888, and 1894, and the Democratic party in 1874, 1876, 1882, 1884, 1890, and 1892. Evidently a very considerable body of our countrymen is not committed to either party, and we of the Democracy can but hope that when the consequences of the panic shall have been forgotten, the cause of freedom of trade will triumph.

JAMES M. BECK.

HON. WM. B. ALLISON.

It is not easy to speak on the subject "The possible benefits

and dangers of the Republican triumph." The benefits possible will result from a wise execution of the policies of the party : the dangers will arise from a failure to execute these policies.

The success of the Republican party involves much responsibility, and will require the party to deal with every important phase of the questions involved in the raising of revenue, as, also, the important questions relating to the money standard, and the supply of currency needed for the conduct of business and the making of exchanges. As respects the revenue, there doubtless will be, as there have always been, differences as respects details, but the general policy of protection to our labor and industries will be sustained. As respects the currency, the differences may be more marked. But I have no doubt that, on the whole, the Republican party will be able, when intrusted with full power, to deal with all these questions, if not in an absolutely wise way, certainly with greater wisdom than have our opponents.

Very truly yours,

W. B. ALLISON.

HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

I do not know of any possible benefits to be derived from the Republican victory of 1894, unless it encourages Republican leaders to extreme measures which will react and destroy the party. The Republican party is not advocating any reforms needed by the people and cannot do so as now organized and controlled. The great danger to be feared from its success is that, acting in harmony with the anti-silver Democrats, it may secure additional legislation in favor of a gold standard and bank paper. When this plan, now entertained by our financiers, is consummated the banks will hold the gold and the paper money, and therefore everything else. The party will not try to restore a high tariff—a high protective tariff is dead. The only harm the party can do is in the direction of legislation which will make the dollar dearer, and will put us in the hands of the private corporations who issue money and who by increasing and decreasing the currency at will can make times bad or good at a pecuniary profit to themselves.

W. J. BRYAN.

ETHICS AND POLITICS.

BY REV. HOWARD MACQUEARY.

IT IS evident to all thoughtful minds that we are fast approaching, if we have not already reached, a serious political crisis in this country. The universal complaint and admission is, "politics are rotten." If so, reconstruction on a new foundation is absolutely necessary. What shall that foundation be? It must be an *ethical* foundation. The greatest need in our national, state, and municipal politics to-day is *moral principle*, and until more of the moral element can be infused into political life no real and permanent betterment of political and industrial conditions is possible. But how shall this desirable result be attained? Certainly the political parties of the hour will never reform themselves according to moral principles. Our politicians may admit, in theory, that "righteousness exalteth a nation and sin will destroy any people"—even the United States, which some people think is a special object of divine favor and care—but practically they agree with the United States senator who said: "The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule have no place in politics." That gentleman knew what he was talking about, and it is the object of this paper to prove at length his statement, and to maintain that nothing can be politically expedient that is morally wrong.

The evidences of the depravity of politics are so numerous that we must discriminate. Take, for instance, the *press* of the country. A political campaign has just ended and the amount of lying that partisan newspapers have done during that time is sufficient to make the Father of Lies tremble at the success of his own work. Men who, in private life, are known to be upright and honorable citizens, having become candidates for office, have been held up before the public as thieves, traitors, and moral lepers.

The press of this country, with few exceptions, is owned by the politicians, and editors are paid to abuse and slander their political opponents. Two fatal results follow: First, many decent and able men are kept out of politics because they value their characters above office; secondly, the public mind is depraved and biased so that men become unconsciously incapable of forming clear moral judgment on the issues presented. When we think of such facts we are tempted to advocate the restriction of the liberty of the press. Certainly "the campaign lie" and "mud-slinging" call for the unqualified condemnation of all decent men without regard to party affiliations. It is all nonsense to say that "nobody pays any attention to newspapers." We naturally believe what we see in print and we are ever ready to think evil of an opponent. The first step, therefore, toward political reform is a reform of the press. Until we can get editors with conscience, "public opinion"—that subtle, pervasive, omnipotent influence that molds our American life—will continue depraved and will defeat all efforts toward reform.

Consider, next, our *elections*. The corruption of the ballot has become so notorious that nobody pretends to deny it. The Australian method of voting has by no means removed this evil. It is a notorious fact that repeating and ballot-stuffing, obstruction of the people's will, and fraudulent countings prevail everywhere. If the northerner accuses the southerner of excluding the negro's vote from the ballot-box, the southerner can justly retort that the same thing is done among the whites of the North. Then when a man is elected it is doubtful whether he will be allowed to take his office. If the Democrats are in power and a Republican contests his seat in Congress, the Democrat will be voted in regardless of the facts of the case, and the worst part of all this is that each party claims that the dishonest acts of the other excuse if they do not justify its own evil practices. But no man with an atom of moral sense can admit this claim for a moment.

The characters of the candidates selected for office are often, if not always, morally defective. It is an exception not the rule to exclude a man from office on account of personal immorality. And even after he has been publicly proved to be a reprobate,

thousands of men will maintain that he is a fit person to make laws for the nation. Here is the root of this matter. Until we can get purer men to take political office, men of intelligence and patriotism and honor, we cannot hope for much improvement in politics. It is a well-recognized and a deplorable fact that the ablest and best men of the land cannot be elected to office under existing conditions. The election methods universally prevalent simply reduce our so-called "popular government" to a farce and a sham. In consequence of all this, the *legislation* of our country is noted for its injustice and one-sidedness. Take, for instance, the tariff legislation. Who ever thinks of discussing the tariff question from an ethical standpoint? Men do not go to Congress to discuss the ethics of the tariff question. They deliver tariff speeches to satisfy their constituents, and their constituents care nothing for the interests of others so their selfishness and greed are satisfied.

This is strikingly illustrated by the change of attitude of some of the Southern States on this subject. Hitherto the South has been clamoring for freer trade, if not for free trade, and has with one voice denounced protection as a "robbery." But now that sugar, coal, iron, and other industries are being developed in the South, the operators are sending men to Congress to demand protection for them and to prevent what the South has up to the present demanded—tariff reform. Who does not see in all this a manifestation of selfishness—a lack of moral principle and gross inconsistency? If protection was a robbery before the aforesaid industries were developed in the South, it is still a robbery, and either these southerners have deceived themselves and tried to deceive others, or tariff reform is still necessary and right. We often hear protectionists themselves say: "Free trade is all right as a theory but it won't work in practice—at least until the millennium dawns." To which we reply: A theory that is morally right is practically expedient, and if the millennium is to come at all it must be ushered in by different methods from those employed in the lobbies at Washington. Just so far as a theory is shown to be wrong in practice just so far is its truth as a theory disproved. What makes a theory

true? Facts. What makes the theory of gravitation true? Facts. If, therefore, the theory of free trade is true and morally right, it is because it rests on facts. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that a protective tariff will benefit equally *all* classes, then it is just and should be adopted.

The same may be said of the income tax. How conspicuous was the absence of the moral element in the discussions of this subject in the last Congress! Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson, of the Pennsylvania University—a Republican and a protectionist—says: “The most modern and, theoretically, the *fairest* form of taxation is the income tax. It seems to make every one contribute to the wants of the state in proportion to the revenue which he enjoys under its protection. No other is so cheaply assessed and collected; no other brings home to the people so forcibly the fact that it is their interest to insist on a wise economy of the national revenue.”* David A. Wells, in *The Forum* for March, 1894, admits that the income tax is theoretically just, but he insists that, because people dislike to pay taxes and to exhibit their accounts to a government official, the tax could not be collected. This was the burden of the speeches delivered against the law while it was before Congress. Both protectionists and free traders admitted that it was all right in principle—that men should contribute to the support of the government in proportion to the revenue they received under its protection—but, human nature being what it is, the tax could not be collected; all which simply means that the American people are so ignorant and so dishonest that they won’t pay a just tax and cannot be made to do so.

Now, it must not be inferred from this that I consider protection a “robbery” and the income tax law the highest expression of ethical principle. I have my own ideas on these subjects, but I am not now arguing for or against these methods of taxation. I am simply showing that the most important laws—measures that affect the very life of millions of our fellow-beings—are passed without regard to their moral character; and I insist that as long as this sort of thing continues so long will politics con-

*Thompson’s “Political Economy,” p. 185.

tinue rotten and financial panics and industrial depressions will increase and multiply in number and intensity.

The lack of moral principle is also seen in the discussions of *immigration*. It is popular nowadays to advocate a restriction of immigration. But what are the motives that influence most men in their advocacy of this measure? Are they moral, humanitarian considerations? On the contrary, men take sides in this matter as in others according to their prejudices, their self-interests, or their party affiliations, regardless of ethical principle. One man wants immigration restricted because more Roman Catholics than Protestants are, just now, coming to our shores. Another wants the Chinaman excluded because he wears a pigtail and lives on rats. And the politician takes sides in the matter simply because he knows that by appealing to race prejudice and religious bigotry he can get votes. It matters not that he himself may be an immigrant or the son of an immigrant. It matters not that the resources of our country, if properly developed, can support a thousand millions instead of sixty-five millions of people.* It matters not that the poorest and lowest peasant of Europe, if given a fair chance and favorable conditions, is capable of intellectual and moral development and good citizenship. It matters not that we profess to believe in the "Brotherhood of Man." We believe in this doctrine only so far as it does not conflict with our prejudices, pride, and self-interests. Let me not be misunderstood. I myself believe in a reasonable restriction of immigration, but such restriction should be based on moral considerations, not on race prejudice, bigotry, or political partisanship, and all must admit that the moral element is woefully lacking in all discussions of this problem.

But the depravity of politics is seen most clearly in our *municipal affairs*. In many of our large cities and towns it has been publicly proved that their governments consist largely of thugs and thieves. Not alone in New York and Chicago is this a fact, but in smaller places political and social depravity is something incredible. Thus, in the town in which I live (Erie, Pa.)—a

* Dr. Strong's "Our Country," Chap. II.

place of 50,000 inhabitants—the local judge in a recent charge to the grand jury openly declared that our municipal affairs were as rotten as those of larger cities. “It is a matter of public notoriety,” he said, “openly discussed upon the street-corners and commented upon by the public press, that liquor is sold without license, upon Sunday, to minors and persons of known intemperate habits; that numerous houses of prostitution and gambling houses are conducted in defiance of law in various localities in the city. The alarming prevalence of these crimes may be comprehended when I tell you that I am reliably informed that over one hundred persons who have no license to sell liquor, many of whom have paid the special tax levied by the general government upon liquor dealers, are regularly engaged in the business in the city, and it is fair to presume that under so lax an administration as will permit such numerous violations of the liquor laws, other crimes of kindred nature will be as frequent. Indeed, in the light of facts which we cannot shut our eyes upon, we know that proprietors of houses of prostitution and of gambling houses are conducting their unlawful business in the most public portions of the city, and in the most brazen manner, boldly defying the laws and public sentiment. . . . The officials specially charged with preventing crime are not performing their duty, or these evils could not exist. It is charged openly and repeatedly that many of these criminals enjoy the protection of the police force, and that members of the police force frequent the places kept by them. Whether this is true or not, I cannot doubt, from information derived at public trials in this court, from testimony of witnesses who were uncontradicted, that the existence of these places and the commission of these crimes are known to the police, and if they do not enjoy police protection, they certainly are free from police interference.”

New York and Chicago, then, are only more glaring examples of that political and social corruption that exists even in small towns. Now, I am aware that there is nothing original in what I have so far said. The facts stated are sadly familiar, but their very familiarity is the startling thing about them and makes it all the more necessary to keep on exposing them and emphasiz-

ing them. It is the only possible way to arouse the public conscience, and this is the first step toward reformation. One of the greatest difficulties we have to contend against is the apathy of the average mind on this subject. Most men calmly maintain that such evils as those cited are "necessary evils" and can never be abolished. This means that wrong is stronger than right, evil is mightier than good, and until we can destroy this popular pessimism we cannot take one step in political and social reform. Every reform is at first pronounced impossible. This was the chief objection brought against the abolition of slavery, and had Phillips, Garrison, Lincoln, and their associates listened to such pleas that institution would still be in existence. But fortunately they believed that God was stronger than the Devil, and asserted and put in practice the eternal laws of right and justice, and down went the hydra-headed monster at Appomattox.

No one realizes more fully than the reformers how difficult it is to exterminate even the smallest evil. We are not the dreamers and theorists that the "practical men" take us for. We perhaps appreciate the difficulty of our undertaking more fully than they do. We know that the millennium cannot be ushered in in a day, a month, a year, or a century.

But this fact does not justify us in quietly folding our hands and letting the forces of evil run full blast. If they cannot be abolished at once, they may be gradually restricted and suppressed. Certainly the attitude of our public servants on this subject is most reprehensible. They not only confess their inability to grapple with political and social evils, but they actually favor licensing the disorderly house and the gambling den. But law exists and men are elected to political and legal positions not to license but to suppress evils. By giving legal sanction to such places we would give a certain sort of respectability to them, and wherever this plan has been adopted (as it was in this city formerly) it has produced the most deplorable results. Under the fostering care of the law the dens of iniquity sprang up like mushrooms all over the city. The grand mistake was made in licensing the saloon. If law and lawmakers had never sanctioned this business—if they had,

instead, sought from the first to suppress this evil—it would not to-day be the octopus that it is, fastening its fangs in the body politic and sucking the life blood out of society. We have made one grand mistake in this matter. Let us not commit another and perhaps a more fatal one.

But what are you going to do about it? Several things may be done.

In the first place, the *pulpit* must turn its attention more to political and industrial problems than it has so far done. The old hue and cry against introducing politics in the pulpit has been listened to too long. The pulpit has let politics alone so long that they have become a sink of iniquity. As we have just seen, great moral issues are involved in all the political movements of our time, and what is the pulpit for but to discuss the moral questions of the day? "To preach Jesus Christ and him crucified," answers the conventional Christian. Yes, I reply, but it is precisely because the ethical precepts of the crucified Christ are being violated in a thousand ways by our political leaders and parties that it is proper and necessary that the pulpit should take up political subjects. The crucified Christ stands for self-sacrifice, honesty, and purity, and none of these find a place in practical politics. Jesus came to establish the kingdom of God on earth, but this can never be done if preachers confine their attention to a future world and let their fellow-men go to hell in this. It is high time to have done with such silly objections. If the pulpit does not discuss the moral aspect of politics and try to infuse the moral element into political life certainly no other power will do it. The press of the country is largely owned by politicians and political parties and cannot be expected to do anything more than serve its masters' and owners' will.

As a minister, I am aware how difficult it is to handle political subjects effectually in the pulpit. If the preacher is a Republican he is apt to offend his Democratic hearers, and *vice versa*. Each one must get over this difficulty as best he can and in his own way. He should assume an independent, non-partisan position and confine himself closely to facts and the

moral aspect of the problems considered; and he should demand the right to express frankly and fully his own convictions on such subjects. After all it may not be as difficult as it might seem at first. Men generally honor a man of conviction who has courage enough to express his own opinions, and if he is sincere, judicious, and earnest, he will attract more supporters to him than he will alienate. He will alienate only the partisans, bigots, and criminals, and I suppose he does not care to fellowship with such men.

Now, I am aware that many—perhaps hundreds—of clergymen are taking up political, industrial, and social questions. But where you find one man doing this you may find scores who never touch on such subjects, and it is to this inactive majority that we speak and appeal for help. If all the ministers of America would take hold of political reform zealously there would be a revolution in an amazingly short time.

In Erie we have fifty churches—one church to every thousand inhabitants—but I have heard of only three of the local clergy preaching on the municipal corruption of our city since the judge called attention to it last May. What a commentary that is upon the Christianity of a town! It would really seem that it would be better to abolish the churches and devote the money given to them to the suppression of crime by Parkhurst's methods! Certainly the supporters of churches should demand of their pastors that they discuss living issues more than theological dogmas.

In the second place, *the reform forces should be consolidated and should concentrate their efforts more than they do.* There are any number of organizations in this country devoted to political, social, and economic reform, but they are scattered all over the land and are firing in the air. The "political machine," on the other hand, is thoroughly organized, consolidated, and established behind strong breast-works. Mr. Herbert Welsh, in *The Forum* for April, 1894, rightly said: "The American city is the reform Thermopylæ, the strategic point to which the fight can be led with the best chance of success. Reform here means reform throughout the country." Let us, therefore, concentrate our efforts on the city. I find that even many strong party men will

often ignore party lines and vote for "men and measures" in municipal politics; and it will not require superhuman efforts to divorce municipal affairs from national politics and organize a municipal party; and when that is done the stronghold of the enemy will be taken. In this work Societies for the Suppression of Crime, Law and Order Leagues, Clubs for Good City Government, etc., can all unite and by their combined forces can do ten times as much as they can single-handed. Moreover, the *women* of the land can render important service in this matter. Indeed, I sometimes think that they can and will do far more than men will toward political and social reform. I am quite sure that if the women of this town had had political power the disorderly houses, gambling hells, and "speak-easies" would long ago have been swept out of existence.

It is sometimes said by opponents of women's suffrage that they would never purify politics but would themselves be degraded to men's level or lower. But the women of Kentucky and Wyoming have given the lie to this charge. Women have conscience if men have not, and the moral consideration, as a will, is supreme with them. They haven't the ballot yet, but they have a tremendous moral and social influence, and we need their help in municipal reform. When we make them realize that it is their sons, their husbands, their brothers, their lovers, that are being ruined by the evils in question, methinks there will be such an uprising of the women as will make the powers of darkness tremble.

Let us not, then, be discouraged or dismayed by the enormity of the cases or the strength of the forces opposing us, but let us go forth as David went with his stones and his sling, trusting in the eternal power that makes for righteousness, and the giants of iniquity cannot long resist us, though they now be clad in brazen armor and armed with swords like unto weaver's beams.

HOWARD MACQUEARY.

THE FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY HON. W. M. FISHBACK, LL.D., GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS.

THIS territory, occupied by what are called the five civilized tribes, has an anomalous relation to the United States. Our government has entered into treaties with it as if it were an independent nation, yet at the same time asserts jurisdiction over it as if it were a part and parcel of our national domain. It has organized courts before whom the citizens of that country are daily being tried, just as citizens of any other part of our national domain are tried.

As a result of this dual, inconsistent, inexcusable relation, there are two jurisdictions in this territory, and a condition which renders the preservation of law and order wholly impracticable. If an Indian kill a white man, or a white man kill an Indian, he is tried in the United States courts. If an Indian kill a citizen of the territory he is tried in the Indian courts. While the Indians indulge very freely in murder among themselves, one of its newspapers, not long since, estimated the number of murders at two hundred in one year, yet they have such a holy horror of the United States courts that they will not undertake even to arrest a white man, no matter if they see him committing the most heinous crime. But a short time ago three or four desperadoes robbed the railroad station at Ft. Gibson in broad daylight, while thirty or forty Indians were looking on.

Instead of arresting the robbers, which they could easily have done, they seemed to enjoy the robbery as a joke. In a letter to Mr. O. W. Case, the agent of the Express Co. in St. Louis, a prominent Cherokee Indian official, in explanation, cites this dual jurisdiction and their fear of the United States courts.

This state of things, in connection with its sparsely settled condition, renders the territory a comparatively safe harbor for criminals, and this safety is a temptation to crime in all the adjacent states. Almost every week I am called upon to offer a reward for criminals who commit crime in this state and flee to this refuge. Only a few days since a sheriff in this state, and of a county adjoining this Indian Territory, wrote me for a dozen blank applications for requisition upon this territory, that he might be prepared to act promptly. Not only has it become a menace to the peace and safety of adjacent states, but, what is perhaps the worst feature of the whole, it has become a school of crime to the young Indians. The public must have observed that nearly all the gangs of desperadoes which are continually infesting that country are composed largely of young men; many of them under twenty-one years of age. The youth of this territory, hearing of the daring deeds of desperadoes, and seeing with what fear and respect they are everywhere treated, because the people are afraid to treat them otherwise, soon learn to envy and to imitate them, each new recruit striving to outdo all others in crime. The situation appeals eloquently to our every humane or Christian instinct for redress.

I have no pet scheme of redress, but I do have a very decided conviction that this *imperium in imperio*—this amorphous government—should be abolished, and some sort of civilized system adopted, and at once. I am aware that the public will ask, "Why is this condition permitted if it be really true that it is so bad?" I know, too, that it will be difficult to convince people remote from the region that such a condition does really exist, but the public must not forget what an army of men are finding profit in the existing condition, and what efforts they exert to continue it. I think I run no risk in venturing the assertion that if you find a single sensible man or woman, who is at all conversant with the situation in this territory, and who favors its continuance, you will also find, if you will inquire a little further, that either he or she or his or her friends or relatives are enjoying some profitable connection with the present state of affairs. The world will never know half of the real truth, be-

cause there are so many interested in hiding the real truth.

Our government's relation to them is a shame and a fraud. It treats with them as foreigners, and at the same time treats them as citizens. It pretends to protect the Indian, while the Indian is about the only person in that country who is not protected. It pretends to guarantee to the Indian community of interest in the country, while it has permitted a few sharpers to fence in and exercise absolute ownership over all the most desirable lands in the territory. It pretends to protect the poor Indian against robbery by the rich, while it is protecting nobody but the rich in their robbery of the poor Indian. It pretends to be looking after the education of the Indian youths, while it permits a condition which is schooling them in every species of crime. It caters to a sickly, maudlin sentiment of people who know nothing of the facts by pretending a deep concern for the poor Indian and his sacred rights, while it permits him to be robbed of every right he ever had in that country, which could be called sacred. It pretends a paternal care for his welfare, while it permits a condition that drives him to desperation, and then hangs him when he commits acts of despair.

And the condition is growing worse every day. The express companies have been compelled to withdraw all their money business from this territory, and I am informed that the railroads passing through that country have ordered all their night trains withdrawn. This will only increase the danger of train robbery in other portions of the Mississippi Valley, for the operations of these gangs of desperadoes are far from being confined to the Indian territory.

One of the robbers who was captured and hung in this state for the train robbery and murder near Oliphant last summer, had a map, not only of the road leading from the Indian Territory, one hundred and seventy-five miles to the scene of this robbery, but also a map of the country around Chattanooga, Tenn., which gave evidence of an intention to rob a train in that vicinity, six hundred miles from their rendezvous.

In short, this territory in its present condition has become a national pest-house. It is a disgrace to our country! It is a disgrace to civilization! It is a disgrace to humanity.

W. M. FISHBACK.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited. Address Outlook Department, American Magazine of Civics, 38 Park Row, New York.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND PERIL OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—The next legislature in Indiana, as in New York, is morally obligated and expected by the people to place its public institutions and the machinery of justice under non-partisan management. The same result should be demanded and expected in every state where good citizenship asserted itself, irrespective of former partisanship, in the effecting of sweeping political changes. It is to be hoped that the party which has come into such unexpected and complete control in so many states and large cities will not make the two grave mistakes of regarding its power as the result of a mere triumph of partisans, or of using it as if such were the case. The people, irrespective of former party affiliations, have simply turned out their former trustees and put in new ones. They will hold the latter to rigid accountability, and if they presume to misuse their power for merely party or personal advantage, they will be buried under another "land-slide." And the warrant for this prophecy is the obviously growing political independence of intelligent and patriotic voters. Civics is becoming the concern of an increasing number of worthy citizens, and such citizens will hereafter adhere to no party which does not devote its energies to the promotion of the highest good of all the people through wise, unselfish, and earnest efforts to make the best possible use of its trusteeship. As the result of peculiar conditions, which include a loss of confidence in the Democratic party, and which do not include any other conspicuously obvious reasons, the Republican party, so lately cast out of public confidence, has been again intrusted, in the greater part of our national territory, with almost plenary power. Its height of privilege may only prove a giddy precipice from which it will be hurled to lower depths than before. The leadership of selfish partisans will assure its downfall. Noble statesmanship will alone assure its continued possession of public confidence. Trust in the power of "party organization"; the purchase of servile allegiance to "bosses" through gifts of office; and the old-time dependence on campaign oratory for the kindling of the spirit of blind partisanship, will speedily bring it to defeat and dishonor. Let the Republican party (and its leaders) everywhere remember that it has no assured lease of power. Self-respecting, intelligent, and patriotic voters have decided to intrust it with a new opportunity. It must not dare to abuse its opportunity.

NATIONAL AID TO SECTARIAN SCHOOLS.—Rev. J. M. King, D.D., Secretary of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, which seeks to do away with improper alliances between the state and sec-

tarian organizations, reports that the only religious bodies now in receipt of federal benefactions in the support of Indian schools or otherwise, are the Romanists and Lutherans. He also states that the secretary of the interior and the commissioner of Indian affairs have announced that the policy of the government will hereafter be to abolish contract schools as rapidly as possible, and make provision for the education of Indian children in the public schools.

CLUBS DEVOTED TO CIVICS.—In connection with the Extension Department of the A. I. C., new clubs are announced in *Public Opinion* as having been formed in Washington, D. C., Lebanon, O., and Forest Glen, Md. Mention is elsewhere made of the special department which the editors of *Public Opinion* weekly devote to this feature of the Institute's work. There should be Civics or Good Citizenship Clubs in schools, colleges, and communities everywhere. Such clubs, wherever organized, have been productive of the most salutary results, and have also proven attractive and interesting. Existing organizations, of adults or youths, can profitably connect themselves with this department of the Institute. The reader of this paragraph can promote the cause of good citizenship in no more effective way than by bringing some local organization into the connection indicated, or by organizing, or inciting some one else to organize, a new club thus to be devoted to the worthiest of ends. A pamphlet giving details for organization and conduct of clubs may be secured by sending ten cents to the Extension Department A. I. C., Box 348, Washington, D. C.

A NON-PARTISAN MONETARY AND TARIFF COMMISSIONS.—The Chicago Commercial Club, at a recent meeting, unanimously resolved that, in its opinion, "no higher service can be rendered to the people of this country than by the creation of a carefully selected commission, neutral in politics, to take into consideration the present monetary situation of the country as to its currency system, with a view to the simplification and improvement thereof; and we respectfully petition Congress to this effect."

Speeches, says the *Chicago News*, were made by men famous in financial affairs the country over and through the whole meeting one dominant note was that is unwise and unsafe to longer rely upon partisan politicians for the regulation of the national currency.

The wisdom of action like that suggested, both in connection with the currency and the tariff, must be obvious to all intelligent and patriotic citizens. The editors of this magazine will undertake to place in the hands of some member of Congress, who is also a member of the Institute of Civics, and therefore in sympathy with all efforts to promote the highest success of popular government, any petitions, individual or collective, which the readers of this magazine may send them, asking for either a Non-partisan Monetary, or Tariff Commission, or both. The words of the Chicago resolution may be used beginning with "I believe" or "We believe no higher service," etc., and petitions may be addressed "Editors American Magazine of Civics, 38 Park Row, New York."

CHATTANOOGA'S MODEL MAYOR.—Hon. George W. Ochs, A. I. C., the reform mayor of Chattanooga, Tenn., in his annual report just issued, presents a document worthy the careful attention of similar officials in other cities, not only as a model in the matter of presenting information, but as indicative of reforms possible of accomplishment under wise and faithful administration. Within the space of one year the general business methods

of the city have been almost entirely revised, with a vast gain in efficiency and economy. Proper safeguards have been provided for records, contracts, and expenditures, securing a system believed to be "as safe and economical as the methods pursued in the best conducted private concerns." "The corporation," says Mr. Ochs, "is simply a large company in which the taxpayers are shareholders, and of which we are the directors. The same impulses, the same prudence, the same conservatism that should animate us in the conduct of our own private affairs ought to control our official acts. With Chattanooga's reform administration this claim has not represented idle words.

FRUITS OF THE PEABODY FUND.—The noble fruitage of the Peabody Fund as administered under the judicious and able superintendency of Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., A. I. C., has never been more manifest than in the report made to the trustees at their thirty-third meeting recently held in New York. The interesting and most encouraging statements as to educational progress in the Southern States will repay careful attention; and Dr. Curry has been asked to embody the salient facts of his report with other matter in an article for this magazine, whose readers will be glad to know of the efficient work the Peabody and Slater Funds are accomplishing in the field of civics.

A MODEL SCHOOL FOR COLORED YOUTH.—A model industrial school for colored youth was established at Manassas, Va., in 1893. Under the efficient chairmanship of George C. Round, A. I. C., of the local committee, suitable grounds and buildings have been provided, which were recently dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, including patriotic features.

CITIZENSHIP PRIZE ESSAYS.—The Anthropological Society of Washington last summer awarded a first and second prize (\$150 and \$75) to the writers of the best essays on "The elements which go to make up the most useful citizen of the United States, regardless of occupation." The successful writers were Prof. Simon Newcomb, U. S. N., and W. J. McGee, both of Washington, D. C., and their admirable essays appeared in the October number of the *American Anthropologist* (Washington, D. C., \$1.00 a number). We are glad to call attention to the valuable contributions thus made to the literature of civics, and trust that the essays may be offered to the public in the form of a separate publication.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.—The venerable and useful magazine, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, begins its fifty-first volume with a department of Christian Sociology, under the editorial supervision of Mr. Z. Swift Holbrook, of Chicago, Ill., which will give prominence to discussions concerning the various efforts to find practical expression and embodiment of the Christian spirit and of Christian ideas amid the changing conditions of modern society.

A PERIODICAL FOR VOTERS GROWING TO MANHOOD.—This magazine has no readers more appreciative, or critics more just and friendly, than the editors of leading newspapers representing all parties and creeds. While their kindly words are seldom placed before our readers in this department, we venture to quote from the Ottawa (Ill.) *Free-Trader*, which says that this periodical "as the organ of the American Institute of Civics, is doing a

most praiseworthy work in the dissemination of popular literature whose chief and only object is 'to promote the integrity, intelligence, patriotism, and vigilance which are essential to the commonweal under the rule of the people.' If the republic shall survive, it must be through the conserving force of intelligence—not merely the ability of the voter to read and write, for many intelligent men so-called are most persistently unwise voters; but through the conserving force of an intelligence trained to correct political thinking—an intelligence that is guided by reasoning founded on the facts of rational discovery in political economy and sociology. The newspapers are notoriously lopsided; 'the other side' is never heard. But in THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS both sides are heard, and both are written for or against in a dignified way, with a view to getting at the truth and not merely to induce the reader to vote a certain 'ticket.' The scope of the work of this admirable magazine may be indicated by a review of recent tables of contents. In 'The Outlook' the recurring phenomena of politics and sociology are briefly treated from the standpoint of news, the facts being stated carefully as becomes their value to the student. We know of no more useful periodical to give to a young man than this, which should be in every family where a voter is growing to manhood."

A STAIN UPON THE GOOD NAME OF DENVER.—A more indecent proceeding than that which the "First National Bank, the American National Bank, and forty-three other prominent business establishments," all of Denver, have recently been guilty, nowhere stains the record of a state or city. They have signed a petition to Governor Waite requesting that the gambling houses of that city be allowed to re-open, setting forth that many buildings, and parts of buildings, are made tenantless by their closure, and that a large amount of money would flow into the business and circulation of the city if they were allowed to resume operations. Governor Waite very properly declines to grant the petition. It is to be hoped that these "prominent and influential" petitioners do not represent the average morality of Denver, for if they do, the place needs missionaries more than Kamtchatka, Manchuria, Mozambique, Madagascar, or the Gold Coast.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

GOOD GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES.—The Chicago Congregational Club at its last meeting warmly indorsed the work of the Chicago Civic Federation, and made it a gift of \$200. The Committee on Morals of the federation has had submitted to it plans for seven reformatory houses, on a graded scale, for different classes of fallen women. One hundred business and social clubs are to be asked to furnish speakers who will deliver the one thousand addresses on municipal matters planned by the federation. The topics will be discussed on non-partisan lines, the sole object being to educate the public to a higher standard of citizenship.

At a good citizenship meeting in Minneapolis, Geo. H. Bennett and John Atwater made addresses favoring "the non-partisan gospel in city politics."

THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR AND POLITICS.—There appears in the Outlook Department of the October number of your journal a short paragraph entitled "A Word to Christian Endeavorers," by John Franklin Crowell. The excellent advice here given cannot be too often repeated wherever the Christian Endeavor Society as an organization enters into the good citizenship movement as suggested by Dr. Clark, and again emphasized by the

Cleveland Convention last July. This great society of Christian young people, if properly directed, can be turned to splendid account in the improvement of politics and the spread of the truest patriotism. If not thus wisely controlled, however, this new movement will inevitably result in a serious loss to the society of spiritual power, as well as utterly fail in the worthy object for which this advance endeavor was intended. We do not believe, as the *Congregationalist* suggests, that it should be the object of the Christian Endeavor Society to hold the balance of power between the two leading political parties, and thus dominate the nominations. While our president, Dr. Clark, has always been carefully guarded in his utterances upon the question of the attitude of the society toward the two great parties, nevertheless it is safe to affirm that such a suggestion would not be indorsed by the great majority of Endeavorers throughout the country. Such a step would be most unfortunate and would without a doubt create a division in our ranks. The old parties may be unprincipled and wholly controlled by evil men, but to form another out of the Christian Endeavor Society, even for work in local elections, would make of our organization a political football.

Within the legitimate sphere of endeavor there are many ways in which the societies and local unions may promote the cause of good citizenship. The lack of space forbids mentioning but two. Local unions can hold frequent platform meetings at which the subject of good citizenship in all its various phases should be discussed by the very best speakers obtainable. Good audiences are sure to be secured where the meetings are well advertised and approaching elections draw the attention of the people to this subject. A state good citizenship campaign, organized much the same as the Missionary Extension Course, embracing every town in the state, could not fail to arouse a sentiment against indifferent citizenship in the community as well as prove instructive to those ignorant of our government and the operations of political machinery. Again, the local committee of every society should urge and see to it that all voters in the membership of the church are registered and attend the primaries. It is not new parties we need but the arousing of the negligent and indifferent citizens found in every community, to a sense of their political responsibilities and duties. The respectable and moral elements are in the majority in any community, and might easily control legislation if they would, but by indifference and neglect they deliberately sell their vote to the vicious and lawless minority, which if disposed of in any other manner would be a crime which could not be too strongly condemned. The control of the two dominant parties by the better class of citizens may look to be impossible. To accomplish this end may take long years of effort with many apparently vain and unsuccessful attempts. We believe, however, in the ultimate triumph of law and righteousness, and in the supremacy of American principles and true patriotism. The aggressive, earnest, and consecrated spirit of the great body of Christian Endeavor will be a most potent factor in this great achievement.

W. E. SWEET,

President Denver Christian Endeavor Union.

THE PRESS AND THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—As seen from their point of view, the representative journals of the parties characterize the president's last message to Congress as "a thoroughly sensible and statesman-like expression of views"; as "a weak and commonplace document"; and as "an egotistical parade of ideas that are either commonplace or hostile to the interests of the masses of the people." Administration and anti-admin-

istration Democrats, Republicans, and Populists, as represented by most of their journals, have no common ground of either praise or criticism. On the one hand, statements and suggestions of doubtful expediency are studiously ignored, and on the other hand, what is worthy of thoughtful consideration or commendation is contemptuously passed by. One of the worst phases of partisan journalism is here illustrated in the clearest manner. Insincerity and misrepresentation are first cousins to mendacity; and one or the other of these disreputable cousins seems to be the evil genius in a multitude of editorial sanctums. We venture to suggest the query as to whether this kind of editorial writing is any longer acceptable to the average American citizen. Does it add to their confidence in and their respect for editorial opinions? Does it increase their party loyalty? Does it serve any purpose which even the most partisan of politicians considers desirable? It should require very little thinking to rightly answer these queries. The elections of recent times have clearly evidenced the fact that the determination of party supremacy is coming to be more and more a matter of thoughtful action on the part of independent voters whose conclusions are not based on the biased or insincere dicta of partisan editors. The voters who are affected by any other than fair and candid expressions of honest opinions, are growing fewer, and those whose respect for partisan journalism will be increased by just and manly treatment of all public questions and public officials, is growing larger. We commend this fact to the attention alike of editorial writers who greeted the president's message with the unreasoning praise and the unreasoning abuse of servile partyism.

CHRISTIAN ECONOMICS.—Under the title of "Classical Political Economy" Hon. J. H. Walker (A. I. C.), of Worcester, at the last Roseland Park gathering, July 4th, 1894, made a trenchant and earnest plea in behalf of the introduction of better and especially Christian ideas in economic thought and teaching. The address has been published in pamphlet form, and upon application to the American Institute of Civics, 38 Park Row, N. Y., accompanied by a two-cent stamp, will be sent free to any address. Mr. Walker has shown conspicuous integrity and ability in his congressional career, and serves the cause of education as trustee of several colleges. His address evidences serious thought, and may be profitably read and discussed by the clubs belonging to the Extension Department of the A. I. C., and other organizations for the study of questions in civics, as well as by individuals.

THE UNIT LEAGUE OF CHICAGO.—This active and useful organization has aims in precise accord with those of the Institute of Civics, as evidenced by the following extracts from its model articles:

"We, the undersigned, believing that the cause of righteousness and justice can best be promoted by each and every citizen personally discharging the responsibilities resting upon the individual; that an increased prosperity will follow the simple discharge of these duties, and that a marked improvement in all that pertains to the government of our municipality will follow as the outcome of civic duties properly performed, do hereby band ourselves together in a league to be known as the Unit League of Chicago, to the end that effective results may be secured through united effort; and do hereby subscribe to the principles and objects of this league as set forth in the following constitution:

"The objects of the formation of this league are: The education of its members to a proper understanding of the responsibilities of a citizen; of

the rules governing the ward club, the caucus, the primary, and the polls; and of the conditions that enhance or detract from the material welfare of our city; to the end that the members may, by all legitimate and worthy means in their power, influence one another and all others with whom they come in contact to vote as a unit for the best men in all municipal elections regardless of party, and to act as a unit in all good work.

"The principles of this league are: *First*.—Righteousness and justice in public and private life. *Second*.—The complete separation of all that pertains to municipal politics from state and national politics. *Third*.—Capability and moral integrity the standard for preferment for public office. *Fourth*.—A generous compensation for all in authority in our municipality. *Fifth*.—No political aspirations and no political candidates to offer for public favor."

AMONG THE BOOKS.

The Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America. By John F. Dillon, LL.D. 8vo, cloth, 431 pages. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This valuable book is made up of a series of thirteen lectures delivered before the students of Yale University, four of which are devoted to what the author terms the law in its old home, England, and the remainder to its new home, the United States.

The distinguished author, who has had forty years' experience as judge and advocate, says that the object of the lectures is to inspire a patriotic and just regard for the laws and institutions of our country, and to awaken inquiry upon subjects of interest to the profession rather than to satisfy it. The author is of the opinion that it is no easy task to give a correct definition of law, and he follows with a discussion of some of the definitions generally accepted by lawyers as the best. The jury system is upheld as being the best ever devised, though Judge Dillon, like all other careful observers, is aware of its serious defects.

Several examples are given to illustrate the progress that law has been making toward a more reasonable and humane basis. The softening of the criminal law, both in England and America, within the past century, and the laws relating to married women are cited among other cases on this point.

The wonderful growth of corporations has attracted the author's attention. In 1879 one term of the United States Supreme Court disposed of 379 cases, of which 183 were corporation cases. Of 424 recent cases examined in the reports of the New York Court of Appeals 190 involved corporations, while of 130 cases of the same court in 1806 there were but 20 in which corporations had any interest.

We are pleased to note that Judge Dillon does not cling to the foggy idea, so prevalent in the legal profession, that a jurist must not exercise his own judgment and good sense, but depend entirely on the past. If our legislators had been as non-progressive in this respect as the courts, we should still be living under the barbarous laws and customs of the antediluvians, and it is refreshing to find a man of Judge Dillon's ability and reputation

who dares to condemn the fogyism that lawyers are pleased to term conservatism.

The author regrets the conflicting rules which mark the division of rights and remedies into legal and equitable, and believes that the existing diversity must disappear and be replaced by a uniform system. What we call a legal right should cease if in conflict with what we now call an equitable right. He predicts another consummation devoutly to be wished, that international law will result in settling all international disputes by arbitration.

The Book of the Fair. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. Chicago: The Bancroft Company.

This magnificent work is now well under way and when completed will form the most beautiful and complete illustrated history of the great Chicago fair. It will consist of twenty-five parts of forty imperial folio pages each. These parts are furnished at the low price of one dollar each and when bound will make a magnificent volume. All the parts now ready, 17 or 18, can be had at once if desired.

In addition to their great work entitled "The Book of the Fair," the Bancroft Company will soon publish the "Resources and Development of Mexico," written by Hubert Howe Bancroft at the personal request of President Diaz, who issued a commission to gather fresh material from every quarter of the republic and aid Mr. Bancroft in every way in the prosecution of the work.

Studies in Civics.—Under the general title of Civics, Silver, Burdett & Co., in their latest catalogue, call especial attention to Dr. William A. Mowry's book, "Studies in Civil Government," treating of the duties, privileges, and problems growing out of American citizenship. Special editions of this useful book have been prepared in briefer form, accompanied by matter relating to affairs of state government; the list including Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Indiana. The price of the book first named is \$1.05, the second 80 cents, and of the state edition \$1.00. The same publishers offer a new edition of Prof. E. Benjamin Andrews' "Institutes of Economics," which is one of the most practical and valuable of reference or text-books upon the subject of which it treats. Price \$1.40. Any of the above books will be mailed post-paid by the Institute of Civics upon receipt of price.

Crocker's Parliamentary Manual.—Those in need of an up-to-date manual setting forth correct principles of procedure in deliberative bodies, will find what they desire, and the best work of its kind, in the book prepared by Hon. George G. Crocker, A. I. C., of Boston, and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. The clubs of the Institute of Civics, and all other good government organizations, should secure a copy by sending seventy-five cents to the publishers.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

CORPS OF LECTURERS.

The eminent citizens named below, councilors of the American Institute of Civics, have consented to entertain invitations to deliver popular addresses, lectures, or "talks" calculated to promote intelligent and salutary interest in matters relating to good citizenship; good government, and right social order.

The demand for useful services such as the Institute's lecturers are especially qualified to render, has steadily increased since the beginning of its work in 1885, and was never so great as at this time.

Those desirous of arranging for addresses before audiences of adults or youths, secular or religious associations, educational meetings, school children, working-men's societies, good citizenship and good government clubs, patriotic holiday assemblies, etc., etc., may correspond directly with the Institute's lecturers, or may address the Institute, whose officers will gladly aid in the promotion of plans for the discussion by suitable speakers of pertinent topics, having in view the character of the audience, and other indicated conditions.

In writing to lecturers, applicants should be explicit in their statements, and if they seek gratuitous services, should tender full payment of traveling and other expenses. It is proper to remark that those who make lecturing wholly or in part a profession, cannot ordinarily be asked or expected to comply with requests for services without satisfactory remuneration. In all cases postage should be inclosed for replies.

Citizens interested in the promotion of the better civic conditions which will follow intelligent and just views of civic affairs, and the right use of the powers of citizenship, are invited to write to the Institute for suggestions as to plans in connection with which they may easily secure results of the highest value to the communities in which they reside. They are also asked to present to the Institute the name of any lecturer in their vicinity, who may seem to them qualified for useful service as a member of the Institute's corps of lecturers.

LECTURERS AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.*

ALABAMA.

Clayton, H. D., Pres. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

ARKANSAS.

Conger, J. W., Pres. Ouachita College, Arkadelphia.

Edgar, Col. George M., Pres. Industrial University, Fayetteville.

CALIFORNIA.

Allen, Prof. Charles H., State Normal School, San José.

Bacon, Prof. Thomas R., University of California, Berkeley.

Bancroft, Hubert H., LL.D., San Francisco.

Beard, Prof. J. N., Napa College, Napa City.

Childs, C. W., State Normal School, San José.

* Included in this list are the names of a few, presented by members, with whom the Institute has not had opportunity for conducting direct correspondence prior to the issue of this number of THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

Dozier, Melville, B. P., State Normal School, Los Angeles.

Garber, Judge John, 327 Pine St., San Francisco.

Gayley, Prof. Charles M., Berkeley.

Howison, Prof. George H., Berkeley.

"The Real Nature of Representative Government," "Popular Fallacies Regarding the Principle of Representation," "The Nature of a State and of a Nation," "The Necessary Interdependence of Liberty and Law," "The Basis of Suffrage," "The Nature of Inalienable Rights and Their True Inventory."

Hughes, Prof. David E., Pierre Christian College, College City.

Kellogg, Martin, LL.D., Berkeley.

Keyes, C. H., Pres. Throop Polytechnic Institute, Pasadena.

"Educating for Citizenship," "Ballot Reform," "The Machine in Politics," "The Initiative and the Referendum."

Moses, Bernard, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley.

Reid, Prof. W. T., A. M., Belmont.

Stratton, Rev. C. G., D.D., Mills College P. O., San Francisco.

"Political Economy," "The History of the Constitution of the United States," "International Law."

Swett, Prof. John, Prin. Girls' High School, San Francisco.

Whiting, Prof. Harold, Berkeley.

COLORADO.

Allen, J. H., Rockvale.

Cook, J. B., Greeley.

Gove, Aaron, Supt. Schools, Denver.

Ingersol, C. L., Pres. Colo. Agricultural College, Ft. Collins.

Keasby, Prof. Lindsey M., Ph.D., Prof. Political Science Univ. Colo., Boulder.

"The Economic Duties of Citizenship."

CONNECTICUT.

Bouton, Eugene, Ph.D., Supt. Schools, Bridgeport.

Northrop, B. G., LL.D., ex-Supt. Schools, State of Conn., Clinton.

"The Home and the State."

Pratt, Rev. Llewellyn, D.D., 148 Broadway, Norwich.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Brosius, Hon. Marriott, M. C.

Craven, Prof. A. F., Ph.D., Columbian Univ.

Curry, Hon. J. L. M., M.D., 1736 M. St.

Foster, J. Ellen.

Hailman, W. N., Ph.D., Supt. Indian Schools.

Sewall, Frank, 1618 Riggs Place.

Wilson, Hon. James S., U. S. Senate.

GEORGIA.

Henderson, F. H. M., Supt. Public Schools, Tallapoosa.

Hopkins, Rev. I. S., Ph.D., D.D., Pres. Emory College, Oxford.

ILLINOIS.

Allyn, Dr. Robert, Pres. S. Illinois State Normal University, Carbondale.

"How We Govern Ourselves," "A Universal Ballot and the Obligation it Implies."

Bemis, Prof. Edward P., Ph.D., University of Chicago, Chicago.

Edwards, Rev. Richard, LL.D., Princeton.

Foster, William H., Geneseo.

Foss, Rev. C. W., D.D., Prof. Augustana College and Theo. Sem., Rock Island.

"Compulsory Education," "The Dangers of Hyphenated Americanisms," "Municipal Government in the United States."

Fulcomer, Prof. Daniel, A.M., University of Chicago, Chicago.

"The Need of Social Science," "Social Aims and their True Realization," "Sociology Applied to Government," "Social Reforms," "Industrial Problems," "The New Social Ethics."

Halsey, Prof. John J., M.A., Lake Forest University, Lake Forest.

Jones, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd, D.D., Chicago.

Kephardt, Rev. J. L., D.D., Pres. Westfield College, Westfield.

Lane, Albert G., Supt. Public Schools, City Hall, Chicago.

Lyman, George A., Amboy.

Mack, W. S., Supt. Public Schools, Moline.
 McCord, Prof. W. E., Peoria.
 Murray, Rev. O. E., D.D., V.-P. Chicago Civics Club, Morgan Park.
 "The Little Red Schoolhouse," "Politics and Skeptics," "Misrule
 in American Cities," "Morals in Politics."
 Nichols, J. B., Supt. Schools, Mt. Vernon.
 Parker, Col. F. W., M. A., Normal Park.
 Peabody, Dr. S. H., 4200 Berkeley Ave., Chicago.
 Raab, Hon. Henry, Supt. Public Schools, Springfield.
 Shepherd, Rev. Robert D., D.D., Northwestern University, Evanston.
 Sherman, Hon. E. B., LL.D., Pres. Chicago Civics Club, Chicago.
 Slade, Hon. James P., Greenville.

INDIANA.

Coffin, Charles F., Supt. of Schools, New Albany.
 Cumback, Hon. William, LL.D., Greensburg.
 Devore, Rev. Elcharles A., Union Christian College, Merom.
 Irwin, John S., M.D., LL.D., Supt. Schools, Ft. Wayne.
 Jenckes, Rev. Joseph S., LL.D., 1044 N. Illinois St., Indianapolis.
 Moncrief, J. W., D.D., Franklin College, Franklin.
 Ogg, Robert A., New Albany.
 Stott, W. T., Pres. Franklin College, Franklin.
 Stout, Prof. W. H., LL.B., 34 Ohio Ave., Jeffersonville.

IOWA.

Bissell, Rev. J. W., D.D., Pres. Upper Iowa University, Fayette.
 Brooks, Rev. William M., A.M., Pres. Tabor College, Tabor.
 Eldridge, E. R., Pres. Eastern Ia. Normal School, Columbus Junction.
 "Public Education and Governmental Stability," "Republican
 Government and its Citizenship."
 Fellows, Rev. S. N., D.D., State University, Iowa City.
 Frisbie, Rev. A. L., D.D., Des Moines.
 Herron, Rev. George D., D.D., Grinnell College, Iowa City.
 Kratz, Prof. H. E., Supt. Schools, Sioux City.
 McConnell, J. J., Atlantic.
 Sessions, F. J., Supt. Schools Lime Co., Marion.
 Von Coelln, Hon. C. W., Des Moines.

IDAHO.

Gault, F. B., Pres. University of Idaho, Moscow.

KANSAS.

Farnsworth, Hon. Hiram W., Sec'y Board of Education, City Building,
 Topeka.
 Hoenschel, E. J., Campbell Normal University, Holton.
 Lippincott, Rev. Joshua, D.D., Lawrence.
 Stevenson, Prof. W. F., Wichita.
 Taylor, A. R., Ph.D., Pres. State Normal School, Emporia.
 Tillotson, D. C., Supt. City Schools, Topeka.

KENTUCKY.

Blanton, Rev. L. H., Chancellor Central University, Richmond.
 Boon, Prof. R. G., Supt. Schools, Frankfort.
 Carothers, R. H., Ed. *Educational Courier*, Louisville.
 Goodknight, Hon. Thomas M., B.D., 1st Ass't. Dept. Education, Frankfort.
 Graham, Prof. Robert, Kentucky University, Lexington.
 Greathouse, C. H., Ed. *Home and School*, 352 Third St., Louisville.
 Obenchain, Maj. William H., A.M., Pres. Ogden College, Bowling Green.
 "Our Heritage," "What Constitutes a Good Citizen."
 Thomas, T. W., Bowling Green.

LOUISIANA.

Garrett, Hon. Franklin, Monroe.
 Goodale, Hon. Willmot A., Chair of Civics State Univ., Baton Rouge.
 Holland, Rev. R. A., D.D., Trinity Rectory, New Orleans.
 Jack, Col. W. H., Natchitoches.
 Johnston, Hon. William Preston, LL.D., Pres. Tulane University, New
 Orleans.
 Rogers, William O., Tulane University, New Orleans.

MAINE.

Pepper, Rev. George D. B., D.D., Waterville.
Robinson, Prof. Franklin C., LL.D., Bowdoin College, Brunswick.

MARYLAND.

Randall, Daniel R., Ph.D., Annapolis.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Adams, Hon. Brooks, Boston.
Bellamy, Francis, *The Youth's Companion* Building, Boston.
Capen, Hon. Samuel B., Boston.
 "Problems in Municipal Government."
Carrington, Gen. H. B., LL.D., U. S. A., Hyde Park.
Clark, Rev. J. B., Ph.D., Amherst College, Amherst.
Gates, Merrell E., Ph.D., LL.D., Pres. Amherst College, Amherst.
Gilman, N. P., Ed. *Literary World*, Boston.
 "Coöperation in Labor."
Hale, Rev. Edward Everett, D.D., 39 Highland St., Boston.
Hudson, Edmund, Boston.
 "Municipal Lessons from Europe," "Working-men's Homes in Europe," "The Capitol and Congress."
Mead, Edwin D., Ed. *New England Magazine*, Boston.
Moxom, Rev. Philip S., D.D., Springfield.
 "The Citizen's Duty to the City," "The Good Citizen."
Phelps, Rev. Lawrence, Prin. Berkeley Temple of Applied Christianity, Boston.
 "A Righteous Citizen," "The Ethics of True Americanism."
Sheldon, Hon. W. E., 3 Somerset St., Boston.
Winship, Rev. A. E., Ed. *Journal of Education*, Boston.

MICHIGAN.

Adams, Prof. Henry C., Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
Daniels, Prof. Joseph L., Olivet College, Olivet.
Estabrook, Prof. Joseph, Olivet College, Olivet.
Kendall, F. M., A.M., Supt. Schools, Jackson.
Payne, W. H., Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
Sperry, Prof. Willard C., Olivet College, Olivet.
Willitts, Hon. Edwin, Pres. Michigan Agricultural College, Lansing.

MINNESOTA.

Cleary, J. T., MacAlester College, Minneapolis.
Cooper, Prof. Charles H., Carleton College, Northfield.
Folwell, W. W., LL.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Galbreath, Louis H., Instructor in Civics, Summer School, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Knox, Hon. J. T., Supt. Schools, Jackson.
Northrop, Rev. Cyrus, D.D., LL.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Parr, Prof. S. S., Supt. Schools, St. Cloud.
 "Currency and Taxes," "Merit Civil Service," "The Qualifications of Citizenship."
Pearson, F. B., MacAlester College, Minneapolis.
Searing, Edward, LL.D., Pres. State Normal School, Mankato.

MISSOURI.

Carter, Capt. Lucien E., 410 Francis St., St. Joseph.
Hawkins, Prof. W. J., Supt. Public Schools, Nevada.
Holcomb, V. E., Creighton.
Loughlin, G. H., LL.D., F. K. Sc., Garfield University, Kirksville.
 "The Sovereignty of the Nation," "The Nation and the Individual,"
 "The Nation and the Family."
Mead, James P., Third and Main Sts., Joplin.
 "The Hope of Our Country," "Personal Liberty," "The Power of Education," "Economics for the Masses," "My Native Land."
Morrison, Rev. N. J., D.D., Pres. Drury College, Springfield.
Snow, Prof. Marshall S., L.D., Washington University, St. Louis.

MISSISSIPPI.

Libby, Rev. Charles E., S. T. D., Pres. Rust University, Holly Springs.
 "Political Rights and Duties as Citizens."
Smith, Gen. J. A., Jackson.

NEBRASKA.

- Barrett, Jay Amos, M.A., 1611 Q. St., Lincoln.
 "Ideals in Citizenship."
 Duryea, Rev. Joseph T., D.D., 2402 Cass St., Omaha.
 True, M. B. C., Tecumseh.
 "Education and the State," "What Should be Taught in Our Public Schools," "The Need for Higher Education."

NEVADA.

- Brown, Hon. Leroy, Ph.D., University of Nevada, Reno.

NEW JERSEY.

- Barringer, Prof. William N., Supt. Education, Newark.
 "Reform in Municipal Government," "Education as a National Force," "What Constitutes a Practical Education," "The Individual in Government."
 Case, Prof. Richard, A.M., Supt. Public Schools, Red Bank.
 Enright, Prof. John, Prin. High School, Freehold.
 Fox, Rev. Norman, D.D., Morristown.
 "Parties and Principles," "Political Education," "Christianity, the Pulpit, and Politics."
 Wilson, Prof. Woodrow, Ph.D., LL.D., Princeton University, Princeton.

NEW YORK.

- Brown, S. Reid, A.M., St. Johnsville.
 Burdick, Hon. Francis Marion, LL.D., Columbia College Law School, New York.
 Cook, E. H., Ph.D., ex-Pres. Nat'l. Educational Ass'n., Flushing.
 Hunt, Prof. Leigh, Supt. Schools, Corning.
 Jenks, Prof. Jeremiah W., Ph.D., Cornell University, Ithaca.
 "Economics," "Immigration," "The Negro Problem," "Election Methods in Different Countries," "Methods of Lawmaking."
 Jones, E. N., Prin. Plattsburg Normal School, Plattsburg.
 Logan, Walter S., 58 William St., New York.
 MacArthur, Rev. Robert S., D.D., Pastor Madison Ave. Baptist Church, 358 W. Fifty-seventh St., New York.
 Martin, Prof. D. S., Rutgers Female College, 54 W. Fifty-sixth St., New York.
 Milne, W. J., Ph.D., LL.D., Prin. State Normal School, Oneonta.
 Morey, William C., Ph.D., Rochester University, Rochester.
 Myrick, Rev. Henry Lewis, Sing Sing.
 Palmer, A. Worth, School Commissioner, Fairport.
 Parkhurst, Rev. C. H., D.D., 133 E. Fifty-fifth St., New York.
 Payne, Rev. C. H., D.D., LL.D., 150 Fifth Ave., New York.
 Peabody, Rev. H. H., D.D., Rome.
 Peters, Rev. Madison C., D.D., Pastor Bloomington Church, Broadway and Sixty-eighth St., New York.
 "The Fate of Republics," "Shall Rum Rule America?"
 Potter, Rev. E. N., D.D., LL.D., Pres. Hobart College, Geneva.
 Prentice, W. R., Elmira.
 Rainsford, Rev. W. S., D.D., 209 E. Sixteenth St., New York.
 Roberts, Hon. Ellis H., LL.D., 15 W. Twentieth St., New York.
 Rogers, Prof. L. C., Dep't. Civics, Alfred University, Alfred Center.
 Round, W. M. F., 65 Bible House, New York.
 Sandford, Hon. Jared, Dept. Supt. Public Instruction, Albany.
 Shaw, Albert, Ph.D., Ed. *Review of Reviews*, New York.
 Skinner, Hon. Charles R., State Conductor Teachers' Institutes, Albany.
 Smith, Hon. Hannibal, Watertown.
 "The Relation of Religious Freedom to the State."
 Stevens, Prof. Edward L., Chateaugay.
 "An Experiment in School Civics," "The School of the Citizen."
 Taylor, Frederick, 47 W. Seventy-third St., New York.
 Thompson, Hon. Hugh S., LL.D., 160 Broadway, New York.
 Thompson, Daniel Greenleaf, Sec'y Dept. Legislation A. I. C., 111 Broadway, New York.
 Waite, Henry Randall, Ph.D., Pres. American Institute of Civics, 38 Park Row, New York.
 "The Sovereignty of Manhood," "The Scholar in Politics," "Politics Without Religion," "True Americanism."
 Whiton, Rev. James M., Ph.D., 43 W. Forty-seventh St., New York.
 Williams, Prof. S. G., Ph.D., Cornell University, Ithaca.

Woodford, Prof. A. B., Ph.D., School of Social Economics, 34 Union Square, New York.

"Who Pay the Taxes?" "Are We a Plutocracy?" "How Shall Immigration be Restricted?" "Good Government Clubs."

NORTH CAROLINA.

Alderman, Edwin A., N. C. State Normal College, Greensboro.

Butler, Prof. Marion, Prin. Salem High School, Huntley.

OHIO.

Blanchard, Prof. C. Elton, Grand River Institute, Austintown.

Hall, Prof. Edwin L., Hiram College, Hiram.

Hays, Rev. George P., D.D., 13 McCormick Place, Cincinnati.

Knight, George Wells, Ph.D., Ohio State University, Columbus.

"Municipal Reform," "Administrative Reform," "Financial and Immigration Questions."

Lehr, H. S., Pres. O. State Normal University, Ada.

Long, Rev. Daniel A., D.D., LL.D., Pres. Antioch College, Yellow Springs.

"Socialism in our Colleges and Universities."

Marsh, T. P., Pres. Mt. Union College, Alliance.

Monroe, Prof. James, Oberlin College, Oberlin.

Scovel, Rev. S. F., D.D., Pres. Wooster University, Wooster.

"The Limitations of Liberty," "The Enforcement of Moral Legislation," "Law and Morals," "The American Idea of Religion and the State," "American and Foreign Institutions and Life Compared."

PENNSYLVANIA.

Atherton, George W., Ph.D., Pres. Penn. State College, State College.

Jamea, Prof. E. J., Ph.D., University of Pa., Philadelphia.

Holland, Rev. W. J., Ph.D., Pres. Western Penn. University, Pittsburg.

"The Education of a Citizen," "Courage and Industry."

McAlister, James, Ph.D., Pres. Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.

Schaeffer, Rev. N. C., Ph.D., Supt. Public Instruction, Harrisburg.

Spayd, H. H., Prin. Public Schools, Minersville.

Woodruff, Clinton Rogers, 514 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

RHODE ISLAND.

Andrews, Rev. E. Benjamin, D.D., LL.D., Pres. Brown University, Providence.

Stockwell, Hon. Thomas B., State Supt. Public Schools, Providence.

Wilson, Prof. George G., Ph.D., Brown University, Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Grier, Rev. W. M., D.D., Pres. Erskine College, Due West.

"American Politics and Moral Reform."

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Skillman, Rev. William Jones, A.M., Ed. *Sioux Falls Journal*, Sioux Falls.

TENNESSEE.

Hopwood, Rev. J., Milligan College, Milligan.

Ingersoll, Hon. Henry H., LL.D., Dean Law Dept. University Tenn., Knoxville.

TEXAS.

Baker, Hon. B. M., Supt. Public Instruction, Austin.

Cooper, Hon. Oscar H., Galveston.

Evans, Ira H., Austin.

"Good Citizenship."

VERMONT.

Buckham, Rev. M. H., D.D., LL.D., Pres. University of Vermont, Burlington.

WASHINGTON.

Anderson, Rev. A. J., Ph.D., Walla Walla.

WISCONSIN.

Wilder, Amos Parke, Ph.D., Madison.

"Total Abstinence from the Standpoint of Civics and Christian Expediency," "Ideals in Journalism," "Immigration."

Hall, Prof. John, Pres. Wisconsin State Normal School, River Falls.

Parker, Prof. W. D., State Normal School, River Falls.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Turner, E. M., Ph.D., Morgantown.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

FEBRUARY, 1895.

MONEY.

BY JAMES A. QUARLES, D.D., LL.D.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

MONEY is the *measure of values*, just as the foot is the measure of length, the gallon of capacity, and the pound of weight. It is not necessary to trade, for barter is possible without the tangible thing we call money. Yet, in a sense, money is ideally necessary to every exchange; that is, there must be some ideal standard with which to compare each of the two articles before the exchange will be made. The savage swapping skins for blankets must place an estimate on each skin and on each blanket, as a condition of his deciding how many skins he will give for a blanket. Money helps the exchange by furnishing a palpable standard of comparison; and the savage says each skin is worth half a dollar and the blanket two dollars; and so he gives four of the former for one of the latter.

This is the great, the universal use of money; a service which it can and most frequently does perform without being actually employed in the transaction. In this country, on an average, over ninety per cent of business transactions are conducted without the actual use of money, except as a mere common measure for each article exchanged. In London, ninety-nine per cent of exchanges dispense with actual money, except as a standard of comparison.

In exceptional cases, and especially for the final settlement of balances, the money itself must be used; indeed, the *settlement of balances* is the one great use of actual money. A farmer brings

in his produce and sells it to the merchant for ten dollars; he then buys from the merchant goods valued at eight dollars; and the merchant gives him two dollars as the balance due. Here money is used as a measure of the value of the produce and the goods to the amount of eighteen dollars, while as an actual medium of exchange only two dollars are used. Usually the farmer and merchant will trade together to the amount of a hundred or more dollars, and their dealings will continue for months; and may at last be settled by an exact balance, no money at all being used.

Thus we see that the chief use of money is to measure values for exchange, and that its subordinate use is, as the actual *medium of exchange*, for settling final balances. It is no exception to this latter statement, when a farmer sells his butter to a family and is at once paid in money; for, as in every other case when the actual money is used, the whole sum in this instance is the balance due the farmer, the family giving him nothing else in exchange.

As the fundamental function of money is to measure values, it is manifest that money itself *must have value*; for a standard must have that which it is used to estimate. A foot must have length to measure length; and a pound, weight to measure weight. It is primarily essential then that money must possess value.

What is value? It is a service that can be exchanged. Air is useful to the highest degree; capable of rendering an indispensable service; and yet it cannot be exchanged, and therefore has no value. Utility is capacity to gratify human desire, and may, as we have seen in air, exist entirely apart from value. Exceptions aside, it is labor which gives value to a utility. Air would be valuable were it necessary to work for it; and so would water. Utility remaining the same, value varies as a rule with labor. Money then must not only have utility, but it must possess value given to it by labor; and be valuable in proportion to the labor necessary to produce it.

A measure should be *constant*. The foot, the pound, the gallon are always and everywhere the same; if not, confusion and in-

justice will result. It is equally desirable, indeed it is more so, that money should not vary in value. The other measures are limited in their application; while money measures practically everything. Tampering with the money measure is therefore a greater evil than even false balances would be. Value, however, is not a sensible thing like length and weight, which can be regulated with infinitesimal exactness. It is made up of human desire and human labor; both of which are comparatively hard to determine with nicety.

As money is to measure all values, it must necessarily be something which every trader desires; that is, a thing universally desired. This will naturally result from the very fact that the article chosen is to be used for money; that is, the selection and use of gold as money will tend to make every one desire to have gold. But value depends as well on labor as on utility; and this demands that money shall represent, as far as possible, a fixed quantity and quality of human effort. Here lies the difficulty in the way of securing mathematical exactness. There is probably no article whose production year after year requires exactly the same kind and degree of labor, and is therefore a constant measure of value, or a perfect money. We are forced to use that article which is known to possess this quality to the largest degree.

But constancy of value, paradoxical as it may seem, demands *elasticity*. An engine to draw a train at the uniform speed of thirty miles an hour must be able to put forth more force on the upgrades than on the declines or levels. It is very easy to fix the dollar as the measure of value, and to determine that a dollar shall be 25.8 grains of coined gold and 412.5 grains of coined silver, both nine tenths fine; this can be done with mathematical precision. It is possible, though not probable, that it may require the same amount of labor year after year to produce 25.8 grains of coined gold. It is, however, not the single dollar, which is alone the measure of value, as it is the single foot or the single gallon. A multiplication of pound weights has no effect on the accuracy of the pound as a measure of weight. It is otherwise with the dollar, for value depends upon

supply in its relation to demand. If there is a meager supply of dollars and the demand is great, the dollar will rise in value, and *vice versâ*. Were the demand constant and the supply steady, all would go well; the demands of trade, however, vary; and the number of dollars also varies. The problem is to make the one vary as the other, so that the money shall be a constant measure of value.

As money is the measure of values, and as a measure must be constant in order to avoid confusion and wrong, it is manifest that, unless two or more things can be found whose variations shall correspond, the *standard* money article must be *single*. A child can see that all the foot measures must be exactly equal; it is more necessary that every dollar shall have the same value as every other dollar. Experience demonstrates that no two things, which are independent of each other, correspond in value with each other at a fixed ratio for any length of time. Take wheat and corn, lead and iron, glass and china, cotton and wool, or any other two articles, and it will be found that their relative values will vary from any ratio which may be assumed. This is true because the two elements of value, desire and labor, are liable to frequent and irregular fluctuations with reference to any two articles. For some reason, the demand for one article may largely increase beyond that for the other; and, at the same time, it may happen that the labor necessary for its production may be greater. There cannot, therefore, be a double measure or a double standard; and, as a fact, there never has been. If the attempt is made to use two, one or the other will prevail according to circumstances; and usually it will be the poorer of the two, while dishonest traders will attempt to vary according as they are buyers or sellers.

We are told that Abraham weighed to Ephron "four hundred shekels of silver current money with the merchant." Money must be *current*; we call it currency. This fact has already been indicated, but we call special attention to it as one of fundamental importance. The people might agree to use almost anything as money; as at different times and places they have used a score or more of articles for the purpose. The

thing used has often been quite unsuitable, such as oxen, tea, bullets, shells, tobacco, etc.; but no article has ever performed the functions of money, however poorly, which was not at the time current, or a thing desired. This grows out of the nature of money as value measuring values; for a value must have in it the element of desirableness. As there have been so many different things used as money, it has resulted, from the principle we are now considering, that all the less desirable articles have been eliminated, and that progressive man is agreeing to use that thing for money which enlightened experience teaches him, all things considered, is the best.

It is but another phase of the last thought, that money should be as *universal* as trade. Provincial restriction has been the rule in the traffic of the past. The civilized races have not yet been able to throw off their shackles. Great Britain has led the van and now for more than a generation has enjoyed the benefits of free trade. The other nations are slow to follow her excellent example, and the practical politician still scouts the theory of Adam Smith as a visionary vagary of the doctrinaire. The tariff reformer of our own country is frightened at the ghost of free trade, and is not able to go beyond a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. As surely, however, as the race advances in intelligence and virtue, so surely will the day come when national boundaries will no longer restrict traffic, but trade will be as free between nations as it is now between individuals. That is the ideal condition of commerce. To complete the picture, the money used will be international, cosmopolitan. We are slowly moving in that direction. The civilized nations are coming to an agreement as to the article which should constitute the world's standard money; and it is no longer chimerical to look forward to the time when the money of the world will be the same wherever the ship, the railroad, or the balloon shall carry merchant or merchandise. Those who remember the inconveniences of our *ante bellum* provincial money, issued by state banks, and contrast it with our present currency, good the nation over, can realize the blessing of a universal as opposed to a local money.

Finally, money should not only be valuable, constant, elastic,

single, current, and universal, in order that it may best discharge its functions as a measure of values and a medium of exchange; but it should also be *legal*. Two mistakes are made here. The first and greatest by those who assert that it is the stamp of the government which makes money; that its fiat will make slips of paper, money. This contradicts the fundamental principle, that every measure must have the quality it measures. If money is the measure of values, as it undoubtedly is, then nothing can be good money or discharge its fundamental function unless it is itself a real value, a standard value. It is not possible for bits of paper to measure values; for the piece with a thousand dollars stamped on it is not a whit more valuable than that with one dollar on it; that is, it costs no more labor to produce it. The truth which underlies the fiat money delusion is, that the credit of the country, backed by its immense resources, is a mighty financial power, just as Rothschild's paper is worth its face in the world's market, because his wealth of values lies back of it; so it is with the issues of a strong and prosperous government. It is, however, just as easy for Queen Victoria to cure scrofula by her touch, as it is for her to give value by a mere stamp to a piece of worthless paper; in order to be valuable, the government must put upon the paper its promise to pay, and then the paper represents the value of the government's readiness to pay, and so may be at par, or only thirty-five cents on the dollar, as our national greenbacks were in 1864.

The other and more harmless mistake is the assertion that the government has no agency in the matter of money, except to certify and authenticate the amount of the precious metals in each coin. It does this, but it should do more. It is the province of government to supervise contracts and to see that they are enforced. Most frequently this is done by the required payment of money. This makes it necessary that the government shall determine what is the legal money, the tender or payment of which is a fulfilment of the contract. It ought to go without saying, that every wise government makes the current commercial money the lawful tender for the payment of debts.

At the close of this brief statement of the cardinal principles

concerning money, it is well to remember that, while we sometimes say, money is *necessarily* a value; it is not *possible* there can be two money standards; and that money *must* be current, these words, "necessarily," "possible," "must," are to be taken relatively, not absolutely. Money itself is not necessary, and therefore none of its qualities are; all that is meant is, that these statements are true of the best money, of money that perfectly serves the purpose of an exact measure of values. Such a money the world has never had, and probably never will; but a progressive people strives ever to reach ideal conditions.

THE BEST MONEY.

We shall now apply these principles to the settlement of certain practical financial questions that are of current interest.

It was said above that the world has never had a perfect money. It is amusing to us now to read of the various articles which have been used for this purpose. The most curious is perhaps the fact that *animals* have been so used. Homer tells us that the Greeks made oxen the medium of exchange; and the Latins did the same thing, as their word for money is a derivation from that for cattle. As other examples of animal money, we may mention codfish, beaver skins, leather, cowry shells, and the shells of periwinkles and clams.

Vegetables have also been used as currency. Cakes of tea in India, the bark of the mulberry in China, and tobacco in Virginia exemplify this.

There are several conclusive objections to any organic substance, either animal or vegetable, as a material money; it is enough to observe that organism suggests disorganization, and thus the money perishes.

The *mineral* world has been the usual source from which the various other articles used as money have been taken: electrum in Asia Minor, tin in ancient England, Italy, and in the United States, beads in Africa and America, salt in Abyssinia, copper in Greece, nails in Scotland, lead in Burmah, iron in Sparta, bullets in Massachusetts, platinum in Russia, nickel and zinc in the United States, and silver and gold in all civilized lands.

The fact that *gold* and *silver* have been regarded as the most

proper material for money by the most enlightened nations, in every period of human history, is a strong presumptive proof of their excellence as such. Their beauty, imperishability, constancy, and sameness in value, preciousness, impressibility, and divisibility without loss, all commend them as the most desirable articles so far known to be made the measure of values and the medium of exchange.

BIMETALLISM.

The consideration of the comparative claims of silver and gold suggests the first great financial issue which we shall discuss, that of bimetallism. Confusion and mistake have arisen here by failing to discriminate the two great functions of money.

1. Looking at it as the *measure* of values, there seems hardly room for argument against the position of the *single standard* theory. A double standard would appear to be almost a mathematical impossibility; it is not that, however, but it is a physical improbability of the highest degree. That is, it is in the highest degree improbable that gold and silver will for any length of time continue to sustain to each other the same ratio of value. We know as a fact that for several centuries back, since their relations to each other have been recorded, they have constantly fluctuated. Value, as desire and effort, is ever varying as to any two products we may compare with each other; and silver and gold are by no means an exception.* Since 1687 their ratios have varied between 1 to 14.14 and 1 to 33. So a double standard means two different standards. Is this desirable? To be sure, so long as the variations are slight, it makes but little practical difference; but when they part company so widely and so rapidly as they have done in the last twenty years, it becomes a serious question. Having a double standard is just as unwise as to have two kinds of length or weight measures; it is as much so as to have two scales for a thermometer, one but little affected, if at all, by the changes of temperature, and the other almost as much so as the mercury itself.

* Silver, in its relative commercial value to gold, has varied greatly at different times since the two metals were first used for coins. In the days of Abraham, the patriarch, it was 8 to 1; B. C., 1000, it was 12 to 1; B. C., 500, 13 to 1; and at the beginning of the Christian era about 9 to 1. In the year 500 A. D., it was 18 to 1; in 1100 it was 8 to 1, and at the time of the discovery of America only 7 to 1.

If then we are to have a single standard, the question still remains, Shall it be gold, or shall it be silver? There are several sufficient reasons why it should be *gold*. 1. Gold has been our standard ever since 1834. Singularly enough, this came as the result of civil law, but of a law that was not designed to produce this effect. Up to 1834, our monetary standard was silver, and was silver by virtue of Gresham's economic law; gold being underrated in our coinage, refused to circulate among us, and we were therefore on the silver basis. Jefferson and subsequent presidents seem to have tried to evade this law by stopping the coining of silver dollars, but it was unavailing; we had the single silver standard, and clung to it until we changed the ratio of gold to silver in favor of gold. Then gold became our standard, and has remained so ever since. 1862-1879 is an apparent exception to this fact, as we were then apparently on a greenback basis; but really the greenbacks were rated daily and sometimes hourly by their gold value. It will require a change, therefore, should we adopt the silver standard, and the presumption is against change.

2. Gold is the standard of the civilized world. Canada and all the nations of Europe are on the gold basis, except Russia. Russia is the least progressive of the Christian nations; moreover, there are indications that the czar intends to follow the lead of the other European nations, as he has been stocking his country with gold, and is now reported to have \$250,000,000 of gold to only \$60,000,000 of silver. If we change to the silver standard, we shall separate ourselves from all the great commercial nations with whom we chiefly trade, and ally ourselves pecuniarily with Mexico, South America, and China, with whom our commerce is comparatively unimportant.

3. If it were an original question, and we were now to choose between the two, gold is the preferable metal for our standard. This is true for two reasons. In the first place, gold is the more precious metal of the two, and thus embodies the larger value in the smaller bulk and weight; at their present market rates, it requires about thirty times as much silver to measure the value of a dollar as it does of gold. The law of parsimony, there-

fore, demands that we shall use the smaller rather than the larger agent.

But a more potent reason than this requires our adherence to the gold standard. It is the fact that the value of silver is now as variable as the thermometer. During the last twenty years its market value has changed almost daily from about \$1.30 an oz. to 62 cents an oz. ; that is, this year it has been less than half as valuable as it was in 1873. A standard that is constantly changing, even though it be by a regular and uniform law, is undesirable ; unless its changes should correspond with the variations in the things it is designed to measure. But a standard that is continually changing, up and down, with no regularity, is utterly unfit for the purpose. The exchanges of the civilized world show this to be the present condition of silver, and so it would be extremely unwise in us to change to it from the comparatively steady standard of gold. We have a clock by which we regulate our movements and have done so for many years ; it is not mathematically accurate, but its variations are slight and easily determined. Moreover, all our neighbors use this same clock, so that we can meet our engagements with them accurately, if we keep the old timepiece. But a clockmaker comes along, and tells us to abandon that old regulator, and he will furnish us a new one in its place. We examine this new clock, and find that, in no respect, is it better than our old friend, and that none of our neighbors are willing to use it, and that it is quite uncertain in its movements, sometimes running too fast and sometimes too slow. Now, what shall we do ; throw away the old, reliable clock and take the new, uncertain one ? Surely not. Then let us keep the gold standard and remain in line with the commercial nations of the globe. So far then as money is the measure of values, there can be but one standard and that standard ought to be gold.

II. While the chief function of money is to measure value, it is not its only one ; money is also the *medium*, or, as it has been called, the tool of exchange. Looking at it from this standpoint, we ask as to the expediency of bimetallism. Is one metal enough to meet all the needs of trade as a money ? or, do

we need more than one? The economical law of parsimony would suggest that the presumption is in favor of the single metal system; and this indeed is true, provided the single metal can discharge all the functions of money, as well as two or more. There is, however, a counter presumption in favor of more than one metal, in the fact that the progressive races have in the past used more than one, and are continuing to do so.

If one metal will suffice, let us adopt monometallism. It is easily seen that there are indispensable conveniences connected with the use of several metals as money. Let us suppose that we undertake to confine ourselves to one, and, as gold is the best for the measure function of money, let us undertake to make gold our only money metal, discarding silver altogether.

1. It would create a distressing *contraction*. About half the coined money of the world to-day is silver; if it should be thrown aside, then gold alone must not only measure all value but also mediate all exchanges. We can see at once what an inconvenience and shock this would be. Indeed it would, in its influence on money as a *measure*, be enormously unjust. We now see what was not apparent before, that the subsidiary metal, silver, though not a standard measure of value, nevertheless is a help to gold in this particular. The exact truth reveals itself when we recall the two ways in which the dollar is a measure, first as a *unit* and then as an *aggregate* of units; each dollar is a measure, and all the dollars as a total value are a measure. So far as the single dollar is the measure, there cannot be two kinds of dollars, which will at the same time accurately measure values; at the present time, the gold dollar, worth one hundred cents, and the silver dollar, worth less than sixty, cannot both be the measure of value; as a fact, the gold dollar is. But so far as the aggregate of dollars is the measure (and it is as important as the unit), not only does the sum of all the gold dollars, but of all the silver dollars as well, constitute that aggregate; the only qualification being that the silver dollars are reckoned in value upon the gold basis. If, therefore, we should discard silver and confine ourselves to gold, it would seriously interfere with the measure of value.

2. Moreover, in addition to its disastrous effect upon money as a measure, it would be seriously injurious in *diminishing* the *supply* of money as actually used in trade. In the world's traffic to-day, there is about as much silver currency employed as there is gold, and commerce does not feel that there is a surplus. The result of dispensing with silver would be similar to that of banishing rye or rice from the food products of the race, though perhaps not equally as disastrous.

3. There is, however, another and a more special aspect of bimetallism, considering money as a medium of exchange, and not as a measure of value. It would be highly inconvenient, and indeed *impracticable*, to confine ourselves to gold. This is at once seen when we turn our attention to the demands of the retail trade. The dollar is our standard coin or unit, and from 1849 to 1889, both included, the gold dollar was coined; it was, however, found to be so inconveniently small that it has, since the latter date, been dropped, and our smallest gold coin now is the quarter-eagle, or \$2.50 piece. Not only does traffic demand the dollar, but also the minor divisions of the dollar, the half, the quarter, the dime; these to be made from standard gold would be utterly out of the question. Though somewhat aside from the present point, it is possible that paper money may be suggested as proper for these minor denominations. This was tried to the disgust of this country during and after the Civil War; the postal and fractional currency, by its perishable character, proved an intolerable nuisance. These small denominations are far more frequently handled than the large, and should, therefore, be of the most imperishable material. Silver fills this place most satisfactorily, and so we find that every civilized nation on the earth uses silver to mediate its minor exchanges.

We have not yet exhausted the needs of money as a medium of exchange. In the more densely populated countries, especially, it has been found that a large number of exchanges are of such a petty character, that silver is too precious to be used as an instrument of effecting them. The trade of children and of the poor is of this character. Moreover, it is a species of trade that

is almost wholly effected by cash and to a very small degree, if at all, by credit. There must be the actual money to carry it on. As a consequence, baser metals than either gold or silver have been called into requisition to meet this need. We formerly used copper for this purpose, but it was too ugly and cumbersome, and we have substituted nickel, tin, and zinc for it; that is, we use nickel for a five-cent piece and make a bronze cent of tin and zinc. As copper is the alloy for all our coins, we find it convenient, so far from limiting ourselves to one metal, to employ no less than six in the composition of our coined money.

The conclusion on the subject of bimetallism is, that we should have a monometallic gold standard, so far as the unit of value is concerned; and that we need a polymetallic currency, both for the aggregate measure of value and for the convenience of retail trade as a medium of exchange.

LEGAL TENDER.

There seems to be a need that the civil government shall determine what a legal dollar is, the payment of which is the satisfaction of a judgment and execution issued by the courts. This legal dollar, as already said, usually is and ought always to be the current commercial dollar. As we have learned that there should, and can really in fact, be but one standard dollar, the unit of value, though the demand of petty traffic and the maintenance of the aggregate measure of value require the use of several other kinds of dollar, the question arises, Shall all of these dollars needed for trade be made a legal tender? or, shall that dollar which is the standard unit of value be alone so honored? In other words, shall the gold dollar alone be legal? or, shall the silver, the nickel, and the bronze dollar be so as well?

I. The proper general answer to these questions is, that as all these kinds of dollar are necessary to the highest convenience and efficiency of trade, *all* of them should have the sanction of law. If the gold dollar alone can mediate all the exchanges, then we may dispense with the other metals, and give legal standing to it alone; but if it cannot do this, without such inconvenience and loss as not to be borne by a progressive age, then, there being a *raison d'être* for the silver, the nickel, and the bronze dol-

lar, they should each and all be legally empowered to cancel debts.

II. There seems no ground to doubt that this is the proper general answer to give to the inquiry as to legal tender. It is, however, not a full reply. On the very principle, which demands legal tender quality for all the metallic dollars, there rests the special truth, that all these kinds of dollars should not possess this legal quality to the same extent. The true principle is, *Let every dollar be lawful for the purpose, and as far as it is needed in the currency.* The gold dollar is the standard dollar, the one unit of value, and is designed and needed to mediate the largest exchanges, exchanges to an unlimited amount; gold, therefore, should be a tender for all debts, no matter how great. The silver dollar is designed and needed to effect moderate exchanges of comparatively small value; silver, therefore, should be legal for the settlement of all such debts. The nickel and bronze dollars are designed and needed for the most petty, penury transactions; and should, therefore, be legally empowered to discharge the smallest debts. What limits should be assigned to the debt-paying capacity of the subsidiary dollars, silver, nickel, and bronze, can hardly be determined with accuracy. The United States makes silver dollar coins an unlimited legal tender, like gold; fractional silver, halves, quarters, and dimes, to the amount of ten dollars; and nickel and bronze coins to only twenty-five cents. There is in this arrangement a mistake in allowing unlimited legal power to silver dollars, and, doubtless, undue caution was used in confining the legal power of the other coins to such small sums. It would perhaps be practically safe to allow each coin of the subsidiary metals to pay a debt one hundred times as large as itself; that is, silver dollars might cancel an obligation of \$100.00; half dollars, one of \$50.00; quarters, one of \$25.00; dimes, one of \$10.00; nickels, one of \$5.00; and bronzes, a debt \$1.00.

The disputed point as to legal tender concerns the propriety of giving the *silver dollar* unlimited legal power. The principle upon which this depends is that of the single or double standard of value. If the single standard is the correct view, then that

metal which is made the standard measure should be the only unlimited legal tender. As the commercial habits of our country, and of the civilized world for the past generation, have made gold the standard, and all existing contracts have been entered into under it, there seems no room to doubt that it should continue, and consequently that gold alone should be endowed with unlimited debt-paying power. This view is emphasized by the present condition; in which gold and silver have parted company, so that a silver dollar is commercially worth but little over one half the value of a gold dollar.

FREE COINAGE.

Free coinage is often understood to mean two things: First, **that every one holding bullion shall have the privilege of taking it to the government mint to be coined into money; and second, that the government shall coin the bullion free of expense to the owner.** I. If the bullion is private property, both before and after coinage, it seems hard to see why the government should be expected to go to the expense of establishing and operating expensive mints for the purpose of making this private property more useful to its owner. Why should not the government grind the wheat, and saw the lumber, and gin the cotton for their owners, as well as coin their bullion? The reason for the difference is, that money is not for private but *for public use*. This is true; money is essentially unlike other values, in that its utility is not available for personal enjoyment or appropriation, but it becomes useful only by surrendering it to others. Flour, or lumber, or cotton can be used directly to meet the personal needs of their owners, but money is valuable only as it is given to others. The use of the one class of values is private, while the use of money is public. The tool of exchange belongs to the trading many and not to the consuming individual. Money is thus a general, a public, and not a private interest. This fact makes it proper that the government, the agent of the public, should bear the expense of coining bullion into money. There should be no seigniorage, nor even brassage, charged for the coining of money. Free coinage then, in this sense, is proper.

II. Is it equally right to leave the *amount* and time of coining the money metals to the determination of the bullion holders? 1. If it is their private property to be coined for their private benefit, like wheat to be ground into flour, then the free coinage system is the correct one. If, however, as we have seen, money is not a private but a public concern; if the amount of money that is thrown upon the market affects the interest of every holder of property and every contractor of debt; if an undue expansion tends to the lessening of the value of past loans, and the undue contraction to the increasing of the burden of past debts—then it is manifest that the amount of bullion which at any time may be properly converted into money, is not a question to be determined by the private judgment and interest of the bullion-holder, but to be settled by some duly authorized, intelligent, and impartial agent of the general trading public.

As the interests of creditors and debtors are specially involved in the amount of debt-paying money which may be produced, let us suppose that the creditors own the mines and have the precious metals extracted from them refined and made into bullion, which they can export, use as a basis for business, or can dispose of in the arts, and thus keep out of the mints. The result is, that, with expanding business, there is no increase of money, which naturally results in the lowering of other values, with the effect of making their debts more valuable to the creditors and more burdensome to those who have to pay. On the other hand, should the debtors own the mines, they will crowd the mints with bullion and flood the country with as great a volume of money as possible, to the lessening of their debts and the partial destruction of the property of creditors. It is manifest that some agent, impartially representing all classes, debtors and creditors, should have the regulation of coinage and determine how much debt-paying money should be produced.

2. Applying this principle to *gold*, there is a complaint made, that, under its free coinage, the owners of gold mines and the holders of bullion are not producing enough of the metal, and are using too much of that which is produced for consumption in the arts. There seems ground for this complaint, and it ap-

pears to be a fact, that not enough gold is brought to the mints to meet the growing business of the world. Free coinage is thus a failure as applied to gold, resulting in the undue limitation of its coinage. Gold is scarce and high and eagerly demanded for the arts, and for money by all the great nations, and so, under its free coinage, the money market is starved.

The question may here arise, If gold is needed both for money and for the arts, and the supply, at any time, should not be sufficient for both, which will yield? Under free coinage, money will suffer; because all other values must fall in order that gold in money may rise, and this they will be more slow to do; while gold in bullion, as a single value, will more quickly respond to the law of supply and demand. Money will suffer rather than the arts, moreover and especially, because the users of gold in the arts are the wealthy, and can and will outbid the users of gold in money. Thus we see that gold for money, as a fact, under free coinage, will yield to gold for the arts. Is it best that it should? Yes, if the whole people should be made to suffer for the wealthy few; no, if the contrary is true.

3. Free coinage is worse as it affects *silver*. The annual production of gold has been about the same for the past twenty years; that is, the increase of the yearly supply hasn't been great. Silver, on the other hand, is now produced in more than double the amount it was twenty years ago. Accompanying this increase and cheapening of the production of silver, there has been the decrease of its use as a money metal by the civilized nations. There has been an increase in the use of gold and a decline in the use of silver. The result, of course, is the appreciation of gold and the depreciation of silver. Twenty years ago, sixteen grains of silver were worth more than one grain of gold; now it requires about twenty-nine grains of silver to buy one grain of gold. This depreciation of silver has come despite the friendly efforts of our country to prevent it. We have increased our supply of silver money, since Europe turned her back upon it, much more rapidly than ever before in our history. There has been more silver money of all kinds produced by the United States government in the past score of

years than in all our previous history ; the official reports show nearly five times as much ! This seems incredible. The owners of silver have all this time been clamorous as to the injustice done them ; at the favor shown to gold and the prejudice manifested to silver. The fact is, that, from the inauguration of the government down to 1873, only about \$145,535,132.70 of silver money of all denominations had been coined at all our mints. Since that time, we have coined about \$420,000,000 in full legal tender dollars, besides subsidiary coin and silver bullion treasury notes issued to the amount of about \$260,000,000 more. We bought more silver, under the second Sherman Act, than we coined in all the years prior to the date, when the silver men say that we demonetized silver. Gold has been left to take care of itself all this time, while we have thrown our fostering arms around silver in the vain effort to save it from a fatal fall. We have made more silver money in the last twenty years than we have in gold coin all together in the country now ; and according to the treasury statement of Nov. 1, 1894, we have now \$648,584,088 of silver money in the United States and only \$581,597,841 of gold.

Under these circumstances, shall we open our mints to the free and unrestricted coinage of full legal tender silver ? Let us remember the impolicy of free coinage, whether applied to silver or to gold ; that the world has now over \$4,000,000,000 of silver money and only about \$3,600,000,000 of gold ; that the progressive nations have all stopped the free coinage of silver ; that Austria has lately turned to gold ; that Russia, the only so-called silver country in Europe, has over four times as much gold money as silver ; that even India has shut her mints to the free coinage of silver ; that our own currency has been deluged with silver, until it has reached the saturation point ; that we have lost heavily of our gold during the past three years ; that the fear of a silver standard in this country has caused European investors to sell their American securities ; that a similar apprehension in this country has depreciated our values to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars ; that, with no inflated values, we are passing through a period of acute financial distrust and

depression ; that silver has been falling ever since we began to foster it in 1878, until now it is worth only about half its coin value ; that the silver owners themselves are afraid of their own metal, as shown by the fact, stated by Mr. Carlisle, that nine tenths of the treasury notes paid the silver owners for their bullion were in 1892-3 carried to the treasury and gold demanded for them ; that, owing to this and other facts, our treasury gold reserve, on which depends the maintenance of the national credit and all confidence in our financial system, has been reduced below the safety point ; that the free coinage of silver would give its owners, in addition to the legitimate profit of mining which they earn, another and exorbitant profit in the difference between the bullion and coin value of their metal, a profit which they do not earn and which every user of silver must help to pay—let all these facts and considerations be borne in mind, and it would seem that no one, not blinded by self-interest as a silver owner, can advocate the free and unlimited coinage of legal tender silver.

Let us emphasize a few of the points thus summarily presented. 1. To begin with the last, if we are to add to our present superabundant supply of silver, we may well ask, What is the most economical way of doing so ; by free coinage or by *government purchase* ? Silver as bullion is worth, say, seventy cents an ounce ; when the government coins it and makes it a legal tender, it is worth \$1.29 an ounce ; here is a profit on every ounce of fifty-nine cents ; to whom does it rightly belong ? A farmer takes his grain to the mill, where it is made into flour ; who has earned the difference in value between the grain and flour ? Clearly, the miller. A planter takes his cotton to the factory, where it is spun and woven into cloth, and no one questions that the manufacturer has earned and owns the increased value. The bullion owner has a right to the value of his silver ore ; if that ore is worth as much before the government put its stamp upon it as it is after this is done, then he owns the whole value of the coined ore. But if the value is increased by the governmental act, then clearly the government, having created the increase, is entitled to it. Who is the government in this case ? It is not

the administration, but it is the people of the country, whom the mint officials represent. The issue then is, whether the planters of the South, the grain raisers of the West, the manufacturers of the North, together with all the rest of the people, shall share this increase in the value of silver given by coining with the silver miners and owners ; or, on the other hand, the silver producers shall monopolize it to themselves. If silver can demand that the government shall add fifty-nine cents an ounce to its value, why may not cotton, and wheat, and cattle, and coal, and iron, and lead, and gold do likewise ? It is the same error as that involved in the protective tariff, which demands government aid to raise the price of certain favored industries at the cost of the rest of the people ; so silver asks, that it shall be boosted at the expense of other producers.

2. The free coinage of silver would bring us to the silver standard, to *silver monometallism*. That this would be the result is manifest from the experience of the past two years. Already we have seen European capitalists selling their American holdings ; we have seen American securities depressed to panic prices. This is due to the belief that the defunct Sherman Law was bringing us to the silver basis. The Sherman Law added only about \$50,000,000 to our silver currency annually ; free coinage, at a conservative estimate, would probably double this.

Suppose we change to a silver basis, what of it ? We put ourselves out of line with all the great commercial nations, and become the financial associates of Mexico, South America, and China. We derange the terms of every contract which has been made on the present gold basis. We alter the wages of every workman in the country to his injury. We lower the value of every bale of cotton, every bushel of wheat, every head of cattle in the land. We will bring upon ourselves the most distressing period of financial contraction which this generation has ever known or dreamed of. The advocates of the free coinage of silver fancy just the reverse of this ; but they will surely be mistaken, if the experiment is tried. It is easy to see that contraction must follow silver free coinage and the adoption of the silver basis. Gold, silver, wheat, cotton, anything will go where

it will command the highest price, just as water runs down hill. Gold has remained with us, until it had reason to fear that we were about to discard it for silver. Now we are still on the gold basis, and anywhere we get a gold dollar's worth for a dollar. When we change to the silver standard, we will get a silver dollar's worth for a dollar. Gold is worth a hundred cents on the dollar; when it will not buy here but sixty cents' worth of values, that is, a silver dollar's worth, it will no longer stay here but go to those countries having the gold standard, where it will command its full value. Let us change to the silver standard, and gold will at once cease to circulate, will be hoarded, sold, shipped to Europe. Thus we shall lose about one half of our metallic money, and instead of having \$1,200,000,000 in coin, our stock will be reduced to a little over \$600,000,000. This will crush the debt payers and they will curse the false prophets of silver.

3. If the free coinage of full legal tender silver is to be allowed in this country at all, it should by all means be deferred until the *other* civilized *nations* shall conclude to join us in it. It is no answer to this to say, that an international agreement is not only uncertain, but is altogether improbable. If so, there must be some good reason, which will prevent the other progressive peoples agreeing to free silver coinage; and the same reasons which deter them from joining with us should surely prevent us from undertaking it alone.

But it may be asked, Why may we undertake it more safely in conjunction with other great trading nations than by ourselves? The reason is easily seen. The Mississippi River could readily hold and carry its share of the heaviest flood that ever broke its levees, if there were a half dozen similar streams to bear their share of the accumulated waters; but as there are none such, we often see the most widespread destruction produced by the concentration within its single bed of all the waters of its swollen tributaries. So the United States could easily dispose of their full proportion of the silver flood, if the other markets of the world were ready to receive what properly belongs to them. Suppose the other countries should conclude that they no longer wished to use wheat as a bread-stuff, would

it be possible for this land to consume the world's supply? What would be thought in such a case as this, were the wheat-raisers to clamor for a law opening the treasure-vaults of the country to the free and unlimited storage of wheat at one dollar a bushel? This is at once seen to be preposterous; the proposition that the United States shall coin all the silver in the world brought to the mints without charge, and make it an unlimited legal tender, is none the less so. We are saturated with silver now, and any addition must prove an injurious precipitate.

4. In this connection, it may be asked, May we not safely allow free coinage at the present *commercial* ratio between silver and gold? There are several insuperable objections to this. (1) Suppose we adopt the ratio of twenty-eight, or twenty-five, to one, what assurance have we that this will be permanent? The silver mines may fail, Europe may conclude to return to silver, and silver may then rise to our present coin ratio, sixteen to one. Or still richer mines may be found, still cheaper processes of mining and reducing may be adopted, China and Russia may conclude to put their ban on silver, and thus it may fall to forty to one. It is no time now to fix the ratio of silver to gold; it is too uncertain. (2) A silver dollar at the ratio of twenty-eight to one would be nearly twice as large as the present coin. The size of our present silver dollar is quite inconvenient, and has caused in all our past history the least possible use of that coin. We had free coinage of full legal tender silver dollars up to 1873, and during the eighty years of our mint operations only a fraction over eight millions of them in all that time were coined. Since 1878 we have coined about four hundred and twenty millions of full legal tender silver dollars, and yet only about sixty millions have ever gone into circulation. The coin is too large and heavy now, what would it be if its size and weight were nearly doubled? (3) If a new ratio were adopted, our present stock of silver coin must be reminted. Without adding anything to our silver money, it would require several years to recoin the supply we now have. During all this time, our silver mines must be worked at less than half rates, or not at

all, as there would be no opportunity to have an ounce of their output coined at the United States mints; because they would be fully occupied recoinng our present stock. (4) It would involve the United States in a great loss and expense. In addition to the ordinary loss and expense of such an immense recoinage, the change of ratio would involve a loss of about \$200,000,000. Is our present embarrassed treasury able to bear this?

JAMES A. QUARLES.

WHAT IS PRISON REFORM, AND HOW DOES IT CONCERN THE PUBLIC?

BY REV. W. C. SELLECK.

THE subject of prison reform has come in late years to attract considerable attention from careful students of sociology. It is directly related to the whole problem of crime and the interest and duty of society with reference thereto. Hence it must be studied in connection with crime, and the constitution of human nature, and the great principles which should govern conduct.

Of course there has always been a great deal of crime. Murders, brutalities, inhumanities, thefts, frauds—the manifold forms of man's injury to the person or property of his fellow-man—these have filled the annals of every age, along with the story of virtue, peace, and good-will. Naturally, in primitive times, when men were but little raised above the savage state, the punishments administered were those which were most easily inflicted. Whoever wronged another paid the penalty in his own person. In the majority of cases this penalty was death, which was inflicted in a great variety of ways and with all the cruelty that ingenuity could devise. Along with this came later branding, mutilation, and slavery. A perpetrator of crime was sold as a slave, and his master had absolute possession of him, with authority and liberty to treat him as he pleased: he was simply a chattel, and had forfeited all rights as a human being. While such a disposition of the criminal seems to us bad enough, it was still a great improvement on former or other practices. In this the state got rid of its criminals by unloading them into the hands of private ownership, and the interest of the owner in his property insured a better treatment than the state itself would give. Following slavery, came incarceration

within the four walls of a dungeon. This method became the prevalent one under the feudal system. "The lord temporal or spiritual or corporate body could thus hold the vassal safe until he yielded fealty or submitted to extortion. A dungeon told no tales, and served conveniently to bury the victims of medieval oppression." I suppose that here was the great development, if not the origin, of the jail system. At any rate, dungeons or jails or prisons multiplied rapidly in the next few generations, and during the religious and political dissensions of Europe and Great Britain they were crowded with inmates. People were arrested and thrown into prison upon the slightest pretext, and there confined, often without trial, for indefinite periods of time. Worst of all, these prisons were the foulest of places. Says a writer, speaking of those of England :

They were for the most part poisonous, pestiferous dens, densely overcrowded, dark, foully dirty, not only ill-ventilated, but deprived altogether of fresh air. The wretched inmates were thrown into subterranean dungeons, into wet and noisome caverns and hideous holes to rot and fester, a prey to fell disease, bred and propagated in the prison house, and deprived of the commonest necessities of life. For food they were dependent upon the caprice of their jailers or the charity of the benevolent ; water was denied them except in the scantiest proportions ; they were half naked or in rags ; their only bedding was putrid straw reeking with exhalations and accumulated filth. Every one in durance, whether tried or untried, was heavily ironed ; women did not escape the infliction. All alike were subject to the rapacity of their jailers and the extortions of their fellows. . . . Idleness, drunkenness, vicious intercourse, sickness, starvation, squalor, cruelty, chains, awful oppression, and everywhere culpable neglect—in these words may be summed up the state of the jails at the time of Howard's visitation.

John Howard began his work of seeking to bring about a reformation in 1773—one hundred and twenty-one years ago. Thus you can see down to how recent a date lasted the condition of things whose description I have just read.

Before proceeding to state what Howard did and what his successors have done, let us pause to consider what was the attitude of society or the state previous to this time, toward its criminal members. How were they regarded ? why were they treated as they were ? what were the motives prompting those in authority

to dispose of them as they did? and what was the object had in view? The answer to these questions is that, in the beginning, the object was chiefly *the wreaking of vengeance*, and the motive was a desire to take it. Accordingly the criminal was regarded with no mercy, but was angrily, brutally stamped out of existence—put to death or tortured in the cruelest way. Society did not feel that it owed him any clemency whatever, or that it had any further interest in him; but felt rather that he had forfeited all right and claim to property, to liberty, and even to life. “Vengeance is mine, I will repay,” said society; and it did repay with terrible ferocity. Then a little later, when slavery and incarceration were substituted for death and torture, the object was chiefly to *get rid* of the criminal—to put him out of the way a little more mercifully than in the former manner. Society still did not consider that it owed him anything more than this—that he had any interests or rights beyond this, or that it had any duty to perform toward him. Once more, at a later time, and, I suppose, all along to some extent, the object had in view was mainly *the protection of society*. The perpetrators of crime must be killed or imprisoned to protect society from their depredations and to warn other wrong-doers from following in their footsteps. It is needless to say that this is the object and motive entertained by the vast majority of people, who think at all about the matter, at the present time. Mingled with this, however, are the old motives of vindictiveness and a desire merely to get rid of the transgressor of law. Society as a whole has not yet risen to any higher conception or aim.

In 1773 John Howard began a thorough study of the prisons of England with a view to arousing interest and securing laws which would effect reforms. His work attracted public attention, and he accomplished in large part the object of his desire. He was followed by other worthy laborers in the same good cause, who in turn were followed by still others in increasing numbers, until now the foremost nations of the world have many noble advocates of a far higher penal system than any previous age has ever witnessed. These leaders of thought and practice have sought to teach people in general that society owes something to

its criminal members, is under obligations to treat them humanely, justly, even kindly; that it has no right to do with them just as it pleases; that they are members of the body politic, brothers in the universal human family, entitled to *some* rights even though they have forfeited some others; that it is wrong to treat them vindictively, or to torture or abuse them; and, above all, that the object of all punishment should be, not vengeance, or banishment, or even the protection of society, but rather *the reformation of the wrong-doer*.

Such ideas as these could not take hold of the public mind all at once; but some of them at least began immediately, even in Howard's time to make a deep impression, to find decided favor, and to meet with no insignificant response. They led, and have since been leading, first of all to better prisons—buildings large enough and healthful enough to be decent places of confinement for human beings; secondly, to the classification and separation of prisoners, preventing their indiscriminate association; thirdly, to their productive and wholesome employment; fourthly, to their intellectual, moral, and religious education. These ideas have been incorporated into the prison systems of nearly all the more progressive nations, and I suppose that most of them are to be found carried out in the great majority of the states of our Union.

But notwithstanding so much has been accomplished, much more remains to be accomplished. There are still many and grievous evils in connection with the management of prisons generally, and especially are there serious errors in the common thought of people respecting the object of punishment and the treatment of an offender. For one thing, our prisons are too much dependent upon politics; political "influence" has altogether too much to do with the appointment of prison officials, whereas politics should have no more to do with the management of a prison than with that of a bank or a railroad. The management of a prison, as of every other public institution, whether post-office, custom-house, or what else, is public *business*, and not public spoils; and the requisite business qualifications, and not political influence of any kind, should be considered in all appointments to responsible positions.

Again, our county jails, or jail systems, are, as a rule, a wicked injustice and a source of evil most prolific. They are designed primarily as a place of detention for those awaiting trial, but they are used also as places of commitment for some of the more trifling offenders. Being for the most part idle, and associating somewhat freely with one another, the occupants find the county jail quite often a veritable school of vice rather than a reformatory agency. Many of the best minds of our country believe that the jail system, if it is proper to speak of it as a system, ought to be abolished.

Still further, there are evils and abuses growing out of the matter of contract labor and the lease system in many prisons; and there is a great deal of foolish and unjust talk on the part of some of our laboring people, politicians, and newspapers, against the competition of convict labor with free labor—as if it were for the interest of laboring people in general, or anybody else, for that matter, to support a number of thousand of prisoners in idleness, who would surely deteriorate in every respect while idle, rather than have them work at any branch of productive industry which the laboring people themselves desired to carry on! Once more, I might mention some of the defects in the laws under which criminals are sentenced to prison—sentenced for a definite length of time, without regard to behavior while serving out the sentence; and, lastly, I might speak of the utter indifference of ninety-nine per cent of all the people in the whole subject of crime, criminals, and prison affairs. But I must pass on to say that prison reform seeks to do away with all these evils through disseminating higher ideas and introducing better methods. To be more specific, it seeks to teach the people, first of all, that society is concerned in the disposal and treatment of its criminal members—concerned from every point of view, whether financial, moral, or religious. For every criminal, every wrong-doer, every sinner, is still a member of society, despite his wrongdoing; he is, indeed, a disobedient member, a rebellious, destructive member, but still a *member of society*—a brother in the great human family; just as all your children are really your

children, even though some of them are wayward while others are dutiful. This is the truth which we most need to appreciate. Yet it is just the thing which we perhaps think least about—that every transgressor is still a brother-man and a member of society ; and that therefore society is concerned in what becomes of him. He owes it to society to return to ways of virtue and usefulness ; and society owes it to him to take its moral and spiritual strength and help to make of him the virtuous and useful member that he ought to be. Thus their interests are mutual, and their duties reciprocal ; and both need to see this—“ whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it ; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it.”

In the second place, prison reform seeks to teach the great lesson that the object of all punishment should be the reformation of the evil-doer. Hitherto, mainly, the object had in view has been either revenge or riddance or the protection of society : the state has killed or imprisoned its transgressors to take vengeance on them, or to get rid of them, or to make an example of them so as to deter others from committing crime. But now we are beginning to see that the state owes something, from a high spiritual standpoint, to the transgressor himself, and that the supreme object of the state in dealing with him is, or should be, to make a virtuous, honorable, and useful citizen of him. Accordingly the whole problem of prison management must be solved in harmony with this conception. Everything must be done, and nothing must be left undone, that will conduce to the reformation of the criminal—to his health, his industry, his education, his moral elevation, and his religious culture. The old propensities or desires or evil habits that led him into crime must be overcome by any and every means, and new ideas, aspirations, hopes, purposes, and convictions must be awakened and developed within him. To this end he must be surrounded with good influences, physical and spiritual ; he must be made to see that conduct brings consequences, that privileges or blessings depend upon behavior ; and he must thoroughly understand that society, in the aggregate of its wisdom, skill, and virtue, is more than a match for him—that he cannot pursue a course of crime without

sooner or later being defeated, and that society is determined to keep him under control until it can trust him.

In order to carry out these ideas, three features are considered necessary in the treatment of the criminal and in the administration of the prison, namely : first, the indeterminate sentence ; second, the classification and gradation of the prisoners ; and, third, the conditional release or parole. Let me say a few words upon each of these points.

1. The indeterminate sentence is held to promote good conduct while in confinement. It gives the prisoner a chance to make the time of his incarceration depend largely upon his behavior. He can be released when he shows convincing evidence that he can be trusted with his freedom—in other words, when the authorities are satisfied that he has begun in earnest the work of personal reformation. Of course this theory is not absolutely carried out in all particulars, but the principle is entering more and more into the infliction and execution of sentences. It is one of the fundamental principles of the reformatory proper, and has already proved its utility in such institutions.

2. The classification and gradation of prisoners.

When a new man enters the reformatory, he is put into the middle grade. By good deportment he may rise to the first grade, or by an opposite course may sink to the third grade, with the corresponding gain or loss of many privileges. These grades are distinguished by different colored suits of clothes, and the whole arrangement tends powerfully to promote good conduct.

3. The conditional release or parole—not full and absolute discharge at a definite time. This is a natural and important complement of the other two principles. A prisoner is not set free all at once or absolutely, but is released to enjoy his freedom as long as he behaves himself. The strong but kind hand of discipline retains its hold on him for many a year, if he continues to reside within the state where the reformatory is located. If he removes to another state, however, he cannot be recalled and reincarcerated. Perhaps sometime there will be an interstate comity in this matter.

In connection with these three features, there are two other incidental ones, viz.: the Bertillon system of registration and identification; and the assistance of discharged prisoners, or their families, when necessary.

The Bertillon system is very minute and complete, and affords prison officials in all parts of the country data for the sure identification of criminals and the ascertaining of their whole record. Naturally all prisoners object very strongly to it, but it justifies itself as a part of the machinery of justice whereby the righteous purpose of society may outwit and defeat wrong-doers.

The aiding of discharged convicts, and sometimes the aiding of the families of prisoners while in confinement, is a work which the state does not attempt to any considerable extent, but which is done, though inadequately, by Prisoners' Aid Associations. Much more ought to be done in this regard, and the general program of prison reform seeks to encourage all such worthy objects.

Now I know that in all this there is danger—the danger of too much leniency under the delusion that it is merciful and saving goodness; the danger, in other words, of sentimentalism instead of common sense; the danger of rewarding crime instead of punishing it. This danger is vigorously set forth in a ringing article by Mr. Wm. P. Andrews in the *Forum* magazine for October, 1893. We need to guard against this and all kindred dangers. There is a little too much sentimentalism allowed in our prisons, and in our court-rooms during the trials of heinous criminals. The caution of Mr. Andrews, therefore, is none too emphatic.

But, on the other hand, in spite of all this, we need to learn very thoroughly the great lesson, that the supreme object in the punishment of a wrong-doer is his *reformation*, and that this is the best possible protection to society. Nothing is so dangerous or so costly as a criminal; nothing is so safe or so economical to do with a bad man as to make a good one out of him. Now that the spirit and power of this great truth are beginning to be felt more widely and deeply than in past ages, we may hope for valuable achievements in behalf of social righteousness from the slow but sure progress of prison reform.

W. C. SELLECK.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE COMING SOCIAL STRUGGLE.

BY CHARLES ROBINSON.

ON MAY DAY, 1891, a bloody labor riot took place at Fourmies, in France. The soldiers, having been stoned by an angry mob, fired into the midst of the crowd. Fifty-four persons fell—fourteen never to rise again. The soldiers, bringing their rifles once more to the shoulder, were about to fire another volley when the curé of the parish, l'Abbé Margerine, ran between the muzzles of the guns and the mob, crying, "Enough, enough of victims!" There was a moment of suspense, during which it seemed doubtful whether the brave priest would share the fate that befell the Archbishop of Paris in 1848; but when that moment had passed, it was seen that his intervention had sufficed to stay further bloodshed. The soldiers fired no more, and the mob silently dispersed. At the time, this incident impressed the imagination of all Europe, and the bravery of the abbé extorted praise even from the most inveterate enemies of the Catholic Church in France.

What that abbé did at Fourmies, the pope is destined to do in Christendom at large.

The present writer has no desire to underrate the importance of any of the various religious bodies separated from the Catholic Church which have sprung up since the so-called Reformation nor to belittle the good work done by many of them; but these churches have yet to take the first step that is necessary to enable them to deal effectually with the great problems with which modern society is encompassed. They must unite in order to create a sufficiently strong association. The Catholic Church is the only variety of religion that possesses or indeed claims the attribute of universality, as a perfect society, a visible

kingdom extending throughout the world, and which is able, therefore, to take a definite part in respect to a world-wide movement. The Protestant churches are not strong enough to do so because they are divided. The Catholic Church is strong enough to do so because she is united. There are other potent reasons for her superior strength in this direction, but they need not be enumerated here. Suffice it to say that conservative men of all creeds and parties agree that it is only by the coöperation of the Catholic Church that the social revolutionists, of whom the anarchists simply form the advanced and militant section, can be effectually dealt with. Moreover there seems to be a consensus of opinion that we are once more nearing a revolutionary epoch. To quote the words of Professor Goldwin Smith in the *Forum* :

There is a general feeling abroad that the stream is drawing near a cataract now, and there are apparent grounds for the surmise. There is everywhere in the social frame an outward unrest, which as usual is the sign of fundamental change within. Old creeds have given way. The masses, the artisans especially, have ceased to believe that the existing order of society, with its grades of rank and wealth, is a divine ordinance against which it is vain to rebel. They have ceased to believe in a future state, the compensation of all those whose lot is hard here. Convinced that this world is all, and that there is nothing more to come, they want at once to grasp their share of enjoyment. The labor journals are full of this thought. Social science, if it is to take the place of religion as a conservative force, has not yet developed itself or taken firm hold of the popular mind. The rivalry of factions and demagogues has almost everywhere introduced universal suffrage. The poorer classes are freshly possessed of political power, and have conceived boundless notions of the changes which, by exercising it, they may make in their own favor. They are just in that twilight of education in which chimeras stalk. This concurrence of social and economical with political and religious revolution has always been fraught with danger. The governing classes, unnerved by skepticism, have lost faith in the order which they represent, and are inclined to precipitate abdication. Many members of them—partly from philanthropy, partly from vanity, partly perhaps from fear—are playing the demagogue, and, as they did in France, dallying with revolution.

The outlook in this country is not yet so threatening as it is in Europe, although there are prophets like Professor Von Holst who see in the disorders that divide us the precursors of speedy ruin. In a recent number of the *Journal of Political*

Economy, this eminent historian proclaims that we are fast drifting into a more appalling crisis even than the Civil War. That, he says, was only a political conflict; but at present, he declares, nothing less than the preservation of society is at issue. He proceeds to emphasize this assertion by holding up, as a concrete example of the instability of our social organization, the onset of organized labor last summer. It may be that Professor Von Holst's predictions are grossly exaggerated; nevertheless, there is alarming ground for anxiety. We shall not fall into chaos tomorrow, nor at the next presidential election. The counsels of the wise and patriotic will avail to postpone the evil day, and the conservative influences of wealth may, if wisely employed, steady the decaying fabric for many years, but the crisis must come sooner or later, and when it is reached, complete disruption can only be prevented by the active coöperation of the Catholic Church.

Meanwhile it is significant to note that, one after another, the foremost statesmen of Europe are seeking shelter from the approaching storm by gathering under the canopy that surmounts the chair of Peter. They plainly perceive that the great ethical and religious force of which Leo XIII. is the head is the only ally capable of stemming the socialistic current which they themselves are unable to arrest with their half and half measures of social improvement. Preëminent among the great political leaders who have lately capitulated before the "Prisoner of the Vatican" is Prime Minister Crispi, whose remarkable speech at Naples last September was nothing less than a virtual confession that the civil power alone is unable to cope with anarchy. As is well known, Signor Crispi has always been an inveterate foe of the papacy. That he, the old conspirator, the unsparing persecutor of the pope and of Catholicism, should suddenly veer round, and confess that the administrative resources and the organized liberalism of Italy are impotent to save Italian unity and to restore the prosperity of the Italian people without the active concurrence of that Church which he formerly affected to despise, is all the more significant. Indeed, the change in Signor Crispi is an historical fact of great importance. As a

recent writer says, "It may be the starting-point and forerunner of moral revolutions too great for the will of man to check their impetuous course."

While the Italian premier's advances may not indicate that a reconciliation is about to take place between the Vatican and the Quirinal, they would scarcely have been made unless something of the kind was in contemplation. Just on what terms such a *rapprochement* could be brought about it is not easy to predict, but it is quite evident Signor Crispi recognizes the fact that the coöperation of the Catholic Church in the struggle to uphold the social system would be cheaply bought at a very great price.

For many years the profligate politicians and fraudulent financiers, who grow rich upon what passes for self-government in Italy, have endeavored without the aid of religion to cope with the representatives of socialistic and anarchistic ideas, and, by the confession of their official spokesman, they have failed. King Humbert and his advisers now fully realize that, were the immense power wielded by the Vatican exercised in behalf of the Savoy dynasty, the latter would be in a far better position to make headway against the growth of socialism, and any doubts they may have had on this subject were dispelled by the support which they received from the pope in quelling the recent revolt in Sicily—which was a signal for the bankruptcy of the Italian unity. During the height of the uprising in that "isle of fire," as Dante calls her, the pope sent secret instructions to the bishops and clergy there to pacify the minds of the people.* The result is thus described by the New York *Sun* :

The collaboration of the clergy had a great deal to do with breaking the force of the insurrection. The disease in Sicily, like the malady in Italy, is a malady of exhaustion. It is the consequence of a great disillusion. The statesmen in favor of unity had won over the masses by promises as high as heaven and as long as eternity ! Liberty, national independence, the progress of industry, of commerce, and of agriculture,

* In a remarkable article entitled "The Diplomacy of the Vatican and the Question of the Temporal Power," which appeared some time since in the *Rassegna Nazionale*, the writer, although avowedly hostile to the papacy, was compelled to admit that "everything which in the last twelve years has been attempted by the Vatican to restore religious peace to those nations deprived of it, or to prevent greater ruin in those where the government showed symptoms of entering on a course of violence, has been successful."

a new birth of intellectual activity; the new order of things had spread the most beautiful prospects before thirsting souls. And instead of fruit, the people now held ashes in its hands. The fortune of Italy was like those eastern roses which leave behind only poison and bitterness. Hence the value of the aid of the clerical party. The Catholics and the pope alone were free from the malady of Italy, and they alone had resisted the mad antics of the state, and they alone were innocent of the misery of the people and the collapse of the economic fabric of the nation. They alone, therefore, had the right to preach peace, forgetfulness, and reparation.

In France as in Italy, many of the most influential party leaders have come to appreciate the fact that it will not be easy to defend the institutions of civilized society without the help of religion. They no longer rally to the famous and mischievous battle-cry of Gambetta, "Clericalism is the real enemy," for they recognize that, even though clericalism may be odious, far worse things may be created from atheism and anarchy. In more than one recent crisis the Church has rendered important services to France; indeed, without her aid, it is doubtful if the republic could have weathered the storm. "The French democracy," said Emilio Castelar in an interview the other day, "should be guided by the religious spirit, not by materialism." Señor Castelar has lately, like Crispi, thrown himself into the arms of the Catholic Church, which he formerly assailed so savagely. Indeed, the progress of revolutionary ideas in Europe has caused many other prominent republican leaders, notably Jules Simon and Eugene Spuller, to seek reconciliation with the Vatican, whose importance they have for years underrated, and whose influence they have sought in vain to cripple. In this connection it is interesting to recall that in the heat of the long and bitter controversy over the May Laws, Bismarck declared that *he* should "never go to Canossa." But, like Emperor Henry IV. to Pope Hildebrand, he afterwards found it expedient to send an ambassador to the Vatican and to repeal the harshest portion of those laws. The iron chancellor's subsequent letter to the pope, in which, to the astonishment of Europe, he addressed the latter as "Sire," and his selection of the holy father as arbitrator in the dispute between Germany and Spain as to the ownership of the Caroline Islands, are still fresh in the public memory.

Straws show which way the wind blows, and recent events all seem to indicate that the papacy is once more destined to become the power which it was of old. Crushed and humiliated as was the Holy See at the end of the reign of Pius IX., Leo XIII. has restored to the popedom, with the respect of governments and people, that prestige and influence which were her attributes during the heroic times of her history. In a reign of less than two decades, Leo XIII. has secured to his successors a sway never dreamed of by his predecessor. As a matter of fact, the present pontiff is pedestated upon a pinnacle far beyond the scope and power conceded either to Leo X. or Gregory the Great. Rarely indeed has the tiara shone with so brilliant and so pure a light or shed its rays so brightly or so far. The anti-Christian secretaries of Italy, to whom the overthrow of the pope's temporal power is due, fondly hoped thereby, in the words of one of their leaders, "to decapitate the papacy in Rome." The event, however, has completely falsified their aspirations. This loss did not bring even a wrinkle upon the fair brow of the Church. The Roman question once seemed to constitute an impassable barrier between the Church and modern democracy. The enemies of the Church have themselves broken down the barrier. The popedom has lost the material possession of Rome, but on the other hand, she has splendidly enlarged the sphere of her social action and the dominions of her moral conquests. To quote the words of a recent writer in the *Illustrated American*:

Leo XIII. found all Europe in revolt when he fell heir to the broken scepter of Pius IX. He saw Germany persecuting the Church, Italy in anarchy, France alienated, Austria careless, Spain debased or infidel—the world, in short, ignoring the prelacy of Rome, the *régime* of the Vatican. By arts that speak such statesmanship as the world has rarely seen, all this has been changed. Germany, from the arch-instigator of revolt, has become a mainstay of the papacy; Italy, burning with revolutionary ardor to destroy the symbols of clerical tradition, has been pacified into rest, and her most turbulent demagogue openly avows that peaceful government in the peninsula can only be secured by the coöperation of the Church. By a stroke of Machiavellian insight, France the untamable, the reckless prodigal son of Rome, was transformed into dutiful obedience. Even Britain—the first and most mischievous derelict of the papacy—has been charmed into compromise which looks very much like the preliminaries of reunion with Rome.

The Russian autocrat has fallen under the pontiff's spell, and there are sagacious statesmen who declare that it is only a question of time when the Greek and Roman Catholic will, as of yore, defer to one head.

This tacit acknowledgment of the religious primacy of the successor of St. Peter is one of the clearest signs of the times. It is a significant recognition of the fact that the Catholic Church holds the solution of the terrible problem which lies on the threshold of the twentieth century, and that it belongs to the pope alone to pronounce our social *pax vobiscum*.

CHARLES ROBINSON.

ECONOMIC COÖPERATION.

II.

BY E. M. BURCHARD.

THIS subject, at once so important and so obscure, commands the thoughtful attention of all who believe in human progress.

The readers of this journal may have observed that Stoughton Cooley and myself are discussing the same subject; we are not, however, opponents, for under the same title we discuss things radically unlike.

He writes of an economic coöperation which we now fully enjoy except in so far as its operations are restricted and its benefits curtailed by the presence and power of monopoly. It is my contention that we shall have economic coöperation whenever the generality of men learn how to coöperate economically.

Political economy is not one science but two; we have the *old*, and there is also the *new*. The old may be studied in the books, where it is known as the "dismal science"; the *new* is just now in the making, and it will be known as the "cheerful science." The *old* tells us just how things have been done in the past; and so wretchedly have things been done, and so dim is the prospect of improvement which it affords, that no one disputes its title of "dismal." It is the province of the new political economy to tell us how to do things better, and so wide is the room for improvement and so prone is humanity to improve its condition that it may well be called the science of hope and cheerfulness.

All of man's intellectual operations start with some assumption or other, and this of necessity since he has nothing better from which to take his flight. Assumptions are, therefore, not to be apologized for, or called by any other name, but only to be selected with care and fairly treated.

An assumption is not something that we know to be true, but only what in the present state of our knowledge seems to be true; it is good for use until it comes in contact with an opposing assumption better supported by reason, then it becomes worthless.

The old political economy assumes that capital, or the man possessed of wealth, is the fundamental and indispensable factor in human society, and, consequently, that the reward of capital is the chief end of all industrial activity. It assumes that in case capital is not satisfactorily rewarded it will decline to operate and thus bring industry to a standstill.

The new political economy assumes that labor, the man with trained capacity for the actual doing of things, is the more important factor in all industrial operations, and that his right to enjoy the rewards of industry takes precedence of all others. It assumes that capital being valueless except for use must operate upon such terms as it can get. It also recognizes the fact that present capital is the creation of the labor of the past, and that its maker can remake it if necessary; that however useful and important a factor capital may be, the capitalist is of very little real consequence. It also perceives that capital, in the last analysis, is but credit—the power of getting things to-day upon promise of payment in some of the to-morrows—and that the credit of labor is inherently better than the credit of capital, since it is the ultimate source of the returns. If capital may pledge what it hopes to get out of labor, may not labor give the pledge and attend to the performance? This waits simply upon the organization and direction of labor, not upon any change in the nature of things.

The bondage of labor to capital is ended; each is now free, the one to *use itself*, the other to let itself to the highest bidder. The new political economy views not labor and capital as equal and coördinate factors in production; it sees one *the man*, the other *the thing*, and beholds an infinite gulf between them.

In the good old times of the Saxon kings of England the rural lords ate at table with their vassals in the great dining-hall of their castles. Upon a raised platform at one end sat the

chieftain and his guests, while ranged down either side his vassals and serfs were placed according to their rank. The food was served at the head of the table and as it passed along down toward the foot, the meanness of the man corresponded with his fare.

The old political economy views society upon a similar plane. At the table where are served the rewards of industry, capital sits at the head, with labor ranged downward according to the meanness of its kind. The viands are served to capital first; what is left descends to labor, and the poorer sort of laborers are supposed to be content if bones and scraps enough to prevent actual starvation come their way.

When a body moves through space the heavier end goes first, and if the relative weight of the ends is changed the body turns in its course. Once, the capitalistic end of society was the heavier and naturally took the lead; it monopolized wealth, learning, intelligence, and power. A change has been going on. The man of work has become the man of brain, of education, of force. He has become superior to the man with money. As creator of wealth he is more nearly made after the image of God than is the man who merely holds wealth. That end of society which has gradually grown the heavier is coming to the front. Labor is moving up from the foot of the table, and capital is moving down along the side to its proper place. A new political economy is being developed, and that is why it is being written about. Unlike the *old* which follows industry and is but history, the *new* leads industry, and is at once an inspiration and a prophecy.

Students of the old political economy are accustomed to include in the single word production all those multifarious operations which finally result in placing the finished article in the hands of the consumer. These miss the all-important fact that "production" is not one thing, that its manifold operations are not of the same nature, but may be classed under two heads so different as to be antagonistic; these are manufacture and trade, the one an essential element in production, the other non-essential and one which, to a large extent, may be profitably elim-

inated. Manufacture and exchange will as perfectly accomplish the work of "production" as manufacture and trade. It is the contention of the new political economy that exchange may profitably supplant trade. The old economists are not yet prepared to discuss this question, and they are not likely to be until they discover that it is a question.

Exchange and trade are in their natures radically different operations. Trade is the coming of a third party between the maker and the user of wealth, to own, and to speculate in the products of labor. Exchange is a system that dispenses with the trader, his ownership and his speculation. Exchange is the actual fact of coöperation. It would not interfere with competitive production, but it would abolish competitive distribution.

To any efficient system of exchange is essential, first, a reliable custodian of the goods to be exchanged, and, second, an exchange currency. The economic advantages of exchange as compared with trade are numerous:

1. It would release at least half of the number of traders from an unprofitable calling and add them to the ranks of actual wealth producers.
2. It would abolish speculation in the products of labor.
3. It would permit the uninterrupted employment of all working people, and furnish work for as many others as were willing to labor.
4. It would abolish all contests between labor and capital.
5. It would save to the producers the enormous profits of the trading class.
6. It would pay each worker exactly in proportion to the excellence and quantity of his product, and do this automatically.
7. It would vastly increase the amount of wealth production.
8. It would give to each worker the whole amount of his product minus the trifling percentage absorbed by the necessary expense of operating the exchange.
9. It would furnish abundant employment to the rising generation, and place all workers upon an equal lawful footing, and leave to each all the advantage to be derived from natural powers and superior application.

10. It would be just ; and it may be added that, heavy as are the other considerations, this last outweighs them all.

The writer stands ready to demonstrate the above propositions whenever they shall be called in question.

The efficiency of any system of exchange is in proportion to its extent—to the number of the exchangers and the variety of the products. All local attempts at exchange are hampered by incompleteness ; they are destitute alike of the goods to be exchanged and of the facilities for exchanging them. They are much like a dinner prepared in the absence of both the cook and the viands.

With an exchange system coextensive with the boundaries of the United States the exchangers would be practically independent of the traders, and of the traders' tool, money. The exchange would contain all the variety of products that heart could wish, and the more that a worker put in as the result of his labor and self-denial, the more could he take out for the gratification of the limitless wants of humanity ; and no gain of any one would occasion the loss of any other.

It is obvious that an efficient system of exchange must be of a public nature. We can as little brook the presence of private speculation in the daily exchanges of our goods as in that of our mail.

Is there any better use for the machinery of government than to provide a safe custody for the wealth of the humble toiler ? a place where he may put the product of his labor assured of getting it again ? a place where his contribution to the wealth of society may exchange upon equal terms with all his fellows ? a place secure from the ravages of the spoiler ?

To the criticisms of Mr. Cooley upon the details of the system of exchange I can only reply that he, unfortunately, did not take the trouble to understand what he was trying to demolish.

The putting forward of the single tax plan as a cure-all which would render fair exchange unnecessary, warrants a brief reference to that subject.

The single tax is urged as a practical scheme for raising public revenue, and we must therefore consider it as a plan for taxing.

The single tax idea is due to an evident misconception of the nature and office of taxation, which is assumed to be the equalization of natural opportunities and the regulation of land tenure. Taxation really is nothing but the taking of private wealth for public use. In this matter, as in every other, nothing but confusion is gained by lugging in a foreign element. There is no necessary connection between the terms upon which a man may monopolize land and the amount of wealth which he should contribute to the public service.

As wealth cannot be gotten from those who have it not, it must be taken from its possessors, and justice requires that the amount taken be in proportion to the amount possessed. The single tax proposes to violate both of these fundamental principles of the science of taxation.

1. It would tax a man without inquiring if he possessed wealth; and,

2. It would tax him irrespective of his wealth possessions.

The idea of taxing a man upon his opportunities to acquire wealth is simply ridiculous. Limiting opportunities to such as are natural only makes the matter worse, for the opportunities afforded by civilized society are, in the main, unnatural.

All reasoning about natural opportunity fails when applied to a state in which natural conditions have been supplanted by the operations of civilized society; there are no longer any natural opportunities.

It is a matter of great difficulty to estimate accurately the amount of a man's wealth as a basis for taxation. Who is wise enough to estimate the value of a man's opportunities with sufficient accuracy to make them the basis for taxation? and besides all the rest, the state is not seeking opportunity but wealth. One cannot settle a tax bill by yielding an opportunity. It needs but to bring the single tax idea out of the region of vagueness to land it in the realm of the absurd when viewed as a plan for raising public revenue. As a means of confiscating such private wealth as has been invested in titles to real estate it will be, doubtless, worthy of examination whenever we have decided to do that thing.

In conclusion, I must be allowed to call the reader's attention

to the looseness of thought which seems characteristic of the single-taxer. In presenting the single tax remedy Mr. Cooley begins and ends a long paragraph as follows: "The remedy lies not in destroying the competition we now have, but in establishing absolute free competition. * * * * * Monopoly would then disappear and labor would coöperate under free conditions." It will be observed here that what goes in as competition comes out as coöperation. It is like a recipe for ice cream which should read thus: Prepare the materials, put in an oven, apply heat, and gradually increase the temperature until congelation takes place. It was declared a very long time ago that "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap," and a vast amount of human experience justifies the saying.

If in the realm of political economy things work differently; if when we really desire to coöperate we should compete and keep on competing until coöperation is attained—if this be true, then is it one of those *new* facts the truth of which would better be demonstrated than assumed.

E. M. BURCHARD.

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMAN.

BY MARY ELIZABETH BROOKS.

IF THERE is any one question in which, more than all others, women should be interested at the present time, which should predominate in their thoughts, which should receive their complete and unanimous attention and energy, it is that of suffrage. There is no privilege or right which they have or ought to have, which means so much to them, which, when exercised by them, will result so beneficially to them and posterity.

If there is any one question in which, more than others, men should energetically interest themselves until its object is accomplished, it is that of suffrage for women. It will be of incalculable benefit to them as well as to all humanity.

Olive Schreiner has given us a most excellent portrayal of the position of woman in the world, in her "Three Dreams in a Desert."

In the first of these dreams, she represents woman lying on the desert where she has lain for years, with the heavy sand piled round her. Upon her back is the burden of the Age-of-dominion-of-muscular-force, fastened with the broad band of Inevitable Necessity. "And I looked and saw in her eyes the terrible patience of the centuries; the ground was wet with her tears, and her nostrils blew up the sand." With the burden upon her back she knows she cannot move, so she lies there through the ages. Beside her stands man. A broad band connects them, so that while she lies there, he cannot go on; but he does not know why he cannot move. Then the Age-of-nervous-force kills the Age-of-muscular-force, and with the knife of Mechanical Invention cuts the band of Inevitable Necessity and the burden falls from her back. When she sees that the burden

is fallen from her, she tries to rise. The man does not help her, but moves from her, tightening the band, and thereby hindering her. He does not understand. She must help herself and struggle until she is strong. When she has risen, he will understand, and will look into her eyes with sympathy.

In the second dream, woman is represented as seeking for the land of Freedom, which is before her and only reached by going down the steep bank of Labor, through the deep water of Suffering, across which there is no bridge. Many have tried to cross, but have left no track. She drops her mantle of Ancient-received-opinions, and removes her shoes of Dependence, wearing only the garment of Truth. Taking the staff of Reason, she goes down the bank. If she does not reach the land of Freedom, her body will help to make the bridge over which the entire human race will cross to that land.

The third dream represents a land in which walked "brave women and brave men, hand in hand. And they looked into each other's eyes, and they were not afraid." The place was heaven, and it was on earth; and these things are to be in the future.

Suffrage is our right and we demand it. In all equity and justice, it should be given to us. To withhold it is robbery.

If one robs another of some portion of his worldly goods, immediately men not at all interested in the latter, pronounce the former a thief, and see that justice is done. But they calmly stand by and see those most dear to them, mothers, wives, sisters, robbed of a sacred right far more valuable than any worldly goods, and so far from endeavoring to see justice done, they sanction the theft, and themselves become *particeps criminis*; nay, more, the chief among the robbers.

In the first chapter of Genesis, after relating the story of the creation, it is said that God gave dominion over the earth, not to Adam, but to Adam and Eve. But Adam has stolen Eve's birthright from her.

One of the greatest mistakes which the world makes, when considering this question of suffrage, is in forgetting that before woman is woman, she is human. Her humanity is first, her

womanhood second. And as a human being, she is endowed by her creator "with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Life she has, hampered and restricted by custom and conventionality, but liberty and the pursuit of happiness are utterly denied her, and that by those who only have the right to equal authority with her, but who have usurped her authority.

We do not come begging and supplicating suffrage, as for a favor to be graciously granted by our superiors, but we come demanding our rights of those who should be our equals, but who, by their blind prejudice and partiality, by this most daring robbery of a most sacred inborn prerogative, and especially by a refusal to restore this prerogative, have come to well-nigh deserve to be relegated as inferiors.

As to the small percentage of women who say they do not wish the ballot, they are to be pitied for their own sakes, and censured for helping to deprive others of rights for which they are striving. Nevertheless, I do not believe but that, when the time shall come and they are allowed to cast their votes with other citizens, they will be among the first to avail themselves of the right. However, they are not to be censured as much as many of the men, who now have the privilege of voting, but who sit calmly at home in gown and slippers and allow men to be placed in office who rob them and every one else.

Incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, which was a document signed by such men as John Hancock, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin, are found these words: "To secure these rights [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness] governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Do not women make up a large portion of "the governed"? They most certainly do. But is their consent asked as to how they shall be governed? It certainly is not. Here, then, is manifest error, and the powers of the government not derived from the consent of the governed (not a portion of the governed) are necessarily not just. This is reputed to be a land of justice and equality, but how widely divergent from the

truth that statement must ever be, so long as suffrage is given to some of her citizens and withheld from others. And why? Not because of any inability resulting from crime or ignorance, or for any other reason than simply because their minds and souls chance to be encased in the body of a woman instead of a man. Not for any difference in the heart or brain, but simply because of a difference of sex, forsooth. If it were not so glaring and grave an injury to woman, it would be a most ridiculous piece of nonsense.

In an article by Rev. Anna Shaw upon this subject, she says :

We are asking why we human beings shall be justly deprived of any right which any other human being claims as his. . . Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . We are governed. We ought, if the laws are just, to give our consent to these laws. If we must obey them we ought to be asked our will in regard to what they should be. If we must pay our taxes, we ought to be asked how the money which we thus pay should be expended. If we are to bear the burdens of government we ought to be asked what these burdens shall be. . . I am not here to argue whether it is a right or a privilege. If it is a right, I want my right. If it is a privilege, I want my privilege. I do not care which it is. If it is a privilege demanded for cause, it is a privilege which I demand for the same cause for which every man demands it. If he needs it for his protection, I need it for my protection.

When that day shall dawn "in the future," when heart and brain, rather than sex, when a moral and educational, rather than a physical diversity, shall govern the gift of the ballot, when to all law-abiding, intelligent citizens, not male citizens, shall be given what is theirs, the right of suffrage, then shall this country indeed be a land of the free, where justice and equity are administered impartially and where the "blessings of liberty" shall be secured to ourselves and our posterity, as in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States is declared.

The fifteenth article of the Constitution declares : "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and it might well add, "or sex," for the Constitution does not in any other

place state that sex shall work as a waiver of the right to vote, but rather seems to imply the opposite.

The second article of the Constitution contains these words : "No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president."

There is certainly nothing in the above clause to restrict it to male citizens only.

In the fourteenth article to the Constitution is found the following : "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Can anything be plainer or more concise ? First, it is stated that the right of any citizen to vote shall not be denied ; second, that no state shall abridge the rights of any citizen ; and, third, it defines a citizen to be any person, not any male, born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction.

It is certainly beyond ordinary comprehension that after reading the above, any sane person will say that any natural-born or naturalized woman has not also a constitutional right to the ballot, for she is most certainly subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and renders implicit obedience to its laws.

It might be observed that all three of the clauses quoted are taken from amendments and not from the original Constitution, indicating the trend of later thought.

Even the Constitution itself, by which we women are governed, begins with the words, "We, the people of the United States," not, "We, the male inhabitants of the United States."

Immediately at the close of the Civil War, the negroes, fresh from slavery, knowing nothing except how to pick cotton, acknowledged to be at that time a shiftless, uneducated, unintelligent race, working as little as possible, and quickly squandering the results of that little, knowing absolutely nothing of the great issues of the country and utterly incapable

of using the ballot intelligently—such were at once given the right to help make the laws and elect the officials of this country, and to the intelligent, educated women of our own race the same privilege was denied. To be sure, the negro was entitled to his vote so long as he obeyed the laws and paid the taxes levied upon him; but so was and is woman. Thanks to our free schools, the negro is fast becoming educated and brought to an understanding of the great privilege Lincoln secured to him.

Our shores are daily set foot upon by foreigners from all over the world. And very rarely is it that any of them are of the better classes. The greater share of them are uneducated and too many are immoral and inclined to vice. Yet, after a short residence here, this ignorant foreigner, often not able to speak a word of our language or write his own name, without knowing anything of this country and its needs, or of the great questions to be decided by ballot, is given the privilege of helping to decide these questions, of framing the laws and electing the officials of the land. More than this, he often fills the offices himself, to the exclusion of educated, natural-born citizens. I have no fault to find with the foreigners who come to our shores with the intention of making this their home and of becoming true Americans. But it is certainly unjust, to say the least, to bestow upon foreigners a great prerogative, which is denied so many millions of our own natural-born, law-abiding citizens.

Who costs the state the most, the women, or the negroes and the foreigners? Clearly the latter. Our asylums, our penitentiaries, our county jails, all have an exceedingly large percentage of negro and foreign inmates, and they cost the state a great deal of trouble and money for trials and punishments. I do not say that all negroes and foreigners are criminals, but I do say that the great majority of our criminals are negroes and foreigners. If they were in their own countries, it is highly improbable that they would be found in such places. It is simply because they cannot appreciate the great liberty that is suddenly thrust upon them. Hence I say, it is a great wrong to confer suffrage upon them, and deny it to native-born women who do

appreciate liberty, who obey our laws, and who daily render the state service in a moral and in an intellectual way.

And yet, such men as these, men who are criminally inclined, ignorant, and unintelligent, are given the privilege of governing not only themselves, but us women as well. Out upon it, as at variance with justice and right! It matters not how ignorant or evil a man who pays no taxes at all may be, or how highly educated and moral a woman who pays a large amount of taxes may be, the former has the ballot urged upon him, and his accepting it and using it is considered a great favor, while the latter is denied it. To illustrate: The ballot is denied a Susan B. Anthony, but given a José Salvador Franch.

They tell us that in this land we are making such wonderful progress and advancement. Perhaps we are on certain side lines, but on the main line, that of freedom and liberty for humanity, we have taken but one step since the Revolution and that one was taken on September 22, 1862.

Both houses of Congress and the legislature, who make the laws which govern us and levy taxes upon us; juries and judges who sit in judgment upon us, and construe the laws; the officials of the country who carry out those laws—legislative, judiciary, and executive—all are usurped by male citizens, and female citizens are denied the same rights.

The statement that taxation without representation is tyranny is applauded to the echo when justifying our war with Great Britain, and yet the same thing is being done daily, and has been done for years upon years. That which was so repugnant to the innate justice and love of right in the human breast as to cause the colonists to break away from England and invite the bloody Revolution, is being practiced now upon a larger scale upon others, by the self-same colonists and their descendants. "Consistency, thou art a jewel." We are taxed, but not represented, and consequently this enlightened nineteenth century and this great United States have not yet thrown off the shackles of monarchy, and are an age and a land of tyranny. And when we urge the question and demand our just rights and our liberty, the cry seems to be, "Long live tyranny!"

Until woman has this right which belongs to her, and she is free and untrammelled, man can never make the progress that he ought, for he is bound to her, and "while she lies there, he must stand and look across the desert." When men and women are upon the equality that they should be, then will be progress such as the world has never known.

Woman has been very patient during all these years. "And I looked and saw in her eyes the terrible patience of the centuries." But she has also been very persevering. She has not, nor will she, give up the battle till right has conquered and justice is done, and from the fair escutcheon of our country's honor is removed the dark blot now resting there. Such heroic women as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton will never give up the ship.

And now as to some of the objections that are raised to giving to woman what is inherently and constitutionally hers.

The most ridiculous is that woman would be going out of her sphere; that she should keep silent and obey her husband. Such an objection hardly deserves an answer. This is not the age of Paul or of Paul's ideas on woman's sphere. Woman cannot go out of her sphere so long as she does not go out of the sphere of a human being, for I repeat she is human before she is woman.

Another says woman has a good influence on the polls now, and she should be satisfied with that. She should be satisfied with nothing less than the ballot, for it is rightfully hers, and justice to the fullest measure must be meted out. Methinks man would hardly agree to have the rule applied to him, and it is a poor rule that will not work both ways. If her influence makes for good when she does not wield the ballot, how much greater it will be when she does. It certainly cannot be disputed that the votes of honest, upright, intelligent women are needed to counteract the votes of vice, ignorance, and bribery that are now being cast, and making this fair land of ours a land of gambling-hells and dens of iniquity, patronized almost entirely by these self-same men, who decry justice to women, and who like to be styled "lords of creation." All women and all men who wish to

see justice, right, and morality prevail in the world, must certainly comprehend the great necessity of woman's vote, outside of the fact that it is her right. It is admitted by all that women are by nature more honest and moral than men; consequently bribery would be scarce among them, if found at all; and scratched tickets would be found oftener if there were a better candidate put up by the opposite party.

Another argument which was worn thread-bare long ago, is that woman is not capable. A mere glance at the colleges, the universities, and the learned professions refutes that absurd argument utterly. It is a fact that women grasp ideas quicker and learn more readily than men, and it is very noticeable that the same opportunities given to a woman and to a man are improved to a greater extent by the former than by the latter. It has not been until late years that the colleges and universities have been open to woman, and the astonishing progress she has made in the short time, is truly wonderful. I do not venture to predict to what advanced state of progress she will have arrived when she shall have enjoyed the privileges of secondary education and civil freedom for the length of time that man has, but I certainly believe it will be far beyond what man has accomplished, judging from results at the present time.

As to the anti-prohibitionists, it is easy to see why they do not wish to see woman in possession of the ballot. They wish to continue their nefarious business, licensed but unlawful, of exchanging rum for hearts and brains.

Then we are told that it would lower the tone of the home. On the contrary, I claim that it would elevate the tone of the home. The highest limit of human importance is the administration of government, and the mother, who has the care of the education of her daughters and sons, should train them to walk honestly and intelligently in politics that they may one day take their places as servants of the state and nation. Why should not she, who has all the responsibility of rearing and educating her children, have a voice in the laws that are to govern them and herself? Surely she understands her girl and her boy better than any man, and surely she knows what laws, what re-

strictions and privileges, will conduce to their best good, who will shortly step up and take their places as citizens. If any one needs and has a right to and would make the best use of the ballot, it is the mother. She needs it for the protection of her home, for the protection of her family, for the protection of herself.

But it is urged that the polls will contaminate woman.' I emphatically deny this. The polls do not contaminate, they are contaminated. How can that which is clean contaminate? It is not the polls, but their habits, that are contaminating. It is not the polls, but the men, who produce the profanity, the tobacco smoke and expectorations, and the reeking odor incident to the polls. And these are the beings who rule pure women! So far from being contaminated by the polls, I claim the presence of woman would very largely purify them, and the polls would be as clean as the stores and the post-office, where she meets man—and is not contaminated.

And in saying that the polls are surrounded by contaminating influences, into which women should not go, they admit that, morally, woman is the superior of man, or, in other words, they say that man is more evil than woman. Can that which is evil make laws fit to govern that which is good? Can the evil comprehend natures above theirs and understand what laws will be most beneficial to them—or are the majority of men not enacting laws that will be beneficial to the country and its people, but which will most advance their own selfish ends?

But out of all this, stand forth prominently a few noble figures, shining marks for emulation, noteworthy among them being some of the most prominent men of the day, who are far enough removed from prejudice and monarchical ideas as to wish to see justice and right prevail. They are for us and for the abolishing of this relic of barbarism, and to them we offer our grateful acknowledgments.

Some of our states have already taken the initiative, and given the right of suffrage to women. It now remains for the others to follow in their wake and make this in reality the land of equality and freedom it is so often boasted to be.

MARY ELIZABETH BROOKS.

ALTRURIA.

BY EDWARD B. PAYNE.

ALTRURIA no longer designates merely a new Utopian dream. It stands now for a practical movement in fraternal coöperation. Near the little city of Santa Rosa, in Sonoma County, Cal., and about sixty miles from San Francisco, a location has been found for the headquarters of what is known as Altruria Association. This organization, initiated last spring, has met with peculiar favor from the public in California, and has also attracted attention throughout the country. Certain peculiarities mark this movement which may recommend it to the sympathy of those who are looking hopefully for a new economic and social order. The following is an outline of aims, plans, and methods:

1. First, then, the organization is a *fraternal order*. Brotherhood is the corner-stone. The motive is mutual good-will. The merely selfish point of view is condemned. The service of all by each, and the service of each by all, is the balanced and comprehensive principle. And this upon the ground that man owes just this to man.

2. Accordingly, the association is in no sense a joint stock company. That is it does not recognize money paid into its treasury as investments upon which interest or dividends are to be paid. There is at present a membership fee—the nominal sum of \$50. But even this is not treated as an investment. It is just now the necessary condition of membership, since we cannot proceed at all without it. It is intended by and by to do away with the membership fee altogether and receive people on the basis of their personal fitness, accepting what they can and will bestow voluntarily on the cause.

3. The plan of organization fosters an intimate relation be-

tween those who undertake the colony work and those who sympathize on the outside. To this end a series of councils has been instituted. Several subordinate councils already exist in various cities of California. There are recruiting agencies to the colony forces and also educational institutions in their several communities. The members are not pledged to go to the colony, but may do so on certain conditions. If they do go, they enter Altruria Council No. 1, which is yet a subordinate and probationary council, on the working grounds. In this relation they remain for six months, sharing the work of the colony and all its privileges, except that they have no voice in the management of affairs. At the end of this period they may honorably withdraw, or may await the judgment of the Grand Council as to their fitness to remain. When received into the Grand Council they are members for life if they abide by the principles and regulations of the institution.

4. The aim of Altruria is not economic only. It is social also. The production of commodities and utilities is, of course, one of its purposes, but not the only one, and not the chiefest. The greater thought is to secure and maintain wholesome and happy relations in every respect, to make social life strong, beautiful, and sweet, and individual experience free, joyous, and noble. In keeping with this, all are pledged to maintain a high standard of personal, domestic, and social morality. Within this general bond of right-doing each member is left free to ordain the details of the individual life.

5. The institution is missionary in its spirit. It will not be content to establish one home only, of common interests and general comfort and personal freedom for a few. As it may be prospered, it will set aside a large part of its surplus for the establishment and fostering of other settlements after the same kind. Such settlements will be expected in turn to join in the missionary work and so spread the brotherhood and its practical realizations everywhere. And this will be a way toward, and a preparation for, the real commonwealth, based on commonweal, that is to be.

6. The plan is to undertake varied and comprehensive indus-

tries ; not all at once but one by one, with a sure and business-like progress. Many coöperative communities have confined themselves almost exclusively to agriculture. Altruria proposes more — manufacturing, mining, lumbering, trading, and so on. All this cannot be prosecuted in a single locality, but the many allied settlements and various working stations permanent or temporary may supplement one another's undertakings. In this way a practically complete system of production and interchange may be established.

7. Altruria is essentially and in a marked way democratic. Each member, male and female, counts for one, and no more than one. Its officers (now Edward B. Payne, Berkeley, Cal., president, and Allan V. Morse, secretary) are only executive, appointed by the votes of all to carry out the will of all. The officers hold their positions at the will of the whole membership, and may be called down at any moment.

8. The allowance out of the common stock of wealth will be the same for every member, man or woman, both so long as able to work and when sick or aged. Parents will receive a further allowance for each child, so that a numerous family may not be a disadvantage. This is justified by the doctrine that the children belong not only to the parents but to the community, and will by and by be active workers in the common interest.

9. As regards practical achievements already made, the story is necessarily simple and short. It must be remembered that the institution is but a few months old and is just learning to walk. The membership fee is nominal and the fund accruing thus far from this source is not large. Considerable gifts and loans without interest have been proffered, but all in the form of real estate which must be sold or traded in order to be directly available. But something has already been accomplished. An admirable site has been secured for the first location, a tract of nearly two hundred acres, with a fine water power and other promising resources. Here about twenty-five adults are now living, with ten children. They are tilling the fields, building houses, and putting the place into shape for future enterprises. They have a blacksmith shop, a shop for the manufacture of

fancy furniture, and a little grocery store. They have also started a chicken ranch on a small scale. Furthermore they have a limited printing outfit and are publishing a paper, *The Altrurian*, which brings a small income.

Those on the ground are only a part of a much larger membership ready to take a hand at the work as soon as the opportunities for profitable occupations appear. It is the task of the pioneers to make themselves self-supporting as soon as possible and also pave the way for others to join them.

During the last two months no effort has been made to increase the general membership, which has nevertheless steadily grown. Probably some one will soon be put into the field to institute additional councils. The work may be extended into other states so that local settlements may be formed in different parts of the country, all being linked together by the fraternal bonds. It is also an undertaking which may well engage the attention and enlist the aid of philanthropists everywhere. It is confidently believed by those who are actively engaged in the movement that with sufficient means at command the experiment will prove a success and will be thus a demonstration of the rationality and practicability of Coöperation based on Fraternity.

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

THE COMING SYSTEM OF NATIONAL CREDIT.

BY A. C. HOUSTON.

THE late action of Congress at its extra session, placing our country squarely upon the financial basis of gold alone, makes every thoughtful one inquire, What will be the future of our monetary system and of that of the world?

The "scramble for gold," into which the United States now actively enters with other nations, carries with it a doleful meaning for the producers of the world. For that nation will get the gold that is willing and able to pay for it the most economic goods. The consideration, therefore, for gold is cheaper products, toil without remuneration, and all the misery and crime that inevitably accompany industrial distress. It may prove a source of pleasure to some to know that other nations that have been principally instrumental in bringing on this competition for gold are suffering more than our own country, but it is a sad pleasure since in ill-advised economic changes the innocent always suffer most.

The real question, though, that protrudes its ominous shadow is, How long will the toiler suffer the wrong, and when the change comes, what will take the place of that which is?

Hildebrand, a distinguished German economist, predicted some fifty years ago that the "credit system" would in time supersede the "money system" as completely as the latter had superseded the system of barter. It is now estimated from banking statistics that ninety-seven per cent of the business in the United States is transacted by means of credit paper. Our government some years ago instituted an inquiry through its consuls to determine the prevalence of the "credit system" and their reports established the fact that the world made use of different instruments of credit to the extent of at least eighty per cent of its whole business.

For this immense credit the gold and silver product of the world is the theoretic basis; the ultimate basis, but not always available, being the wealth of the nations. But the insufficiency of the gold and silver product already in existence and being mined to support this great column of credit is so patent, so glaring, that if it were not for a well sustained confidence (so essential a part of credit) the whole would topple to ruin. The business transactions of this country as shown by the clearing-house statistics alone for some years past have amounted to more than thirty times all the money of the country including bank notes only secondarily based upon coin.

So on this account it seems probable, since the monetary requirements of the world are increasing with its growing population and trade, that we soon will have reached, so far as individual nations are concerned, a complete credit system of finance.

While this would much facilitate transfers of property, and thus enlarge the limits and increase the prosperity of trade, it is a system fraught with danger to all business interests. As at present developed, confidence being necessarily so great a part of the system, it is subject to periodic crises or financial panics, when the accumulations of years are swept to the winds in a day. A whispered want of confidence may spread through the financial world like a smothered cry of "fire" through a crowded house and produce a similar result. The present panic from which we are in some degree recovering began in a South American state, spread over Europe, and later reached us with its wave of disaster.

But as the change is inevitable, springing from the necessity of mankind, the great economic problem is presented for solution in the closing years of this century, How shall this credit system be rendered free from danger to business interests? What element of new growth can be grafted upon it that will make an unshaken confidence an abiding and inseparable part of it?

The wealth of the world is the basis of credit, and no one doubts that the world has sufficient wealth to make all necessary credit absolutely secure.

Two courses lie open. The one spoken of derisively as "the greenback craze" of a few years ago providing a legal tender currency based on the wealth of the whole country, with the additional security of being "bottomed on taxes," as Thomas Jefferson has expressed it, and issued alone by the government.

But the business world wants that wealth basis made certain, definite, visible, sufficient, and, most of all, available, before confidence is created, a confidence that will remain unshaken. "Fiat" money of the richest nation on the face of the earth, not having in it an element of value, it is claimed, can never stand the test of a cry of "fire."

So the other course remains, in the solution of this problem, for each nation by itself to take of its economic goods, not forgetting its gold and silver, such as are certain, definite, visible, sufficient, and available and make them the basis of a credit currency.

There is nothing new in this course in theory, not even to a limited extent in practice. The nations have always based their credit on their wealth centered in commodities as gold and silver, or as represented in the evidences of that wealth. These are deposited in their treasure-houses and upon them the credit paper of trade issues. So that in the last analysis it becomes *a choice between products, or a choice between the evidences of wealth and the actual wealth.*

To define what I mean by the above qualifications I would say :

To render the required element of wealth "certain" it must be something the nation actually possesses and will continue to possess.

To render it "definite" it must exist by itself and be capable of separation from other economic goods.

To be "visible" it must be something that men can look at and handle.

To be "sufficient" the element of wealth must in value by itself or in connection with other economic goods selected bear the proper ratio to the amount of credit desired; and, finally,

To be "available" it must be something for which there will

always be a present and adequate demand, unaffected by a change in the tastes, customs, habits, or relations of the people.

Will the metals gold and silver supply the want? We have already seen that they are lacking in the requirement of "sufficiency." The business sense of the world, when it comes to look at this question as it never has before, will not be satisfied, as in the past, with a credit that stands to its basis at the ratio of three to one, or, as in the United States at the present time, at a ratio of at least ten to one. No, the dollar of credit must have back of it the dollar of value. This overstraining of credit has been the primary cause of the financial disasters of the past. With the regularity of almost every passing decade for a century have these panics, gleaming now like lurid fires in the somber light of history, burned up the substance of people and scattered disaster on every hand.

Will land supply the basis? It is certain; it is definite; it is visible; it is sufficient; but it is not "available." There is no certain present demand for it.

Will the manufactured products of the nation answer the purpose? These while possessing some of the requirements in an eminent degree are often lacking in certainty and availability.

Will what is commonly termed "raw materials" supply the desired basis? In this class of economic goods we find some furnishing all the qualifications required and providing at once and in themselves a certain, definite, visible, sufficient, and available basis upon which the credit paper of a nation may be securely founded. Running the mind over this class of economic goods we find only two of the whole number that constitute what are the absolute necessities of civilized man. These are the "raw materials" of food and clothing. It does not seem probable that at any time in the development of man on this earth he can do without bread, or will do without clothing. Here, then, we find a fit basis of national credit, supplementing gold and silver product.

Before making a selection of products from the class indicated, there are two other matters of vital importance to be first noticed.

A great difficulty under the system of bank or government issues of credit has been to avoid an "excess" or "inflation" of currency, and although it is impossible to determine beforehand the amount of issue that will constitute an excess not only with reference to the basis but also to business requirements, banks and governments have been more or less strictly limited by law. There cannot, however, be any such thing as an excess of currency, so long as there is a demand for it, and a basis for it constituting not an ultimate but a present security.

This first matter—a danger—must, therefore, be provided against in the selection of products and adopted plan of issue.

Another matter more or less intimately connected with "inflation" and often the cause of it has been the effort on the part of financiers to produce "flexibility" of currency—to discover or invent some method by which the volume would expand with the increasing needs of business, and contract to the normal state when the extraordinary demand ceases.

This second matter—a desideratum—must, therefore, if possible, be provided for in the selection of products and plan adopted.

Now it would seem obvious that those products should be selected that not only give rise to the extraordinary demand for currency but also in themselves furnish, on account of time and necessity of consumption, a limit to issue.

Our industrial history establishes the fact that at a certain season of the year when the farmers' harvest is being marketed there is an extraordinary demand for money. More than once within the past few years, by the overstraining of credit and the transfer of money from the centers of trade to the country to meet this demand, our people have stood on the very brink of a financial panic.

The two leading farm products of the United States—cotton and wheat—occur to the mind of every one as being the principal cause in their marketing for the demand for an increase of currency and as furnishing in themselves all the requisites for a basis of credit, since in them not only can security be had, but also "excess" can be avoided and "flexibility" secured.

These qualities will be brought more into view as I proceed.

We have in the United States a currency even better than gold and silver when everything is considered. It is our gold and silver certificates. This credit paper of the United States, certainly within the limits of our own country, performs the usual functions of money better than the gold and silver dollar. Now is it possible for the United States government to take of its cotton and wheat, and make them the basis for an issue of legal tender currency, which will perform all the functions of money as well as the gold and silver certificates? The experiment has been tried in other countries, with reference, too, to economic goods not so well adapted to the purpose as our cotton and wheat, and with success. To make these products available as a basis for credit currency it is only necessary to follow generally the plan adopted by our government with reference to gold and silver—in Great Britain by the Bank of England with reference to gold, in Sweden by the government with reference to iron, in France by the government with reference to farm products, and in Russia during the last year by the government with reference to "corn" in order that it might bring the tariff war with Germany to a successful issue. This plan adapted to the conditions of our own country, in its simplest and essential outlines, would be for the producer to place in a warehouse provided by the government the selected products, and upon these as a basis the government, reserving a margin of, say, twenty per cent on present price, issues notes, a legal tender for all dues to the government or individuals, to the depositor; the stored products to be disposed of within a year by the owner upon return of certificates of deposit, money advanced and payment of expenses.

There cannot be a doubt that, so long as the government has under its control these products, every dollar (not forgetting the twenty per cent margin) of legal tender treasury notes issued upon them is as good if not better than gold or silver certificates, for the simple reason that every bushel or pound of product will at any time sell at home or abroad for more than the amount of credit it secures, which is not true of the gold and silver basis. But even if there were doubt about this fact, no loss could pos-

sibly result to the holder of these notes because the government receives them back within the year for the stored products at their face value. In other words every single credit note issued by the government returns again, in amount, into the treasury; the fountain of its life there to be canceled if deemed best, or, receiving new life, to be again sent, when the time shall come, on its round of beneficence. So that, to use an apt illustration, there is created an endless cable of national currency that, always in motion, keeps the cars of industry ever passing over the highways of national trade.

Now it may be objected that the stored products do not belong to the government; that they remain the property of the depositor or his assignee. This is true of the gold in the Bank of England. The bank is its keeper but not its owner. "It belongs to the public, or to the holders of bank notes who deposited it in the bank in exchange for notes with and under the express stipulation that on paying the latter into the bank they should receive back their gold."

The danger of an "excess" of issue is provided against, and the much desired "flexibility" of currency is secured in the plan proposed by a self-regulating feature of it which promises to be perfect in its working. This appears when you reflect that the products that principally create the extraordinary demand for currency in themselves provide the secure basis of the increase. The same agent creates demand and limits issue. Or more explicitly, as soon as the demand for more money arises the products begin to pass into the storehouse and constitute a safe basis for the issue, and *pari passu* with the decrease by sale of the security the amount issued decreases. There cannot, therefore, at any time be a single dollar in circulation but has more than its value represented in products, a present security, in the hands of the government. Why do I say "a present security"? Because at any time that the government, under the law, may order a sale of products stored a purchaser will be at hand who will give for the product eighty per cent of its stored value with expenses added, being the full amount due the government. This is a fact beyond contradiction with reference to the food prod-

uct because death by famine is always less than two years ahead of the human race.

Will the government lose anything from fluctuations in price of products stored? The possibility of loss here is precluded not only by the fact that the government secures itself by a margin of twenty per cent, but also by the fact that products would be stored when prices were low. Thus the security would increase in value while in the hands of the government. This self-regulating principle of the plan, moreover, would prevent an excess of storage, thereby avoiding a possible redundancy of currency that would affect other industries or interests. Whenever there was, if such a thing should happen, so great a storage as to affect through scarcity the price of the product storage would cease, since sales would have the advantage of a securable payment for full value and the saving of cost of transportation.

Another fact should be considered, and that is that the harvest of the elect products, affected by latitude, occurs at different times in different sections of the country, and in their preparation for market at least six months of the year are covered. So that there would be no sudden or dangerous increase or decrease of the volume of currency.

In a proper view of this subject the question of a loan by the government is not raised. Interest between man and man may be justified but between the government and the people it cannot. The government alone has the right to make money and incidentally the power to distribute it to the people without an interest cost. When the government issues certificates upon gold the holder of the certificates can surrender them and demand the gold. When the government issues legal tender notes upon cotton or wheat these can be surrendered with the certificates of deposit and the cotton and wheat demanded. The act of government in the issue of currency is the same.

If this plan were adopted the question arises, What effect would it have upon the other or present currency of the country and especially gold and silver? Assume two premises: first, that an absolute national credit system is inevitable, and, second, that gold and silver have had their day as a sale basis for cur-

rency, and I answer : There will be but one national currency (each nation, it is probable, having its own paper money for its internal trade) while the gold and silver would take its place as a product in the subtreasuries in this country by the side of wheat and cotton, and no doubt, if the necessity should arise, be used for the settlement of international balances or national debt to other countries. The gold and silver product of the country is one that can be stored from year to year and can always be relied on to provide a sure basis for that part of the currency that will remain more or less continuously in the hands of the people.

Under the present system of finance each nation is affected to a greater or less degree, dependent on international business relations, by the financial condition of every other country. A monetary crisis in London makes itself felt in New York as soon as the cable has transmitted the fact. We must get away from this humiliating, and when we come to think of it, terribly alarming dependence on the financial condition of our neighbors. The coming system of finance offers a remedy for this evil by giving each nation a financial system of its own, and bids fair to do away with these periodic panics that carry so much misery and disaster in their wake, and that are believed to be an inevitable concomitant of the credit system as it at present exists.

I have said that an absolute credit system would be adopted. While this will be true with reference to the medium of exchange, yet it will lead to a cash system as to transactions between man and man among the larger classes of the people, because under this system, as can readily be seen, production will create the demand for money and demand in return will create the supply, such a supply as will bear a proper ratio to the business of the country, making it possible for the greater part of it to be done upon a cash basis. So by the adoption of this plan we will not only reach a reliable credit but a cash system that will in a great measure put an end to business failures.

A. C. HOUSTON.

THE ELEMENTS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

BY FRED DE LAND.

MANY of the so-called failures in municipal government may be traced to the absence of definite knowledge on the part of the more intelligent portion of the community of, (1) the simplicity of the rules governing the caucus, the primary, and the polls, (2) the authority from which these rules emanate, (3) the provisions contained therein, and (4) the experiences on which the present methods are based.

It is assumed that a large majority of the community earnestly desire a pure, able, economical conduct of the affairs of the municipality, and are willing to sacrifice some degree of personal comfort, if there is a reasonable assurance that their efforts may aid in bringing about a changed condition of affairs. Many citizens appreciate the need of intelligent instruction that will tend to make both individual and organized effort as effective as possible. Securing this, and with the understanding that the esteem and confidence of their fellow-men will be retained, they are willing to work earnestly in this cause without a thought of personal reward. For the average citizen is unselfish at heart, desires the prosperity of the whole community, and possesses sufficient strength of character to be undeterred from earnest effort when unjustly blamed for evil that others may do, or that may be done through adherence to antiquated rules handed down from one administration to another, and that cannot be changed on the instant. Moreover, he wisely understands that there is no social distinction in politics. The cultured and the uncultured, properly guided, can work effectively side by side if the motive power is righteousness.

It has been well said that our religion is no purer than our politics, and that there can be no economic management in municipal affairs without intelligent and judicious action. There-

fore, politics demand the first and highest use of education, and the day should not be far distant when every citizen will be instructed in the elementary principles that underlie successful municipal government, as well as civil government. On the teacher will rest the responsibility of preparing the student to intelligently exercise the privileges and duties that fall to the lot of all good citizens. The economy of such instruction cannot be questioned. For then the arena of politics will be selected as other professions are now chosen, and the youthful worker will be well equipped to utilize in this new field all the benefits conferred in modern educational methods. A higher respect for the law will be inculcated. The evils arising from a loose denunciation of that which we do not comprehend or are partially responsible for through our neglect of civic duties, will be counteracted, and gradually the people will learn how adequate a remedy for all these evils is the ballot when properly used. That is, twice used—once at the primaries, *then* at the polls. Again, this will react in our favor through its influence on the immigrant, and he in turn will derive pleasure and profit in mastering the elementary principles that underlie the relation of the individual to the municipality. And the more quickly he can be taught the essential truths that form the foundation of good citizenship the earlier will he exercise his privileges on the side of right and justice. We have naught to fear from the acts of the intelligent immigrant, but oft-times there is ample occasion for questioning the actions of the ignorant, the debased.

The outcome will be a radical change in existing methods. The obsolete, the routine, giving way to the practical, the effective. Terms of office will be for long periods. Business men will find pleasure in making a study of public affairs; the competent, successful men will find that it is worth their while to hold public office, not by reason of the generous compensation, but in the satisfaction of civic duties properly discharged. For the interest that will be awakened through the possession of a common knowledge on the subject will be clearly manifested in the control of power passing from the few to the many, and this knowledge, this "know how," will serve to brush away the antagonis-

tic feelings and the petty jealousies that arise through a failure to comprehend the objects that should unite men more closely in this work. Men will honor nominees who, having strong convictions, clearly and openly express them, who do not hesitate to denounce the dishonest political scheming that always ends in disruption, and who accept defeat rather than resort to subterfuge in order to win, and, if elected, will not hesitate to make public any attempt made by heavy interests to influence their vote on important questions. Then, and only then, shall we have a government of the people by the people—as a whole.

The effect this would have on party affiliations is not hard to determine, for the practical, progressive politician would instantly realize that for his party to win, in the absence of the usual influences, the strongest candidates must be nominated. There need be no dissolution of the two great political parties. The formation of new parties may be agitated by the inexperienced, who little realize how unfitted for the larger affairs of the city is the plan that may have worked so well in small communities. But, on the contrary, party lines should be drawn the closer as often as suitable candidates are chosen. Then there will be the heartiest coöperation, and stronger than ever will be the power of the ballot for rebuking an abuse of power by the party in authority.

How can this desirable state of affairs be brought about? Only by constant, judicious agitation in behalf of the development of the individual. A knowledge of the governing conditions exist. Ample literature on the subject is in accessible form, and should be often consulted. And it is in the hope of aiding the desire to become efficient in municipal affairs that this sketch is presented, showing the relations of the people to civic government only in so far as these relations may be influenced up to the hour of casting the final ballot of election, through a due observance of the laws of good citizenship. Unwritten laws that may be credited to the development of the Christian sentiment to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. Analytical and comparative discussion of the merits of these relations and suggestions how to work out an

improved form of government in Chicago, may be lightly touched upon in a second paper. The aim of this paper is simply to get the thoughtful citizen sufficiently interested in the subject to attend the primary. *Effective government usually follows the election of suitable men to office.*

To further simplify this subject and in the hope of awakening discussion, it will be assumed that except in a few cities the primary, the caucus, and the town-meeting are practically the same, in spirit, and while there is a difference in the degree of formality observed in the proceedings of these respective gatherings, the voluntary gathering described will be designated a primary. The object sought in these meetings is an expression of the popular will. What do the people desire? Each is a gathering of individual members of a political organization, and not a convention of accredited delegates acting in behalf of others. They are voluntary gatherings in which equality should be assured to all, so far as equality is attainable in any assembly. The law provides for proportional representation; the results rest with the individual. In this respect the primary is more impartial than the convention. The state does not authorize the holding of primary elections; it merely directs the conditions under which they shall be conducted, when held under the provision of the primary law, the acceptance of which by the various political parties is voluntary.

The primary should be the Alpha of this movement in the interest of "good citizenship," for the control of the primary insures the control of the nominations. If only good men are nominated, only good men can be elected. The primary is defective only in so far as the many have allowed the few to control. The individual is the unit in the primary. Thus unity of action is all that is required to secure desired ends. If there be centralization of power and bad nominees, the blame should be placed on the indifferent absentee who alone is responsible. He it is who so readily condemns the work of the primary, yet does not withhold his support from the same on election day. Public pride may send him to the polls when conscience fails to move him to attend the primary. The individual voter must

be held up to his work, and given a true conception of his relations to society. "It is man who is sacred, it is his duties and opportunities, not his rights, that nowadays need reinforcement." "Even to know the technique of his political business does not alone constitute the equipment of a good citizen. It may be possible to devise means of bringing home to voters the technical part of citizenship, but it is the ethics of politics and the capacity to see and think clearly which are, after all, the important things."

The people of the state of Illinois, represented in general assembly, have enacted certain laws regulating primary elections, the nomination of candidates, the holding of elections. If the provisions contained in these several acts do not meet the approval of the indifferent absentee, let him remember that concerted effort will secure a modification or a change. If there is an absence of improved methods lay the blame on the lack of interest and of intelligent effort shown.

One of these laws is known as the Primary Election Law, oft-times referred to as the Crawford Act. Shortly after its passage it was declared unconstitutional, and has often been ignored. The machine politician usually abides by its provisions, for therein he finds a cloak for devious methods. If a primary is held under the provisions of this law, it will be conducted after the fashion of an election, without many of the safeguards of an election. But if the members of the political association shall conclude not to accept and act under the provisions of the primary law, and shall so state in a resolution, then the primary will partake of the character of the town-meeting or caucus. To secure the best results in an open primary, due notice for at least ten days should be given in the daily papers of the object, time, and place, and each voter registered in each of the precincts in the primary district personally notified, either verbally or by mail. In this form of open primary the officers are the same as for any similar organization. The president presides, the executive committee plans, the secretary keeps the records and the roll of membership. Any legal voter at the last election may participate in the primary of his party, but only those should be

allowed to vote at a primary who are members of the political party represented therein, and are qualified and registered voters in any precinct comprising a primary district embraced within the call.

They who call the primary must divide the ward or district into primary election districts, and allot to each a suitable meeting place. These districts must be contiguous, compact, and contain not more than 800 voters of the political persuasion represented, the division being based on the list of voters at the last general election. Within reasonable lines, the smaller the number of voters allotted to each district, the greater the incentive to active participation by all present. The wisdom of not having audiences too large for the presiding officer to control with a dignified dispatch of business is apparent when it is remembered that the prime object of holding the meeting is to secure an expression of the will of the people through equal representation. This cannot be afforded or secured if the number present is too large to permit of nominations by written and secret ballot. And if the responsibility of presenting the nomination is placed on a committee, then the real object of the primary is defeated and the nominations do not represent the will of the people.

Three judges and two clerks, who can be relied upon to serve, should be appointed for each polling place. Certain evils have arisen through the appointment of well-known men as judges whose reputation for fairness and honesty cannot be questioned, but whom the appointing power well knew would not serve, and then replacing them at the last moment by political hangers-on previously selected. Before the judges receive any ballots, they proclaim aloud that the polls are open, and fifteen minutes before the hour for closing the polls the judges must proclaim that the polls are about to close, and that after the polls are once closed no more ballots will be received. The judges and the clerks then proceed to publicly compile the lists and the tally sheets, to count the votes, and to issue the certificates of election, and these certificates must be filed with the county clerk at least fifteen days previous to the election.

To inspire confidence, awaken interest, and secure the best results, free participation must be invited, permitted, encouraged, and the minority allowed due representation. As dissension is destructive of harmony and sentiment, remarks leading thereto are to be deprecated. Each participant should be made to feel that he exerts an equal weight so far as the power of the ballot is effective, and that his desire as represented by his vote is respected and protected, irrespective of the wisdom and tenor of his remarks. The best results can be secured by a thorough understanding of the objects for which the meeting is called before it is open, as well as by formulating rules of action that are based on a careful analysis of past experience, which once adopted and found desirable should only be changed when a change is demanded by the many.

Under the present Chicago method a primary held under the Primary Law is usually called by the central committees of the respective parties. The "Democratic Central Committee of Cook County" has "power to call all conventions for the nomination of Democratic candidates for all offices to be filled within the territorial limits of Cook County, for the election of delegates to all state conventions, and to fix the basis of representation in each ward, town, or district, and the manner of electing delegates to state convention." It has general supervision of campaigns; organizes and controls Democratic clubs in each ward and town; and for the regulating and conducting of district primaries. This committee consists of "two members from each ward in the city of Chicago, one member from each town in Cook County lying outside of said city, except that towns of Cicero, Evanston, Lyons, and Lemont shall be entitled each to two members, one member from each senatorial district, and two members from each congressional district in said county." One half the members of this committee are annually elected to serve for two years, by the delegates to the county convention held in June of each year, these delegates representing their respective wards or towns.

The ward and town clubs hold their annual meeting on the third Saturday in June; and when new clubs are formed the

secretaries thereof shall report the names of members to the secretary of the central committee, who shall make a formal report to the committee, and if the organization is approved, it shall be recognized as the regular Democratic club of the ward or town through which to conduct the local campaigns. By-laws for ward clubs are supplied by the central committee. At the ward club the order of business is usually: roll call; reading of the minutes of previous meetings; reports of central committee-men; reports of committees; communications; unfinished business; new business; adjournment.

This central committee occupy the second floor of the building 137 Monroe Street.

The Republican party of Cook County is the incorporate title of the Republican County Central Committee of the Republican party. The avowed object of this organization is to teach Republican principles and promote good government, and all who subscribe to the principles of the Republican party are eligible for membership. Its headquarters are at 100 Washington Street. The full control and management of this organization is vested in the general committee, which consists of one member from each ward in Chicago, one from the city of Evanston, and five from the remaining towns of Cook County, elected for this service at the regular Republican county conventions, and it is claimed that no person holding an appointive office or position in any city or county office can serve thereon. This general committee controls and conducts all campaigns in city and county in the interest of the Republican party. It also organizes and controls ward and town clubs, and directs the organization by the ward clubs of subsidiary clubs in the various precincts, the latter being under the control of the ward club.

The suggestion is offered that an improvement in present methods might be found in holding the primaries of all parties, when held under the Primary Law, on the same day and same hour, and in the same building, and holding them on the first day of registration, at least sixty days before election day. This day might also be declared a partial holiday. Each party should also deposit with the election commissioners an amount sufficient

to cover all possible expenditures, and thus relieve the committee-men of all expense.

That defeats and discouraging experiences will be encountered in any movement for a regeneration in local politics is to be expected. But there should be no halting. Ultimate victory can only be secured through awakening a majority of the better class of the citizens to a thorough comprehension of their duties; assisting each to faithfully discharge his duties; in utilizing the experience gained at one session in making the next meeting more interesting, more instructive, more effective; in keeping uppermost in our minds the thought that we are but making amends for past neglect; and that if the remedy be not now applied, the disease will but spread and be the harder to handle.

FRED DE LAND.

THE REPUBLIC: ENDURANCE BY MEANS OF REVOLUTION.

BY WILLIAM MACOMBER, ESQ.

THE essence of freedom is free thought. The essence of free thought is the right to attack the false. Freedom and free thought are the characteristics of the handling of "The Republic in the Court of Reason." President Eliot, in the *Forum*, and Mr. Grant, in this magazine, both claim the truth and the right to attack the false. In giving reasons why the republic may or may not endure, President Eliot and Mr. Grant divide as optimist and pessimist. The one concludes that history and condition assure perpetuity, the other is convinced that history and condition assure destruction.

If it is true that President Eliot looks out upon the world through rose-tinted panes of an educational cloister, it is equally apparent that Mr. Grant sees the world through the blue-gray, smoke-clouded atmosphere of greed and struggle. The personal equations of both writers lead into statements and up to conclusions which it is my purpose to attack.

Before reading Mr. Grant's article, I had supposed a probe was used to investigate, not to cut or puncture. I supposed the knife followed the probe to accomplish what the exploration justified. Mr. Grant uses, not a probe, but a stiletto, with the idea that it is a surgical instrument. He cuts right and left.

On the other hand, I could but feel that President Eliot was applying vaseline to the stiff joints and hamamelis to the gouty swellings upon the body politic. He lubricates and soothes.

Which course of treatment is founded upon a probe diagnosis of the case? Neither; for, regarded from either point of view, the republic is sick unto death, and it matters not whether it is the coma of optimism or the convulsion of pessimism. Death is the result, despite palliations or the knife.

If a republic had but one life then were republicanism a failure. But republicanism dies that it may be born again, and of a better spirit. As in all things else, evolution—death and birth—is the eternalizing process in a republic; and it is only where growth and change are suspended that we have a retrograde or stratified government.

But the optimist and pessimist draw from the same sources to establish themselves. In the failure of democracy in Greece and the fall of republicanism in Italy the former finds hope and the latter despair. To neither does it seem to occur that a monarchy may be a better republic than a despotic democracy. As a matter of fact, both of these writers, were they subjected to a cross-examination, would so qualify their statements that their conclusions would be declared with less force. Neither of them would for a moment admit that Athens, a democracy of slave-owners, of polytheists, of utilitarians in morals, was an ideal democracy. Neither would compare Rome with England or America. Mr. Grant would hardly concede that the art, science, education, law, or religion of either of those gods-fearing, slave-holding, conquest-seeking peoples could be compared even with the free institutions of despotic Russia. President Eliot would not admit that the so-called dark ages, when slavery was breaking down under feudalism and feudalism was paving the way to its own destruction in industrialism, was a period of retrograde development.

Again, Mr. Grant would have difficulty in establishing as fundamentals any of the following statements which he makes:

“The American Republic stands alone, the last hope for popular government.”

“* * * it (paganism) nevertheless answered the ancients for all the essential acts of Christianity.”

“A future state of reward and of punishment was ever present to the minds of the Roman citizens” (as if reward and punishment were the essentials of Christianity).

“A national church was a source of strength to Greece as it is in our day to England, to Russia, to Germany, and to Japan.”

“This spirit among the churches (apaism) has also taken hold

of the people, and secret organizations are now in active operation in nearly every state in the Union to * * * exclude Catholics from their civil rights under the Constitution."

But, without further comment upon his statements, I agree with Mr. Grant that, from his point of view, there is no hope for the republic. The republic of Washington, of Jefferson, of Lincoln, of Blaine, and of Cleveland is gasping. The republic is dead—long live the republic!

Plato understood theoretical democracy as well as we do. France under Napoleon had a code of laws which serve all the needs of a democracy to-day. The Roman law permeates ours; and so we can find the sources of our own strength buried in the ruins of fallen monarchies and republics. Just as history proves everything or nothing, so our education, arts, sciences, law, philosophy, and religion may be, and actually are, the proofs of our stability and of the impending crash. Read Carnegie's "Triumphant Democracy" and then Ignatius Donnelly's "Cæsar's Column"; read Sir Charles Dilke and then Henry D. Lloyd, and observe what may be made of the present.

I maintain, therefore, that, (1) The republic in the narrow sense employed by Mr. Grant cannot endure. (2) The republic finds no justification for continuance in the facts stated by President Eliot. (3) The republic in the broad sense and the proper sense will endure; but it is safer upon other grounds than any suggested by either of those writers.

There is no justification of industrial warfare. No person can read the literature of Christianity or the sociology of to-day without a profound sense that modern industrialism is all wrong. Every one feels this truth; and much as we may differ as to the remedy, it is only he who has risen to wealth by stepping on the fallen bodies of others who declares that "this is a good enough government for any one who has ability to succeed." Again, each class seems to be coming to be condemned by every other. The much praised "honest farmer" is becoming distrusted and distrustful. In fact, so far as the farmer is concerned, he is coming to be measured justly. He was never supremely ideal; and hard times, hardness of middle-men and corporations, and, by

no means least, the augmentation of numbers by immigration, have made him as universally ready to "beat the railroad" as the railroad is ready to beat him. The manufacturer is combining in the face of universal condemnation. The syndicate is crowding out the small merchant in the face of similar condemnation. The capital of the East is said to be combining for dear money in the face of the condemnation of the West. Labor is combining and striking, for which it is condemned by capital right and left. The trust is stronger than the government; for it can pass a tariff to suit itself, and even the president has not the courage to veto the measure of plutocracy. Courts are imprisoning men for leading in strikes, and organized labor thereby is declared by itself to be banished from liberty.

In the midst of plenty there is want, which is beginning to cry out. "Overproduction," says the Western farmer with wheat for fuel and few clothes. "Overproduction," says the New England weaver where mills are overstocked and the flour barrel is low. "Overproduction," says the coal baron. "Overproduction," says the silver king, and so it goes. In the midst of plethora of food is the coal and clothes famine. At the coal mine there is want of flour, and the children of the weaver are crying for bread. The treasury vaults are bursting with silver, but the government has to borrow money to pay its debts. This is the phenomena of the economic assininity of "overproduction."

The federal forces are no longer on the frontier; they are to be massed where labor is most plentiful. A strike fails: immediately we are told, "organized labor has been destroyed and organization annihilated"; and before the wiseacres of the daily press get done telling of "the overthrow of labor organizations," behold, another strike is on, a far greater organization is at work, and as many interests are at stake as were involved in the War of Independence.

Almost in proportion to the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few has the balance of power through the ballot passed into the hands of the non-property-holding classes. There is an unsettled problem of labor and capital. In theory

labor and capital are interested in common ; in practice it is only the fool who cannot, or the knave who will not, see that the interests of capital and labor are at deadly enmity, and that the battle for life is now on between them.

Concede that these statements are overdrawn (as they are not) and discount the situation many per cent. Still there is more than enough to insure the destruction of the republic which Mr. Grant has in mind.

Now if we consider these portentous facts and undertake to apply the remedies of President Eliot, the utter absurdity of the optimistic view appears at once. President Eliot seems to have seven great panaceas, namely : Religious Toleration, Universal Education, A Higher Family Life, A Diffusion of Happiness, Publicity of Conduct, Modern Corporations, The Dependence of Man on Man. Put these remedies in attractive looking bottles with colored labels and high-sounding testimonials and they appear as President Eliot would have them. But when they are "shaken and taken," the folly of the treatment is apparent. For even if we should grant the ultimate effectiveness of the remedies, there would be plenty of time for death and resurrection to intervene and leave the remedy unnecessary.

Such is precisely what is happening. We are in the very midst of a revolution, and already the results are beginning to appear. There is not the slightest probability that the position of capital as opposed to organized labor can succeed. The statement of the Pullman Company that it would manage its own business and settle its own labor disputes—not by conciliation or arbitration, but by personal dealing with each individual—is a statement of what is, and what will not hereafter be, possible. From this day organized labor must have a standing in court beside the corporation, and the relation of capital and labor must come within the purview of judicial adjustment.

It is said the recent overthrow of the Democratic party was due to hard times and a bad tariff law. Time will reveal the fact that the open, avowed coöperation of the executive with the railroads in suppressing the Chicago strike (whether justifiable under the Constitution or not) and the aggressive position of the

attorney-general, had much to do with Democratic defeat. The wage-earner has at last decided that he must vote for himself. There is no doubt in the mind of any man that if the wage-earners should vote together there would be scarcely a vestige of the old parties in power in 1900. The result will be evident. If one has any doubt as to the possibility of such a revolution let him compare the political map of 1890 with that of 1894.

Again, the wage-earner is coming to believe that there is another way up than to pull some one down. In the place of the trade-union, which partakes of the nature of a monopoly, the brotherhood is making a place for itself. That is *Fraternity*.

Again, people are coming to feel that if every man would see that his neighbor is not in want, there would be plenty for all. Such is the coming spirit of Christian socialism—the return of Christianity from theology and dogma to Christ. That is *Altruism*.

Again, people are coming to understand that what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and that the only way clean government, clean officials, and an honest vote can be had is to organize and work. The overthrow of Tammany and the results accomplished by good government clubs bespeak the purpose and determination of the people. This is *Citizenship*.

Again, all over this land people are organizing for the study of economics and politics. The benefit of such organization and education cannot be even guessed at. The American Institute of Civics, the many Chautauqua Circles, the university extension classes, and above all the vigor with which economics and politics are being studied by thousands of labor organizations, through the instrumentality of public meetings and a well supported and well edited labor press will not be measured by the progress of a single generation. This is *Patriotism*.

These constitute the chief reasons why the republic may endure. The republic will endure because a revolution is no longer a social cataclysm. Revolutions will follow one after another; and revolution is always evolution, because the moving spirit is fraternity, altruism, citizenship, and patriotism, permeating and leavening the masses.

WILLIAM MACOMBER.

WHAT THE CITIZEN OWES THE STATE.

BY L. W. KEPLINGER, ESQ.

THE first duty of the American citizen is to be a politician. Each form of government has its peculiar drawbacks and sources of weakness. In a government like ours a conspicuous example is found in the disinclination among the better classes to take part in politics. At the same time the lower elements are everywhere noisily and aggressively active. As a rule, the less a man inclines to use soap, the more certain he is to vote. The great unwashed—those who remain so from choice—always vote. Of course, it is not to be expected that those who earn their bread by the sweat of the brow can appear every morning arrayed in white linen and button-hole bouquets, neither is the fact overlooked that the chief source of danger to the republic is found among those who wear immaculate fronts the year round. At the same time the fact remains that the lower half of society is most active in politics.

Again, in every community, and especially in large cities, there are certain avocations and callings whose very existence depends upon the non-enforcement, or lax enforcement, of the law. The influence in politics of those engaged in these callings is necessarily pernicious to the last degree. They have an interest which is vital, personal, and pecuniary. Whoever else may be apathetic, they will be vigilant. Men stir themselves when their craft is in danger. They can afford to spend money freely, because they expect prompt money returns, and in the baser elements they find willing instruments. Nor does their baneful influence stop with the primary or the election. In all that pertains to politics they are always and everywhere corrupting and corrupt. The man engaged in violating the law for a living is a fool if he omits to buy governors and legislators, or bribe jurors

and witnesses, if in his power to do so, and those engaged in those callings are not fools.

To be vigorously governed and controlled is the only legitimate use that can be made of these objectionable elements, and there can be no government worthy of the name where they are suffered to usurp higher functions.

The active support of those closely in touch with the law-breaking elements raises a strong presumption against any candidate. Judge the man by his company, and the candidate by the crowd that rallies to his support. In every community there are men the mere mention of whose names is suggestive of "rake off" and "boodle." Their opposition to a candidate should insure his success; their active support should be fatal.

No candidate who would be indebted to violators of the law for his election should ever be given the opportunity to take the oath of office. What farce is more pitiable than to see a man taking the oath of office who owes his election to the support of men who make their living by violating the very law he swears to support? What can be expected from a party that looks to a sale of indulgences for its campaign fund? Do men gather figs from thistles?

The successful candidate who courts the law-breaker before election will cater to the law-breaker after election. No man should be elected who will wink at the law's violation, and no official should be reelected who has done so. Every law should be enforced or repealed. If the people do not wish any particular law to be enforced, a repeal of such law is the only evidence of the fact that any official has any business to consider.

Fourth-of-July orators to the contrary, popular government is still an experiment. Unless the attempt we are now making is to prove the failure its enemies predict, the great body of the people must be roused to the necessity of taking part in politics, and especially so in municipal affairs. A great majority of the people have no political ambition, and by no possibility can the greater portion of them ever hold office. This fact by no means justifies them in leaving everything pertaining to politics to office-seekers, their friends, and employees. The controlling mo-

tive with the office-seeker is to get the office. A higher motive actuates those who have no political aspirations, and better results may be expected when citizens of this class become active in politics. The evils referred to will never be remedied, and those obnoxious callings will never receive proper treatment, so long as the place-hunters are allowed to monopolize politics.

The people should come to the front in politics, but not as office-seekers. They should be on hand at the primary, and every candidate guilty of paying court to the law-breaking elements should be defeated, if not at the primary then at the polls.

But is the citizen under no obligation of fealty to his party? Assuredly he is. Parties are the agencies through which the highest functions of citizenship are exercised. Though not provided for in the Constitution, they are nevertheless essential elements in the social fabric without which popular government would be impossible. Let every citizen identify himself with some party. If none exactly reflects his views, as may well be the case, if he be a man of any independence, let him act with the one that does so most nearly. Above all let him be on hand at the primary and see to it that the best men are nominated. But suppose the best man is not nominated. What then? Shall he bolt? That depends. There can be no government without parties, and there can be no party organization without party discipline. Good citizenship requires that very great deference should be shown to the official utterances of the party, both as to candidates and minor questions of policy. The right to bolt is analogous to the right of revolution. Whoever openly fights the nominee of his party should, as it were, take his life in his hands. He should be able to show beyond a reasonable doubt that the success of the candidate he opposes would be a party disgrace, if not a public calamity. Nevertheless the right to bolt will sometimes arise. Nay, more. As long as the mere place-hunter is allowed a monopoly in the selection of candidates, the duty to bolt will sometimes arise. In view of the demoralizing and disintegrating influence of a party revolt, the movement of which this journal is the organ may be welcomed, because with its success the bolt will disappear.

It would serve no useful purpose to attempt to state with precision the circumstances that will justify a bolt. The platform of American citizenship is broad. Men of every nationality and color, men of every creed, and men of no creed, are American citizens. They all pay taxes and stand ready to follow the American flag to the death if need be. No party that aspires to become national can exclude any citizen because of such differences. Objections based on such grounds will not justify a member of a party in withholding his support from the regular party nominee.

Nor is it proposed to say to what extent a bolt may be justifiable because of defects in character which in no way bear upon the discharge of the duties of the office to which the candidate aspires. Governments are made up of people as they are, not as they should be. Ours is a government of imperfect people, by imperfect people, and for imperfect people, and those whose lives have been most flawless do not always have the most practical sense.

But there is a limit, and one case may be mentioned which is beyond endurance. However it may be in the domain of morals, there is a sin in politics for which there should be no forgiveness. The man who aspires to office should be free from the taint of official corruption. There are plenty of men to put in office without taking those thus tainted. The party must be taught that it cannot put such men forward with impunity.

And this is not all. The men who act as "go-betweens," the middle-men in the transaction, belong in the same category. And here a word of warning. Let no official ever delude himself with the idea that he ever takes money guiltily without the fact being speedily known to all the world. The man who pays you the money knows your secret. The men who help make up the corruption fund know it. They all feel themselves outraged by you, and they omit no opportunity of avenging themselves by giving the facts to the world. Though they come on the stand and shelter themselves behind their privilege, or lie out of it, the sun will not set until they privately avow the truth and freely exhibit the documentary evidence of your guilt. Every

one you meet knows your guilt. They may treat you with courtesy, but they despise you none the less.

Three hundred years ago Lord Bacon held the highest judicial position in England. He was England's foremost man. He was convicted of bribery, imprisoned, and heavily fined, and forever debarred from holding office, because he accepted gifts from wealthy suitors who had cases before him. It was not claimed that his decisions in those cases were unrighteous or contrary to law. Not one of them was ever reversed. Nevertheless the name of Bacon has descended and will continue to descend branded with infamy through succeeding generations, and for all time to come men will applaud the sturdy virtue of our English ancestors who established so high a standard of official integrity at so early a day. In the wholesomeness of its influence the conviction of Lord Bacon should be ranked side by side with the execution of Charles I. We insist that democratic America shall not to-day lower the standard established by monarchical England three centuries ago.

Of course the avowal of such sentiments will elicit sneers from certain quarters. They call you "holier than thou" fellows, "goody-goody people," a "lot of preachers," "impracticables and cranks" who propose to run "Sunday-school politics." No, gentlemen, nothing of the kind. We recognize the fact that the time for the reign of the saints on earth has not yet come. We do not expect holiness in office. We ask only the ordinary, every-day, commonest kind of decency. We insist that votes shall not be a matter of merchandise, either at the primary, the polls, or in the legislative halls. We insist that official position shall not be a perch from which to pilfer from upper shelves that are beyond the reach of the private citizen thief. Above all, we demand that money shall not be received as the price of official action or non-action.

We are not visionaries and sentimentalists, and this is not a matter of sentiment. It is a question of self-preservation. If the time should come when corrupt methods in politics and corrupt practices in office are looked upon generally with the same indifference they are looked upon in certain localities, the

end of popular government is near at hand, and the sooner the end comes the better for all concerned.

There are some who say, "What's the use, they all do it," and some actually pretend to say that legislators generally take money from corporations and individuals who are especially interested in matters before the legislature. This attempt to excuse and palliate official venality by asserting its universality, is on a par with that other libel on humanity which embodies itself in the expression "every one has his price."

Human nature is much the same in all ages. The time never was when there were not men willing to sacrifice life itself for the sake of honor. If such time ever should come, then welcome chaos. When the world wants martyrs they will be forthcoming, and when any community is in dead earnest to find men of integrity to place in office, it will find them. The supply of virtue in any community will always equal the demand. If we have been put to shame by our officials in the past, it was merely because the stream could not rise above its source. To look the truth squarely in the face is the only way to find a remedy. Let us look the truth in the face.

L. W. KEPLINGER.

CIVICS: A SCIENCE FOR CITIZENS, AND A CREED FOR PATRIOTS.

BY HENRY RANDALL WAITE, PH.D.

A NEW word added to the language calls for definition. That it is admitted into the realm of common speech at all is proof of its *raison d'être*. When the lexicographer solemnly enrolls it as a member of the great army which "moves at mind's command" and over which every man is a general, it may be believed that it has come to stay. Civics has ten years to its credit, but has not yet wholly cast off the infant ornamentation of quotation marks. Such inquiries as "What does it mean?" and "What is its scope?" have yet to be answered. Having stood sponsor at its birth, the writer is asked to make answer.

Civics may be technically defined as a science; and it can also be regarded as standing for certain ideas which may entitle it to be regarded as a synonym for "The Patriot's Creed." Its significance, and the scope of its field as a science, I have already attempted to outline in a cyclopedia article, from which I venture to quote as follows:

CIVICS AS A SCIENCE.

CIVICS—(L. *Civis*—A Citizen)—"The body of knowledge, or science, which devotes itself to the consideration of citizenship relations, including the reciprocal relations of government and citizenship. Civics seeks to properly coördinate, as parts of an integral science, the essential truths with which the citizen must be familiar in order to the best use of his powers and privileges. It includes, I., ETHICS: Defined by E. Benjamin Andrews, D.D., LL. D. (President Brown University), of the faculty of the Institute, as 'The Doctrine of Duties in Society'; in other words, the study and setting forth of the conditions in human character which are essential to the welfare of the citizen, society, and government. As right character is the natural source of right action, the science of civics first concerns itself with the facts which underlie and account for these essential characteristics of the good citizen. In order that a citizen may be qualified to act the part of

an intelligent juror in all affairs submitted to the decision of the suffrage it is essential that he be adequately informed as to other facts in civics, as follows: II. CIVIL POLITY: Governmental methods and machinery; suffrage rights and obligations; the qualifications and duties of public officials; executive, legislative, and judicial affairs, and all other matters having relation to the orderly and proper administration of government. III. LAW: The principles and facts of the law in applications most directly involving the interests of society, and especially of the citizen and the government. IV. ECONOMICS: The principles or laws which explain or control the production, distribution, and ownership of that which constitutes, or is technically called, wealth; facts relating to the development of natural resources, to manufactures, and to internal and foreign commerce; questions of supply and demand, labor and capital; and matters of like character, considered with reference to their effects upon the citizen, and in their relations to government. V. HISTORY: Collateral facts illustrative of tendencies and results, growing out of given conditions, considered in connection with ethics, civil polity, law, and economics.

"Civics offers an opportunity for the exact differentiation of facts hitherto confused, as within the scope of two or more of the sciences which it includes, and for corresponding exactness in deductions. It differs from what is called social science in general, or sociology, in confining itself to the consideration of sociological facts in their bearings on affairs of citizenship and government."

CIVICS AS "THE PATRIOT'S CREED."

Patriotism, like religion, cannot exist and flourish without a basis in the thoughts of men represented by something in the way of a common belief. Sentiments, unframed in any single set of articles commonly adopted, may represent the best "Credo" of the American citizen. But there is sometimes need of an effort to give expression to the true sentiments of patriotism as related to affairs which are of vital concern to the patriot. We are now, and have long been, in the midst of just such a time. Civics, by what it means, or ought to mean, in its practical bearings on affairs of citizenship, government, and social order, may properly be regarded as a title for the creed of patriots; and this creed, whatever else individual citizens may add to it, may be outlined something as follows:

I believe that the establishment of right character in the individual, and the supremacy of civic virtue in the collective life of the people, are the most imperative essentials in government by universal suffrage.

I believe that preparation for republican citizenship, in the home, in private institutions of learning, and in the schools, whose only warrant for support at the public cost is the necessity for such preparation, is not worthy to be regarded as complete or adequate when it does not include persistent, systematic, and conscientious provisions for the inculcation of the high principles, noble purposes, and worthy ideas, which are the absolutely necessary antecedents of true virtue in manhood, womanhood, and citizenship.

I believe that preparation for citizenship, in all of its stages, is also incomplete and inadequate, if it fails to include special and sufficient instruction as to the principles and methods of popular government, the significance and importance of citizenship privileges, and the necessity and nobility of wise, unselfish, and faithful efforts, by each, for the promotion of the highest good of all.

I believe that the organized activities of American citizens, whether in the interests of business, philanthropy, religion, the diffusion of knowledge, or pleasure, should without exception be undertaken and carried on under the inspiration of, and with a purpose to maintain, a reverent and loyal regard for the noble ideas of true manhood, human brotherhood, and individual rights and responsibilities which are set forth in the charter of our republic and illustrated in the lives of its founders.

I believe that citizenship is trusteeship; and that no citizen can neglect or forbear the constant and faithful discharge of his sacred duties as a trustee of human rights and the welfare of his fellow-men living and unborn, without dishonor to himself and treason to his country and humanity.

I believe that the voters of this republic, when they exercise their right of supreme sovereignty in the nomination and election of those who shall be intrusted with the administration of its affairs, from those of the school district to the national Congress, should be solely governed by the dictates of a noble patriotism, guided by an intelligent and impartial judgment; and that no one should be intrusted with the duties of public office whose honesty, good character, and general fitness for useful public service, can be successfully challenged.

I believe that while national political parties are an essential part of the machinery of popular government, their only valid purpose is to represent and give effect to the intelligent and honest convictions of citizens who differ in opinion as to the principles and methods which shall be employed in the conduct of public affairs. But I believe that the devotion of a party to a policy which has relation wholly to questions of national concern, gives it no right to demand that its members, as a matter of party loyalty or party advantage, shall imperil the highest interests of the people in affairs of local government, by arraying its members in opposition to each other on occasions where every consideration of duty and patriotism demands that all good citizens shall act in union. And when any party lends itself to the accomplishment of unworthy ends, I believe that its claim upon the loyalty of good citizens, to the full extent of its offending, should be indignantly repudiated. I hold these opinions because I believe that parties and their leaders are intended to be servants and not masters or bosses; and that when they ignore this fact, they forfeit their claims to the allegiance of American freemen.

I believe that in the adjudication of wrongs due to the exercise of selfish and unrighteous power, in whatever form manifest; upon whomsoever the injustice falls; whether honest industry in the person of employee or employer; upon worthy manhood, defenceless womanhood, or helpless childhood; the court of final and also availing appeal is the tribunal represented by the suffrage of intelligent, virtuous, humane, liberty-loving, and god-fearing citizens. Thus believing, I welcome and am glad to give aid to efforts calculated to enlighten and humanize public opinion, and thus to prepare the great court of last appeal—the voters of America—for the rendering of righteous decisions.

I believe that a creed of the lips which is denied and dishonored by the life, merits for its professor the contempt of his fellow-men; and that the creed of a true patriot, like that of a man of true piety, will control his every act as a citizen, and direct all of his energies to the promotion of the highest welfare of his country and his fellow-men.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE.

THE MOHONK CONFERENCES.

BY FRANCES C. SPARHAWK.

NO MOVEMENT of modern times is more completely typical of the spirit of the age, that highest spirit which, over all the failings and crimes of the nineteenth century is destined to write itself deeply upon history as an evidence of moral, even of spiritual development, than the Mohonk Conferences.

There are in this decade as many guilds, unions, societies, and combinations under different names as there are classes of workers. Together with some evil results there has come through these associations a gain in strength in many directions, and they are, unquestionably, securing to their members greater technical grasp of subject, or of mechanism, and deepening with a gravitating tool the hitherto lightly sketched lines of specialism.

But the Mohonk Conferences are nothing of this kind. For, so far from emphasizing the special, they reach out to the universal in that they strive to benefit humanity and not an order or a business, nor are they instituted to promote the financial, social, intellectual, or moral gain of the members, and if they contribute to their spiritual welfare, it is by that law of gain to him who seeks the highest. So far, then, from any emphasis upon guild or order, these conferences are one form of that answer yet to be universal, the answer to that first-recorded, far-reaching question that man asked of his Maker, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It looks as if from generation to generation the ages had bent their forces upon man to bring from him in place of this defiant question the reverent answer.

The conference held at Lake Mohonk the 10th, 11th, and 12th of October, 1894, was the twelfth and the largest of these annual gatherings, there being two hundred invited guests, members of the conference, and one hundred and fifty guests of the house. At the opening session Mr. Smiley gave a few rem-

iniscences of the earlier conferences. He told how, being upon the Board of Indian Commissioners, he had found that there was not time to discuss with the care that was needed the questions that came before them; he saw also what excellent results had come from a three days' meeting and talk once held at the West, and yet that there was much left unsaid. "Come to my house," he had said to the commissioners and to others at work in the cause, or interested in it and able to serve it by their counsels, "come to my house, and stay a week and talk over this Indian matter." The busy men had accepted the invitation for one half this time, three days; and thus the first Mohonk Conference had come about.

And from that first year there has gathered every year, at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, the Indian Conference at Lake Mohonk House by the side of this beautiful lake in the heart of this mountain above the mountains. The great hotel in most picturesque and charming fashion climbs over the rocks by the lake on the one hand and on the other rears itself near the great trees from which the lawn slopes down into the valley, while its windows everywhere look out upon magnificent mountain scenery.

The psalm—the one hundred and third,—the prayer, and that beautiful hymn, "He Leadeth Me," with which the conference of 1894 opened gave the spirit of all the conferences, which have been endeavors under divine guidance to get at the true reading of human justice.

And for this purpose have met thus from year to year many men (and women) of many minds, presenting each his or her own view of the way in which the Indian problem was to be solved. But over all these discussions full of the zeal of the speakers ruled the spirit of amity. And if this spirit would not at all times have proved strong enough in its essence, it has also ruled here embodied in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, who have inherited the spirit which was breathed into that early Quaker, John Woolman, that apostle of human freedom, and which one hundred and a score of years before had sent him on his mission through the wilds of Pennsylvania to the Indians at

the town of Wehalaosing. "Love was the first motive," says John Woolman in explaining this mission, "and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them or they might be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth among them." "In conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenances and conduct," he adds, "I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature."

This has been the attitude of the Friends toward the Indians; this is the spirit that convoked the Mohonk Conference.

It was from Bucks County that in the summer of 1763 John Woolman, after having laid the matter before the General Spring Meeting of Friends and secured their approval, started upon his message of peace to the Indians, going through a country where traveling was "perilous" on account of an Indian war which it seemed was about to break out there.

By one of those strange coincidences of history it was into Bucks County that in the spring of 1881 Captain Pratt took his first two Indian boys to begin the outing system, the purpose of which is to restore the Indian to his full birthright, that of sharing the country with us. And so, it is very fitting that Friend and soldier should stand side by side at the Mohonk Conference.

Here have, indeed, ranged all differences of opinion and of method. For in 1883, when the first conference was held, Indian affairs were not in their present progressive state. The Carlisle school was four years old, and there were in addition three government Indian Training schools, those at Forest Grove (now Chemawa), Genoa, and Chilocco, besides the Indian contingent at Hampton and the Santee Normal Training School. The Commissioner's Report of 1894 gives twenty non-reservation training schools with an average attendance of 3,609. Almost equal progress has been made upon many other lines of the Indian work.

But in 1883 things now accomplished were yet untried. In

the conferences of those earlier days, much more than now, "some cried one thing and some another." "Down with the reservations!" came the shout like the trumpet peal of Joshua encircling the doomed Jericho. And this alternated with wailings at the sufferings that this downfall would entail. Every side had its hearing. The conference had not met with its platform written. "I have been surprised to see how you differ, and how you agree to differ," said Prof. J. H. Gilmore of the University of Rochester to the conference of 1893. "Here are the advocates of government schools; and every one says, Amen, the more, the better. And, then, there are advocates of industrial schools; and you agree to that. And, when Captain Pratt develops his idea of planting those schools here and scattering their pupils throughout the East, every one says, Amen. Then General Howard insisted that the main idea was that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ must reach the human heart; and to this plea for distinctively Christian schools you still cried, Amen. It is wonderful—this diversity of opinion and yet unity of purpose. Under the influence of the overruling spirit of God, men and women of strong mind and will can work in harmony. As Milton says in his 'Areopagitica,' 'Differences of opinion need not interrupt the unity of the spirit, if we can find within us the bond of peace.'"

No; for light spiritual, like the physical, comes not only direct from the sun, but also by reflection, by refraction even, and in every phase helps to illumine the world.

It was really true, however, that at that time among sects and workers there was real conflict, not of opinion only, but of action, and that everywhere the work was impeded by it. Yet all the workers loved their work; all wanted the Indian to be saved.

To a constructive mind everything is material for building into form and definiteness. To Mr. Smiley, capable of planning and carrying through large projects, of making successful combinations where other men would fail in them, it was plain that this Indian work needed building up into coherence, into unity of purpose. It bristled with wasted strength that might be turned to good use, that might be built into symmetry and power,

if one knew how. Mr. Smiley was the man who knew how. "Come to my house and talk it over," he said to the workers and the thinkers. And then at the conference he added this, that while the largest opportunity would be allowed in the expression of opinion, he hoped they would arrive at some harmonious conclusion; the influence of the conference depended on the unity of action.

Here was the peacemaker awake to all the constructive power of "unity of action."

This is why the platforms of these Mohonk Conferences have from the first had so much influence in shaping the action of the government. No administration could say of it, "It is the platform of a party, political or sectarian," or, "It is the whim of a crank." No; it was built up of the composite wisdom of Indian workers and thinkers. Thus far year by year have the leaders of the Indian work gone, solidly, as a whole. Thus far could the government safely follow in the assurance that the platform had borne the weight of charge and counter-charge of contending theories, and had been tested by a skilful builder.

And thus by the constructive method, by using this one's experience and that one's observation, and another's narrative of facts, and another's judgment welded together in the glow of a common purpose, there has been built up year by year a stronger and a larger platform, until the Indian problem has at last become—what?

It was noticeable how at the last conference the strength of the convention was united upon the taking off of disabilities. One after another the things which had made this Indian problem so very crooked at once were cited and lifted away in the discussions of the convention, until in the platform of the Mohonk Conference of 1894 we find this assertion: "This conference regards it as settled that the Indian is to be treated as a man and ought to be put on the footing of other men."

"The Indian is to be treated as a man and ought to be put on the footing of other men." The sentence should be written in golden capitals.

And thus it is proved that all classes of Indian workers and

thinkers have united in declaring that that great interrogation point which we have called "the Indian problem" has turned out to be—an Indian man who has been backsaddled out of all recognition. But now that at last he is getting straightened up, we are beginning to find him quite a shapely fellow, and to see that after a time, and not so long a time, either, even the stoop induced by our burdens—not burdens of work, but the heavier burdens of idleness and of disabilities political, intellectual, moral, social—will by judicious and healthful exercise be gone.

The strength of the Mohonk platform is not in its mere statement of a fact concerning the Indian which from the days of John Woolman, and before, many persons of all sects and opinions have believed; but in fulminating this belief as a shaft hurled against the already tottering policy of selfishness and fraud that has been constantly imposing these burdens upon Indian manhood, to crush him, since it would not intimidate him.

This is the platform of the Mohonk Conference of 1894 :

To recapitulate we ask :

I. That the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory be persuaded to accept a territorial government.

II. That laws be modified so as to render it impossible for the Indians to sell or lease their lands only by permission of a judge of the United States District Court.

III. That as far as possible work and markets be provided for Indians by organizations and individuals, and that rations and annuities be stopped as rapidly as a proper equivalent is provided.

IV. That provision be made by law for meeting from Indian funds the expenses of local improvements and taxes which would naturally fall on Indians now made untaxable by law.

V. That the duties, powers, and duration of office of Superintendent of Indian Schools be defined by law and his salary be made adequate.

VI. That the spirit of the civil service reform should be applied in the appointment of Indian agents as well as of other officials.

VII. That larger appropriations be made to enforce law in Alaska and also to provide reindeer for the natives.

VIII. That the work of transition be expedited by discontinuing some of the Indian agencies and introducing the district school system among the Indians, while we look forward to the eventual abolition of the Indian bureau and the relegation of Indian schools to the care of the individual states.

IX. That all religious bodies now receiving government aid for contract schools follow the example of other denominations by withdrawing their requests for such aid.

X. That the religious bodies redouble their effort in distinctively religious and moral work on behalf of the Indians.

With reservations going, with education coming faster and faster, with Indians being brought more and more under our own laws, with the necessity of their getting into work and their desire to do this (among the same class that are industrious with us) growing clearer every day, with the united decision of Indian workers and thinkers from all parts and of all opinions that "THE INDIAN OUGHT TO BE PUT ON THE FOOTING OF OTHER MEN," and such action as will tend toward putting him there—with all these needs and inspirations, why don't we take hold and **HELP TO PUT HIM THERE?** There is not an American or Christian, not one believer in good government throughout the land, who has not a personal concern in this matter.

Why will not every one say the word and do the thing needed, whatever this may be, to take his part in the work?

In this way the great purpose of the Mohonk Conferences will be accomplished and a public feeling and a helpfulness be aroused which by its unity and power will build up into beauty the ruins wrought by national—and by individual—greed and wrong, and which in restoring to the Indian his land again by sharing it with him, will also pay as interest on our debt to him the mighty compensation of our Christian civilization.

FRANCES C. SPARHAWK.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited. Address Outlook Department, American Magazine of Civics, 38 Park Row, New York.

THE PROTECTION OF VIRTUE.—The awakening of public conscience in the matter of the moral delinquencies so long tolerated in official affairs, is being followed by needed attention to the social evils with which political evils are more or less closely related; for it is undoubtedly true that venality in politics and government is always accompanied by an increase in the most pernicious of social vices. Indeed, as evidenced by recent disclosures in New York, Chicago, Boston, and many other cities, venal politics finds one of its chief sources of support and power in abhorrent alliances with the social pariahs who revel in the gains secured by pandering to vice in all its forms. It therefore follows that any permanent purification of politics must be accompanied by the uprooting of social evils. The disposition to wage relentless war on the chief of these evils is therefore one of the most hopeful signs of the times. It is a recognition of the basic truth which is placed first and always emphasized in the science of civics—the necessity of virtue in the citizen dominant in the mass as an essential to high success in popular government.

THE SANCTITY OF WOMANHOOD.—It is unnecessary to adduce evidence in support of the statement that nothing is more essential to the highest interest of society and government than the maintenance of that reverent regard for womanhood which is the best safeguard against the inroads of the vice which while now regarded as specially degrading to woman, is in truth, and should be regarded, as equally degrading to man. Wherever and to the extent that this vice runs riot manhood government follows manhood on its way to certain degradation. All facts warrant the belief that as woman chiefly gives to the typical American home the power which makes it a fountain of influences for human ennoblement and blessing, just to the extent that womanhood is dragged down the homes, the people, and the institutions of our land will in the end suffer in character. There is little danger, therefore, of too much attention to the influences, represented by laws, or the want of laws, which are calculated to conflict with the maintenance of the highest standard of womanhood.

AGE OF CONSENT LAWS.—Among influences which are directly hostile to virtue, and therefore only promotive of vice, and that in its worst form, are the so-called "Age of Consent Laws" which blacken the statute books by legalizing the dishonor of American girls, through permits issued to lecherous human beasts, the effect of which is to invite them, when the age limit has expired, to enter upon what is a veritable and horrible "slaughter of innocents" of the age of ten years and upward. The following facts from a recent article in *The Arena* possess a significance to which no words can add. Under the heading "The Black List of States" are grouped the several states, and the age in each established by statute when American girls can safely be robbed of their virtue by any male beast who can establish, whether true or not, and if true procured by whatever infamous means, the plea of "consent."

Ten Years.—Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Twelve Years.—Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, Wisconsin.

Thirteen Years.—Iowa, New Hampshire, Utah.

Fourteen Years.—Arizona, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Vermont, West Virginia.

Fifteen Years.—Delaware, Montana.

Sixteen Years.—Arkansas, Colorado, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Washington.

Seventeen Years.—Florida.

LAWS IN THE INTEREST OF THE BROTHEL.—Helen H. Gardener, in advocating the raising of the limit to eighteen years, says she finds considerable difficulty in "arguing" the question. To her, there appears to be no room for argument, no reasonable ground for difference of opinion. A law placing the age below eighteen years, she says, is clearly in the interest of the brothel.

Dr. Emily Blackwell writes: "To assume that a girl of fourteen or fifteen is not to be trusted in making a legal marriage, but that a girl of eleven or twelve is competent to understand and accept the consequences of an illegitimate connection, is a glaring absurdity, only to be accounted for by the different motives on which such action is based. No reason can be given for the low age of consent that would not tell equally upon every restriction on the freedom of minors. It is surely to the interest of the state that its girls should grow up to virtuous women. It cannot be its interest to facilitate the work of those who would compass destruction, in order to increase the temptations to vice, already too powerful, which surround young men."

WHAT THE SPIRIT OF REFORM DEMANDS.—Timidity is a barrier to individual and collective success. Mere sympathy does not avail unless action accompanies. Pitch in and fight is the demand of the

hour. "Coats off and at it" is the rude request of the spirit of reform. Kid gloves and white ties and faultless clothes count for naught so long as the fight is waged in the distance. People have lots of "feeling" in these latter days. They "feel" upon vital questions, temperance legislation, city purification, evangelization of the masses, and all great movements in which the spirit of Jesus is profoundly present. They feel, but gloves will be soiled and boots befouled and possibly the body somewhat scarred in the real conflict. Away with the nonsense of sympathy. "Feeling, like steam, is not worth a whistle if it is not used to move something." Moral cowardice loves the rocking chair and the Havana cigar, but pure bravery takes feeling and sympathy and conviction and enthusiasm and belief and casting them into one mighty artillery of power, goes out upon the battle-field of reform, stands true under the blaze of the mid-day of victory, or the gloom of the midnight of despair, and fights, fights until the enemy recognizes the valor and persistency and conquering power of its opponent. This is feeling in action, feeling armed to the teeth, feeling that means something, that boasts not, but does.—*Baltimore Methodist*.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS VS. BAD APPOINTMENTS.—Effectually to accomplish the purpose implied by their title—that is, effectually to promote good government—the efforts of the good government clubs should not cease with the closing of the polls at elections. Such ceasing would leave half their work undone. After public officers have been chosen by the people at the polls, about the first and most important of their duties consists in the selection of subordinates by whom most of the work of the respective offices is done. Those subordinates are more numerous than the principal officers. They usually come into closer association with the public than do their official superiors, and the quality of the "government" at any time is largely dependent on the character of such subordinates.

If it is essential to the promotion of good government that the records of candidates for elective offices should be scrutinized and compared by the good government clubs, it is at least equally essential that the records of candidates for appointive positions should be similarly scrutinized and compared, and the influence of the clubs be brought to bear against the appointment of the unworthy. Such influence should be exerted either directly upon the appointing power, or indirectly—through public opinion—by the publication of such records with proper comments by the clubs, as in the cases of candidates for elective officers. Of course such procedure, in case of either elective or appointive officers, is not to be taken on frivolous grounds; but when the clubs confine their hostility to clearly unworthy candidates, very few appointing officers would dare invite the odium which would be sure to follow the appointment of a subordinate to whose clearly unworthy record the attention of such official superior, or the attention of the public, had been called, by such a body as the good government clubs. Even when an unworthy appointment is made without any prior announcement, the

emphatic protest of the clubs and the knowledge that such a protest would certainly follow unworthy appointments would exert a healthful deterrent effect on the appointing power.—*Buffalo Courier*.

THE CLERICAL CITIZEN.—Under this heading the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* says of clergymen: "As a body they stand foremost among the best educated portions of the community; they are a singularly active and devoted set of men. Individually each one is influential in a circle of his own; as a mass they form a very host. Now it is neither proposed nor desired, nor indeed would it be tolerated, that, as a compact phalanx of churchmen, they should dominate the politics of the city. Nor is it for a moment to be thought of that from the pulpit or the altar they should make political speeches. In their respective churches they are set for moral and spiritual ends. And it were most unwise to raise any political issues in the purely ecclesiastical conference or assembly. But, as an individual, the man who is minister is debtor to the community as every other citizen, and, what is more to the point, debtor up to the fullest measure of his ability. And here the question may be most fairly raised: If, to use the traditional saying of Nelson, 'England expects every man to do his duty,' what may be honestly looked for from the clerical citizen by his fellows in the community?"

"He is the studious citizen. He may or may not be the best educated and trained man in the town or city, but he is, by reason of peculiar advantages and surroundings, among the most studious. He watches the ebb and flow of current events, and has his mind set on great principles that underlie all honest administration of great trusts. He is the man who is most likely to have his attention arrested by use of office to secure unfairly public funds, and he will be the man who can easily recall the names of those who have connived at or cloaked these selfish and unfair dealings. What a force such a man may be when haughty and self-seeking leaders order a great community to accept their arbitrary dictates and meekly receive their subservient henchmen! The sturdy 'No' of such a man may be the first clear note of defiance that rings through the city and announces the downfall of the tyrant, always a craven at heart.

"The clerical citizen can be the revolutionary citizen. In the soul-stirring struggle of our forefathers for civil and national liberty the clerical colonists were the foremost of revolutionaries. Who can forget Witherspoon? And who stands alone in the broad sweep of his glory in the Empire City to-day? It is a clerical citizen. At this hour, the air of our city is thick with rumors and allegations and fears of coming disaster to the fair fame of our great community. It is placarded through our streets that a selfish despotism has recklessly ordered its henchmen to give slavish obedience to its cynical commands. If there be even the beginnings of truth in this as yet unchallenged assertion, the time seems to be ripe for a civic Lexington beginning a war of independence that shall know its splendid Yorktown. If this battle is to be forced upon the community, shall the ministerial citizen not be in the front of the fray?"

"He ought certainly to be the citizen standing for good and triumphant morals. If an hour comes when the 'ten commandments are in the fight,' when inspiring examples of hardy manliness are to be set before our merchants, when the sacredness of the home life is to be emphasized, when the growing youth of the city are to see exalted to places of trust and influence and determinant supremacy the worthy, and things that are pure and noble and of good repute are to be made our ideals, surely in such an hour the citizens whose very reason of special existence is the triumph of good public policy should be found the busiest and most alert."

TRAINING PARENTS.—There has been a great deal said about "training up a child in the way he should go," but very little, comparatively, about training parents.

We do not employ teachers, plumbers, painters, or workmen of any sort, to do good work for us who have not been trained carefully for the work they are to do, but young people come together and are intrusted with the character building of the future generation, with the forming of the immortal souls of men and women, who have never given a thought to the matter, and who do not even know how to care for the bodies of the children that may be intrusted to them.

The child that comes to the home, a new-born babe, is like clay in the hands of the potter, and will be molded into such manhood as the hands into which it falls are capable of molding it. It is imitative to an enormous degree, and has little reason. The parents are its models. Their example, first, and, secondly, their precepts guide it for good or ill; and the whole life is colored to a greater or less extent by the hourly living of the parents to whom it has been intrusted. To girls there has come the blessing of the kindergarten training schools. These take up much more of training which is peculiarly adapted to mothers than those who have not thoroughly looked into the matter suppose. For girls, then, there may be a way opening whereby they shall become educated in the training of those committed to their care, but where is that institution that will train young men in a knowledge of the same thing?—*The Housekeeper.*

GOOD WORK IN THE FIELD OF CIVICS.—The Patria Club of Pawtucket, R. I., one of the local branches of the A. I. C., has successfully brought together in efforts for the uplift in civic affairs everywhere needed citizens of all parties and creeds. "Forefathers' Day" was made the occasion for a reunion of its members, with a banquet, and at the head of the board sat General Olney Arnold, with Governor Brown of Rhode Island and Hon. Curtis Guild of Boston on either hand, flanked by Rev. Dr. McGregor, ex-Governor Darling, Superintendent Gilman C. Fisher of the public schools, City Solicitor T. C. Barnfield, Rev. Father Kinnerney, Hon. Henry B. Metcalf, Judge P. E. Tillinghast of the Supreme Court, Messrs. Tracey and Davis of the city council, and a large number of other representative citizens of the industrial metropolis of Rhode

Island. The address of the occasion, which can only be referred to here, was made by Mr. Guild and was devoted to a definition of "True Patriotism," which was briefly described as "the passion which aims to serve and advance our country and maintain its laws and institutions in vigor and purity." While according due value to the study and commemoration of brilliant examples of patriotism in past history, including the much abused Fourth-of-July celebrations, Mr. Guild said: "Anything great, noble, truly valuable, requires persistent effort, labor, and often self-sacrifice to obtain. Honest government, the right men in the right place, the proper and just administration of government, cannot be obtained by mere talk; it requires personal effort, combined effort, example, the practice of the precepts we recommend and adherence to the principles of truth and honesty which we commend to others in our own actions." Governor Brown highly commended the organization because of the high service which it was rendering to the community, and Father Kinnerney, in the course of an eloquent address, said for a plain Irishman to attempt to tell New Englanders what patriotism is seemed to be something of a burlesque, but he would try and give his own impressions of the matter. After pronouncing a brief but impressive eulogy upon ex-Governor Littlefield, one of the founders of the club, he said:

"Patriotism is loyalty to country, and loyalty to country is loyalty to God. God first, and patriotism afterwards. God blesses and consecrates patriotism.

"This is the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is a strange thing for a Catholic to stand up here and laud the Pilgrim Fathers. But I do laud them. You, their children, cannot forget them. You must honor them. They were true patriots. The voyage of the *Mayflower* was in the providence of God, as well as the voyage of the *Santa Maria* bearing Christopher Columbus to the New World. What were the Pilgrim Fathers? God-fearing men they were. We must admire their sincerity, their fidelity to conscience, their trust in an overruling Providence. Do we blame them because they were not of our way of thinking? Oh, no! they were the men for their times, and they laid the keel of the American ship of state. They taught manhood first, then the home, then the government of the town, then the state, then the Union. This generation ought to look back with pride to their history. They fulfilled all the duties of true patriotism.

"There are no people who are more grateful for American citizenship than those who come from the country where I was born. They know what tyranny is, and they come here willing to take the oath of allegiance and proud to become American citizens. I believe this talk about religion interfering with a man's citizenship is the merest sham. Religion does not unmake a citizen. If it is any form of Christianity it will make him a better citizen.

"The Democratic party doesn't own the Irish-American citizen and the Republican party ought not to—his conscience owns him, and his conscience should be in the direction of the public good. I was at the

convention at Baltimore and heard nothing said about demanding public money for the parochial schools. We were told, not ordered, to open parochial schools if we thought best, and the people demanded them. So we did open them. It is the people who rule the priest, not the priest the people. We are not opposed to the public schools, but we want our own schools because we want more religious instruction. We may be wrong, but if we are we pay the bills ourselves."

OBJECT LESSONS IN CIVICS.—The Pawtucket, R. I., *Times* devoted several columns to the inspiring addresses delivered at the late annual reunion of the members of the American Institute of Civics resident in that city. The giving to non-partisan and unselfish undertakings for the benefit of government and people as much or more attention than is bestowed by a multitude of newspapers on the details of some prurient scandal, is one worthy object lesson. Another such lesson, as indicated by the *Times* in a leading editorial relating to this meeting is the "difference between the rational utterances of Governor Brown and Curtis Guild and the mad denunciations of rabid demagogues!" "The problem of our national wealth and happiness," says the journal, "is contained in these words from Mr. Guild's address: 'The different sections of the country should not be antagonistic to each other; the farmers of the South should become better acquainted with the manufacturers of the North; the men of the West should become better acquainted with the men of the East, and sectional differences will disappear.'" Another worthy object lesson is that afforded in Pawtucket, and in every other place where Democrats, Republicans, Prohibitionists, Protestants, Catholics, and Hebrews, as promoters of the ideas and aims of the national institution represented by THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, are found working in concord for the accomplishment of common and noble ends.

NEW CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.—The *Daily Chronicle* of San Francisco reports a meeting in that city, Jan. 3, at which plans were made for a crusade against vice and corruption, private and public, by the formation of the Civic Federation of San Francisco. The public conscience is to be energized and a combined effort made for good municipal government. Some of the members of the association hint at the possibility of a legislative committee similar in its scope to the Lexow organization. They will seek to extirpate the dives, the side entrances, gambling, and all other corruption in the city.

Representatives from a dozen different organizations were present at the meeting, among whom were: Charles C. Terrill, president of the Union for Practical Progress and of the Builders' Exchange; Robert Currie, of the Builders' Exchange; General John McComb, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children; Secretary Holbrook, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; Secretary Frank B. Gibson, of the Society for the Suppression of Vice; Supervisor-elect Charles T. Gaden; Rev. Herbert N. Bevier, of

the Memorial Presbyterian Church ; Rev. E. McClish, of Grace Methodist Episcopal Church ; Rev. H. H. Wikoff, of the Fourth Congregational Church ; Rev. J. Cumming Smith, of Trinity Presbyterian Church ; Rev. W. S. Bovard, of Trinity Methodist Church ; Rev. Dr. E. R. Dille, of the Central Methodist Church ; Mrs. Rose M. French, of the Law and Order League, and D. Gilbert Dexter, of the First Congregational Church. Rev. H. H. Wikoff was chosen chairman of the meeting, with Rev. W. S. Bovard as secretary.

COMPULSORY VOTING.—The following act, prepared by Harris J. Chilton, is to be brought before the legislature of Pennsylvania.

"*Section 1.* Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Pennsylvania, that it shall be compulsory upon every qualified voter of the state of Pennsylvania, to cast a ballot at each and every general election hereafter held in Philadelphia or any of the several counties of this state, according to law.

"*Section 2.* And, be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the judges of election, at each and every general election hereafter held in this state, according to law, at the closing of the polls of said election, to examine the book containing the names of the said qualified voters, of their respective polling places, and to make a red mark under the name of each voter who has neglected to cast his ballot at said election ; and to have copied a true and correct list of names and addresses of all voters who failed to cast their ballots, as aforesaid ; such copy to be signed by each judge and attested by the clerks, at each polling place, and to be transmitted by the returning judge, within the next succeeding ten days of said election, to the clerk of the Criminal Court of Philadelphia City, or clerk of the Circuit Court of the county in which said election was held.

"*Section 3.* And, be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the clerks of said courts, to immediately issue summons under the seal of the court, to be served by the sheriff upon said delinquent voter, commanding him to appear in person before the court at its next sitting thereafter, to show cause why the fine, hereinafter prescribed, shall not be imposed upon him for neglecting to cast his ballot at said election.

"*Section 4.* And, be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the presiding judge of said court to hear the cause or excuse of said voter for his failure to cast his ballot at said election, and if he be unable to give such an excuse, under oath, as prescribed by Section 5 of this act, then said judge shall give judgment against said voter for the fine of \$5.00 (five dollars) and costs, to be collected as other fines and forfeitures are collected in this state.

"*Section 5.* And, be it enacted, that every voter who violates Section 1 (one) of this act shall be subject to the fine herein imposed, unless he can show to the satisfaction of the judge before whom his case is heard, that he was unable, by reason of sickness, or absence from the city, or county, wherein he is a qualified voter, at the time of the holding of said election, to cast his ballot at said election.

"Section 6. And, be it enacted, that if any qualified voter be adjudged guilty of violating Section 1 of this act, his property to the amount of one hundred dollars shall be exempt from liability for said fine, and judgment.

"Section 7. And, that it be enacted, that all fines collected under or by virtue of this act, shall go to the Public School Fund of Philadelphia City or of the county wherein said fine is imposed and collected.

"Section 8. And, be it further enacted, that this act shall take effect from the date of its passage."

A QUESTION OF DEGRADATION.—The highly benevolent people who wish to establish the whipping-post in New York say that it is to be used only on wife-beaters and persons guilty of infamous crimes.

They argue that these are so degraded already that the whipping-post cannot possibly degrade them further.

No doubt that is true, but it does not meet the objection that such punishments are degrading.

The percentage of criminals to the total population is so small in any event that the effect of punishment on them is the least part of the problem. If the wife-beater were branded "W. B." in the forehead it would not degrade him perhaps, nor would it be more painful than the lash. But would it not degrade all who were directly or indirectly responsible for the infliction of such a punishment? Would not a community which could think of the use of the branding-iron or the knout without abhorrence be engaged in continually degrading itself to the level on which violence is combated only by greater and more formidable violence?

Education, moral force, the compelling power of the intellectual over the brutal—these save and elevate a community. Without these there is no hope in whips.—*New York World*.

THE COLORADO WOMAN.—She has realized the dream of equal suffrage, and in her use of the ballot has acquitted herself creditably in the esteem of all save those who voted on the other side; and their views are not impartial. It may be said, in truth, that she has evidenced a patriotic, intelligent, and honest disposition to do her duty which augurs well for the future of the silver state. That her entrance into the arena of public affairs has brought decided reinforcement to the influences which represent civic virtue there can be no doubt. Now she has also a magazine which is owned, edited, and controlled by herself, and devoted to her own interests, which are to be regarded also as the interests of Colorado. Its title is *The Colorado Woman*. Its editor is Grace Espy Patton, it is published in Denver, and its crowning purpose is to be an "organ of good government." THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, also a promoter of good government, welcomes the Colorado woman, collectively and individually, to the fellowship established by a common purpose. The Institute of Civics also greets her, and will be glad to give her, with the noble women of other states who have

not yet "come to their heritage," a place in its councils. With or without the right of suffrage, in the national activities for the uplift of citizenship which the Institute represents, no citizens can accomplish more or better results than American women.

USEFUL WORK FOR WOMEN.—Apropos of the foregoing paragraph, it may be said that opportunities for widely extended usefulness are everywhere open to women through coöperation with the Institute of Civics. They may improve these opportunities, as individuals or as organizations, by welcome coöperation in many ways concerning which the officers of the Institute will gladly inform them. Local organizations of women, devoted wholly or in part to the promotion of civic and social reforms, may become auxiliaries of the Institute without change of name or change in objects other than increased devotion to the activities essential to the upbuilding of a citizenship based on virtue, intelligence, and true patriotism; and a corresponding increase in the solidity and power of all organizations which seek this noble end.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP VOLUNTEERS.—Letters full of encouragement are continually received from those who have been led to enter the membership of the Institute of Civics for the purpose of coöperating in efforts to maintain a permanent, non-partisan, national institution devoted to the sole purpose of everywhere promoting and giving power to the influences which must of necessity prepare the way for good citizenship, good government, and right social order. J. J. Burnett, of Spartansburg, S. C., writes:

"From the time when the first number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS came to me, I have been especially interested in the objects of the Institute, and should count myself happy if in any way I may be able to further its aims. The work you have undertaken is great and to my mind of paramount importance; and at no time has there been greater need for it." * * * Others write as follows:

"It will be only through careful and diligent work that any changes will be effected in the way of righting existing public evils. I shall be willing to assist you in any and all work you may attempt."—*Ernest Weyand, Colusa, Cal.* . . . "I am most heartily in accord with the work you have undertaken and recognizing the important character of the same, I shall be pleased to do all I can to aid you. Permit me to assure you that whenever and wherever I can render any aid I will do so."—*William S. Small, Chattanooga, Tenn.* . . . "This movement is in the right direction. I feel strongly constrained to coöperate with you so far as I may be able, especially in view of popular clamors and anarchistic tendencies even here in the free and equal—the truly American (will you allow me to say?) West—or rather agricultural Northwest."—*J. H. Cole, Miller, S. D.* . . . "Allow me to express my appreciation of the honor conferred upon me through Mr. Bullock's influence. While I have felt an interest in united effort for the encouragement of good citizenship, no active effort has ever been

put forth by me save in seeking to live as a good citizen, as was taught me by an honest and upright father."—*John S. Shrum, Crawfordsville, Ind.* . . . "I am glad to accept membership in the Institute and hope that it will afford opportunity for me to do something to help in this most vital cause. I believe the question of good government should concern every citizen. I am interested in tariff, labor, immigration, financial, woman suffrage, and temperance questions; and the enactment of good, sound law and its strict enforcement. The growing exhibition of sickly sentiment along so many lines calls for action on the part of broad-minded, broad-gauged men, and I feel it an honor to be associated in any way with the class of citizens who make up the rank and file of the American Institute of Civics."—*Ezra R. Averill, St. Johns, Mich.* . . . "I am heartily in sympathy with your institution and hope to aid it."—*Ira K. Alderman, Maryville, Mo.* . . . Harris J. Chilton, Philadelphia, says: "I accept your invitation to become a member of the A. I. C., as I think such bodies are doing great good, the best result of all being the defeat of Tammany in New York City at the recent election." In order to make such results permanent and not spasmodic, Mr. Chilton recommends compulsory voting at primaries and general elections as provided for by a bill the text of which is printed elsewhere. "Money," says Mr. Chilton, "is the lever which moves the world; and a small fine for neglecting to vote with provision for its collection except in cases of proper exemption, is the best way to make voters perform their duty."

If its propaganda, extending through nearly ten years and commanding the coöperation of leaders of public opinion in all large cities and many smaller towns in all the states, does not entitle the Institute of Civics to all of the credit accorded in the following letter, it may justly claim at least a part of it. "I read with pleasure and instruction THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS; I congratulate the Institute, and recognize that it is undoubtedly the great tap-root of the sturdy reform tree that has so grandly spread its branches; and the work of the last elections should be a source of great delight to the institution in whose efficient work the germ of reform took root and through whose ministrations it has been cultivated into the broad sheltering tree which overspreads our cities, our state, and I hope, our land."—*Edward W. Hooker, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

MILITARISM IN CIVIL SCHOOLS—The renewal of the demand for military education in the public schools is made by people who mean as well as those who insist that the whipping-post should be revived. Both demands originate in the profound distrust of the people, in a belief that education and the ordinary processes of moral influence exerted under civil government are not sufficient to guard the holders of property from the acquisitiveness of those who have none.

All these ideas belong to the Toryism of the eighteenth century in England and of the earlier part of the nineteenth in Germany. Such Tories are willing to trust nothing to the good-will of men for each other or to the progress of science. They want all power kept in the hands

of the "upper classes," and to that end they want the military idea made dominant in government.

It will be unfortunate for America and for civilization if they are allowed to have their way in New York. Our schools are essentially civil schools, maintained as the prop of civil government. If they are converted into military institutions then the American system must cease to be republican and become imperial. This would follow with a certainty that is illustrated by the whole course of history. The military spirit cannot become dominant in the mind of any people without supplanting the republican system with the imperial.

If we need more military schools in New York let us have them as military schools for the training of the military class which is still necessary in spite of the advance of civilization. But let us keep that idea out of our civil institutions, and, above all, let us keep it out of the common schools on which our civil institutions are based.

THE WHIPPING-POST.—The proposition of Commodore Elbridge T. Gerry, of one of our societies for the prevention of cruelty, to revive the whipping-post in this state has been enthusiastically indorsed by the Public Health Section of the Academy of Medicine, and Senator O'Connor has submitted to the Senate a bill embodying it.

Although doubtless well meant as a protest against the enervating influences of modern civilization, and effective as far as it goes in a restoration of the obsolete cruelties of barbarous ages, this bill is crude and imperfect in its scope—a halting attempt to grapple with a great evil which obviously needs strong remedies.

Kind Commodore Gerry stops with a limit of merely forty lashes on the naked backs of certain classes of offenders. If we are going to try to cure crime with cruelty why limit it to flogging and to forty lashes? Why not be thorough?

Citizens of New York have lately been favored with an exhibition of the celebrated collection of instruments of torture of the Nuremberg Museum, as well as of those of the reformatory at Elmira. The new opera of "The Scarlet Letter" teems with suggestions of antique punishment, and China is very much in evidence with her cangues and other devices for inflicting cruelty on the cruel, for making "the punishment fit the crime."

If Commodore Gerry is consistent and has the courage of his convictions he will not rest content with his trivial and inadequate whipping-post. He will supplement his tentative suggestion by calling to his aid the resources of the past. He will give us not merely the knout, the cat, and the bastinado, but the ducking-stool and the pillory, the thumbscrew, the boot, the gauntlets and bilboes for ordinary criminals, and for extreme cases, such as resistance to an officer of the Gerry society, the rack, the wheel, the *peine forte et dure*, or even "something lingering in boiling oil."

If we are going to renounce civilization and return to savagery let us not stop half way.



CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D.

Councilor American Institute of Civics ; President New York City Vigilance League, and Society for Prevention of Crime.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

MARCH, 1895.

SHALL WE LOOK BACKWARD OR FORWARD IN DEALING WITH THE CRIMINAL?

BY HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, M. D.

IN DEALING with the criminal, there are three prominent considerations to be borne in mind.

First, we must protect society directly against the abnormal acts and influences of the individual delinquent.

Secondly, we must if possible reform the individual delinquent, that he may reënter society as a useful member.

Third, we must so treat the individual delinquent that his unpleasant experience may serve as a deterrent example to other would-be offenders.

Each of these considerations, in the last analysis, is really a means to the same end, namely, the protection of normal society against abnormal members. Nature everywhere teaches the lesson that the race is all important, the individual only important in that he is a component member of the race. In civilized communities, society stands for the race, and has a like preëminence over any individual member.

In attempting to fulfil the conditions just outlined, therefore, this paramount importance of society should constantly be borne in mind. Even while we are striving to reform the criminal, we need not consider the feelings or desires of the criminal himself in any particular. We need not even consider his mental or moral responsibility, except simply as influencing our judgment as to what methods of treatment will best tend to accomplish the second of the objects aimed at—the restoration of the individual to normality. Except in this regard, it does not matter in the

least whether the unfitness of the individual, which led him to criminal actions, be due to bad heredity, defective education, vicious associations, mental aberration, or what not. Society must in any case protect itself directly, strive to bring the individual back to moral normality, and make a deterrent example of the offender. We may pity and excuse the irresponsible offender, but that does not alter the necessity for treating him.

Such, as I understand it, is the modern conception of penology. It is based on reasoning from analogy. Its foundation is logic and not sentiment. But at the same time there enters into it no such conception as that of revenge. The old eye-for-eye dogma has no place in modern criminology. We know now that every man is the child of circumstances—the victim of hereditary and environmental influences that he neither chose nor controlled. We regard every offender against normal regulations of society as in some sense weak and irresponsible. Therefore we have banished the thought of vengeance and retribution from our conception of correctional discipline of the criminal. We do not use the word punishment in its old retributive sense. In disciplining the criminal, we have in mind, or should have, the three principles above outlined, and none other.

Bearing these principles in mind, some absurdities of our laws relating to the subject are easily made plain. For example, it is a uniform legal custom to dole out "punishment" to the criminal in doses gauged by time limitations. A person having committed a crime adjudged to be of a certain magnitude is sent to prison for a specified period. He is shut up for the protection of society, because he is considered unfit to be at large. At the end of the specified time he is unconditionally released, though fully understood to be quite as unfit to be at large as he was when first confined. A more absurdly illogical procedure than this it would be difficult to conceive.

Again, under existing laws, a score of accidental circumstances, totally unrelated to any action of the criminal, must decide what is the nature of his crime. Guiteau was not legally a murderer until weeks after he had fired the fatal shot. Had Garfield's constitution been a little more robust; had the bullet chanced to

be deflected in another direction; had the surgical treatment been in accordance with methods then unwarranted by experience but now familiar—had any of these adventitious circumstances been different, perhaps Guiteau would not have been a legal murderer at all. His “punishment” then would have been far different. But would his crime in any other than a legal sense have been altered? Would his infringement of moral law been any less great had the pistol ball failed to strike his intended victim at all, or had the pistol failed to explode when he pulled the trigger? Assuredly not; yet in the latter case he would have been legally guilty only of a relatively minor crime.

Manifestly laws that thus depend upon non-essentials are not scientific or logical. The full moral delinquency of the criminal culminates in the moment of the commission of the criminal act, and a law which rationally deals with him will not need to wait for the sequels due to accidental circumstances to decide whether the culprit deserves to go to prison for a few years only, or to be hanged. There is no moral difference between attempting to kill a fellow-being and actually killing him. There is no moral difference between stealing fifty dollars and fifty million dollars, under similar provocation. To attempt to dole out justice, in the traditional way, is to miss the lesson of penology. You cannot in this way either (1) protect society to the best advantage against the individual criminal, or (2) tend to reform the individual, or (3) exercise the strongest deterrent influence over would-be offenders. In other words, such an application of alleged justice fails to meet the requirements of an ideal penological code. It fails to accomplish the ends that society should seek to accomplish in dealing with the criminal.

The really significant question that should be asked in every court of justice is simply this: Is the accused individual a fit member of society to be at large and left to his own devices? Let the testimony deal with that question alone, ignoring petty details and non-essentials. If it be decided that the person is at the time unfit to properly take his place in a normal social organism, then let him be segregated until such time as he is fit, efforts being made meantime to mold him back to normality.

If the effort is successful, well and good ; if unsuccessful, the individual remaining unfit, there is no possible excuse for ever returning him to that normal environment in which he cannot take his place as a normal member. This implies, of course, that the irreclaimably vicious individual will be imprisoned for life, though the offense for which he was arrested may have been a trifling one, while some irreclaimable individual, guilty of what the law now regards as a much more serious offense, may be released and take his place again in society within a relatively short period of time. It implies, in other words, an indeterminate sentence for all crimes whatsoever. In the judgment of most advanced penologists, this is the ideal that seems likely most fully to carry out those principles of protection to society, reformation of the individual, and deterrent influence over others, that are the ideals of penology, and that are so sadly missed by our present methods of dealing with the criminal.

Nor is this application of the indeterminate sentence merely a theory. For many years it has been on trial in reformatories, and though not quite thoroughgoing enough, in that it limits the maximum term of imprisonment, and so is shorn of some of its possibilities, it has shown wonderful results. At the Elmira Reformatory in particular, the reformatory results have been such as no other prison in the world has ever even approached. Here has been given a final answer to all objections, by practical demonstration. Of all the convicts that have gone there, 80 per cent have gone out reformed and returned to society as useful members. Thus society by this method has protected itself against these criminals, not merely for the time being, but throughout the life of the individuals. The individuals themselves are reformed. And the deterrent influence of the treatment is illustrated by the fact that convicted offenders in the courts (already far on the road to permanent criminality, and having no desire to reform) beg to be sent to other prisons rather than to the reformatory, the severe correctional discipline of the latter having far more terror for them than the lax ordinary prison.

Theory thus having the support of practice in suggesting that

the indeterminate sentence is the ideal method of dealing with the criminal; and it being established that justice in dealing with the criminal requires protection of society, reformation of the individual, and deterrent example, rather than vengeance, it is rather surprising to find any one coming forward at this late day to urge that we should look backward, and fortify the obsolescent retributive system, instead of using every effort to make it obsolete. Yet this is being done to-day in New York, and perhaps elsewhere. A gentleman widely known as a philanthropist proposes to introduce—perhaps before this is printed has introduced—a bill into the legislature of New York, providing for the revival of the whipping-post. This fact in itself is remarkable. But it becomes even more so when the class of cases to which he proposes to have the treatment applied is considered. He would have the criminal law so modified that in case of felonies against the person, a convicted person may be sentenced, at the discretion of the judge, to castigation, in addition to the usual imprisonment; said castigation to be applied when the convict reaches the prison, the blows to be struck, in a given number, by a keeper of the prison, in the presence of the warden and of a physician.

So grotesque a proposition as this would not merit consideration at all, were it not that a shrewd attempt was made to secure for it the approval of the medical profession of New York City. The measure was presented and discussed before a section of the Academy of Medicine, and at least one prominent newspaper (I did not inspect others) reported the meeting as being entirely favorable to the bill. In point of fact, the bill was most severely handled in the meeting, to the apparent chagrin of its author; and the attitude of the medical profession toward it may best be judged by the editorial regarding it that appeared in *The Medical Record*, the most influential organ of the medical profession in this country. This editorial says:

“The use of corrective flogging may possibly enter into the reformatory system with benefit, as at Elmira; but this is a very different thing from inflicting pain upon a criminal as a retributive measure, *i. e.*, causing him pain because his crime has in-

volved infliction of pain upon his victim. We should regret to think that such a vengeful application of corporal punishment could meet the approval of the medical profession. And we very much doubt whether any application whatever of corporal punishment would meet their approval."

With this evidence before us, it is hardly necessary to say anything further as to the attitude of the medical profession toward the proposed measure. Nor is it worth while to discuss the measure itself at any considerable length, for it must be patent that were it to become a law, it could not (1) give society added protection against the individual criminal, or (2) exercise a great reformatory influence. Even the proposer of the bill admits this. He thinks, however, that the deterrent influence of the law would be strong. He believes that criminals of this class do not fear imprisonment for a few or many years, but that they do fear physical pain; hence that the prospect of a flogging would be more deterrent than the prospect of years of imprisonment.

To this *The Medical Record* pertinently replies that criminals of this class are notoriously obtuse to pain, paying little heed to injuries that would be excruciating to a normal individual, and that their fear of pain does not keep them from repeatedly indulging in bar-room brawls and street fights; and that it is difficult to imagine the mental complexion of an individual, whatever his sensitiveness or cowardice, who would prefer years of imprisonment to "at most forty" lashes, administered under medical supervision in private.

It requires no profound knowledge of human nature to decide whether the man who, under the influence of lustful passion or of alcoholics, makes a criminal assault upon a child, for example, knowing—if any spark of cognition be left him at the time—that he will, if detected, be sent to prison for from five to twenty years in consequence, and who is undeterred by this threatened punishment, will pause in the midst of his assault, and be turned from his purpose, by the further thought that in addition to the imprisonment he will have a flogging!

That the flogging would have no tendency to reform the individual is almost equally patent. It is quite true that at the

Elmira Reformatory corrective floggings have been beneficially employed. But such castigation, as there employed, has never been retributive. It has been a measure of last resort, to arouse a repeatedly warned delinquent to a new sense of his responsibilities and opportunities. It looked always to the future, and the convict who would sincerely promise to try to do better was not flogged, even when brought to the room for that purpose. The cases are utterly different, and to liken them is an insult to the Elmira system.

But it is a waste of words to discuss this ridiculous and anachronistic measure. The only thing that makes it worthy of a moment's further consideration is the possibility that it might be amended in the legislature so as to take on a very different complexion, and to include an application of the whipping-post principle that is at least debatable—as the bill itself is not.

This possible suggestion is that the whipping-post be revived not for felons but for minor delinquents; and not as supplementary to imprisonment, but in place of imprisonment. It is alleged that jails and prisons are nurseries of crime, and that a convict comes out of them with more criminal propensities than he had when he entered. It is further urged that many persons would fear the shame of a flogging more than the shame of imprisonment for a few days. Hence that the whipping-post for these offenders would be more deterrent and reformatory than the prison. If this be true, then the whipping-post for such offenders would be a better thing than prisons as they are.

I am not prepared to say that this is not true of prisons as they are to-day. But I most emphatically deny that it would be true of prisons as they might be. But more as to this in a moment. Meantime, let me urge that if the utility of the whipping-post for minor offenders were considered at all, its applicability would be very different from what its defenders generally conceive it to be. They urge that it be used for wife-beaters, or other offenders against the person—criminals, in short, who have inflicted pain on their victims. Here, plainly, is the old retributive—the eye-for-eye—conception. This of all others is the use that should not be made of the whipping-post.

Which one of us would wish to be in the position of the wife of a human brute who had been officially whipped in retaliation for whipping his wife? Does it accord with our knowledge of human nature to suppose that the recipient of this corrective treatment will be brought to a realizing sense of his duties by the stinging of the lash, and that he will at once return affectionately to the bosom of his family, and begin life anew on a higher plane? I need not supply the answer to that axiomatic question.

In my judgment the only cases to which castigation could conceivably be applied with wisdom, are minor offenses *not* committed against the person; for example, the simple "drunk and disorderly" cases that in New York are commonly sent for ten days to the workhouse. It is *conceivable* that the shame of such an experience—not the pain—might in the case of first, or possibly second offenders, be reformatory, and its deterrent influence would unquestionably be considerable. But it seems to me that the same results in equal or greater measure might be secured by exposing the misdemeanant to public contumely on a platform, without the application of personal violence. The shame of this would be quite as great, and there would not be aroused in the breast of the offender that fierce sense of rebellion or ferocious desire for revenge that would surely be aroused by the stinging of the lash.

It seems to me plain, therefore, that there is no conceivable justification for the revival of the whipping-post. And I am forced to this conclusion without taking into account any sentimental reasons whatever. I quite disregard the fact that the whipping-post is a past century device. A thing is neither better nor worse intrinsically because it is old or new; though it must be conceded that the fact of a progressive race having discarded any given measure is presumptive evidence against that measure. But I have not asked this fact to weigh in the scale. To me it seems plain, on strictly utilitarian grounds, that the whipping-post has no function outside of reformatories either as a protector of society directly, or for deterrent example, that may not be better subserved by other measures.

How independent of sentimentality I am in reaching this conclusion, is shown by the qualifying clause just cited—"outside of reformatories." I make this exception, because the results attained at the Elmira Reformatory from corrective floggings, applied to seeming incorrigibles, as a corrective measure of last resort, after every other measure has been exhausted without effect, seem to show the value of this treatment, under the peculiar conditions that pertain in a reformatory. But two things are to be noted as to this. First, the conditions are radically different from those under which the revival of the whipping-post elsewhere is advocated. The prisoner is under complete control after as well as before the punishment. He has no opportunity to seek revenge, however vengeful he may feel at the time. He knows that the punishment has been applied because he wilfully failed to respond to less severe measures; that it will not be applied again if he now responds; and that it may be applied more severely if he does not respond. Fear of repetition, therefore, along with the appreciation of his own complete helplessness, are the factors that chiefly tend to make castigation as here used effective as a reformatory and deterrent measure. With a criminal who is sent to prison, as the bill before the New York legislature proposes, and whipped once and once only, there would not, of course, be the fear of repetition; and with the wife-beater or other misdemeanant outside, there would not be the sense of complete helplessness, but, as soon as the whipping was over, quite the reverse feeling. For these reasons, the application of castigation in reformatories as a measure of reformatory discipline is a very different thing from the use of the whipping-post outside.

But the second point I would note is this. Even in reformatories, I believe it would never be necessary or desirable to employ this measure, could the sentence under which the inmates are confined be made absolutely indeterminate. At present, it is only relatively so. The most incorrigible prisoner knows that he will be released presently, however little he has tended to reform. Hence he wilfully persists in his chosen path of misconduct. But if every prisoner knew that he would never again

see the light of the outside world as a free man unless he proved by his conduct in the prison that he was capable of acting normally in normal society, and that he would earn his release whenever he could convince his superiors that he was capable of so acting, an incentive to reform far stronger than any whipping-post would be given him. I believe, therefore, that when our reformatories can be conducted under proper laws, there will be no necessity for retaining the methods of discipline there that now seem to the leading penologists justifiable and desirable.

I have spoken of the pillory in some modified form, as a possible substitute for the whipping-post. But I would not be understood as advocating the revival of this obsolete method. I mentioned it only as a method of correction more worthy of consideration than the other; but I do not think it necessary to revive either method. In every large city there are great numbers of minor delinquents who are a greater puzzle to the penologists than the major criminal. Last year there were more than 23,000 commitments of this class of misdemeanants to the workhouse of New York City. Many individuals were committed more than once for short terms, so considerably fewer than 23,000 persons are represented in this list; but even so it is a great flood of human flotsam floating in and out of the city jail, a drain upon the taxpayers while confined, and a worse pest to society when at large. By far the greater number are habitual or periodical inebriates, and the misdemeanors which they commit are almost always induced by alcoholic indulgence. They are victims of the disease inebriety, and can no more help drinking when the impulse is on them than a boat without anchor can help floating down stream. Once the alcohol is in their system, propensities are aroused which lead to criminal acts—wife-beating, criminal assaults, and the like. During these paroxysms the offender is utterly irresponsible, often absolutely unconscious. To assume that the pillory, the whipping-post, or for that matter, the guillotine, the electric chair, or a portion of boiling oil, would have any terrors for him, is to disregard the simplest psychological conditions. There is no conceivable punishment that would be deterrent of crimes due to alcohol or passion.

Neither is there any conceivable treatment that will suddenly transform the personality of these victims of disordered minds, in the vast majority of cases, unless at a very early stage of their abnormal career. For those who are far advanced, time is the only healer. We may in their case disregard all tentative measures, and say once for all that confinement for an indeterminate period, under reformatory influences, is their only hope of restoration to normality. But there is a time, of course, when the misdemeanant is not yet fully fixed in his abnormal course of action. At this period, preventive measures may do good, if applied rationally and stringently. Here, if anywhere, the modified pillory would find its application.

But I think it must be clear to any one who has had practical experience of the criminal, that this and all other tentative measures are after all but very poor makeshifts, applicable to but few cases out of the many. As a rule, when the misdemeanant finds his way to the police court, he has advanced too far on the downward course to be able to check himself. The greatest boon that could be offered him—though of course he would not so regard it—would be an opportunity to reform through removal from temptation for a term of years. The human *debris* that makes up the company of "rounders" in the police courts of New York, is composed of individuals many of whom were once persons of education, refinement, and influence. Could they have been given an indeterminate sentence to prison—prisons being reformatories as they should be—at an earlier stage of their career, they might have been rescued, and saved to themselves, their families, and the community, instead of becoming permanent excrescences on the social organism. The indeterminate sentence would thus benefit not only the community, but the individual on whom it might seem at first sight to bear oppressively.

From whatever standpoint one views the subject of criminality, it is apparent that the only logical treatment of the criminal is that which removes him from contact with the community when he becomes an abnormal element in society, and prevents his return so long as he remains abnormal. But despite this plain inference, the ordinary laws as at present operative segregate

the delinquent only for specified lengths of time, and then release him, though it be known fully that he is quite as unfit a member of normal society when he leaves prison as when he entered, or even more unfit.

From this existing condition of things, absurd as it is, the leap to the ideal law of indeterminate sentence is too wide to be cleared by our legislators at a single bound. Nor, indeed, is it desirable that the change should be so sudden and radical, since our prison facilities could not suddenly be so increased as to harbor all the moral perverts that should in justice be at once segregated from society. Here, as elsewhere, we must proceed by easy stages. The reformatory step, inaugurated in New York eighteen years ago, and since then copied in several other states, was a long step in the right direction. But is it not about time to take other steps? Is it wise to continue breeding criminals and fostering crime, as our laws do at present? Plainly it is not wise. It is not just to society; it is not just to the individual delinquents themselves. As to this, I suppose, all intelligent people are agreed. The only difference of opinion is as to just what should be done.

In what has gone before I have tried to prepare the way for at least a partial answer to this question. We must strive to check the stream of criminality near its source. That is axiomatic. Whatever reform tends to elevate the ethical standards of the race will tend to accomplish this. But that phase of the subject would be irrelevant here. I can only very briefly consider two or three changes in our method of dealing with the actual criminal—not the potential—that are practicable and eminently desirable.

The first of these is the application of the reformatory principle, with of course its fundamental element of the indeterminate sentence, to all the prisons to which major criminals are committed. The success of the reformatories justifies the assertion that this suggestion is not Utopian but eminently practical.

Secondly, in dealing with minor delinquents, who are very largely predominant in centers of population, we should at once put aside the absurd system that prevails in all our large cities,

of classifying such delinquents along with the recipients of public charity. The pernicious custom of teaching officially that pauperism and criminality are substantially the same, has seemingly spread from city to city through contagion, to the enormous detriment of society. Fortunately there is now being made in New York an attempt to rationally segregate the two classes by abolishing the anomalous department of charities and correction, and establishing in its place a department of charities and a department of correction.

This separation effected, as it should be by the present legislature, steps should at once be taken to further reform our method of dealing with the criminal segment of the dissevered department. As has been said, it would be impracticable to apply the principle of the indeterminate sentence in its entirety at once. But a step toward this ideal should be taken immediately, by applying the principle of cumulative sentences. It is grotesque to send a "rounder" again and again and again to prison, year after year, each time for a few weeks or months at most, knowing each time he is discharged that his recidivism is as fully assured as any human action can ever be. Such farcical treatment invites habitual criminality instead of checking it.

Still referring specifically to the conditions in New York City, I would suggest some such application of the cumulative sentence as the following, minor delinquencies being in all cases referred to :

For the first offense, a reprimand and warning from the justice, in the hope of reforming the individual.

For the second offense, solitary confinement in prison for a period of perhaps ten days, without contact with other prisoners.

For the third offense, imprisonment at labor for not less than three years.

For the fourth offense, an indeterminate sentence.

I have already said that a great majority of these offenders are inebriates. This being true, a few of them might be reformed by mere arrest and reprimand; a few others by a brief confinement in jail, without contact with other criminals; and a very large number indeed by three years forced deprivation of

alcohol. As to what could be done with the prisoners during this long term of confinement—a most important consideration—I would suggest that a large proportion of them might be housed in district prisons within the city, and employed in municipal work—chiefly, perhaps, the building, repair, and cleaning of roadbeds.

These suggestions as to details are only tentative, and rest on no such firm foundation as the principle of the indeterminate sentence, toward the application of which they are intended to carry us. That principle is not tentative, but firmly established. So far as we can judge to-day, it must be the hope of the future in dealing with the criminal. It would be well if humanitarians, instead of wasting their efforts on the attempted resuscitation of obsolete methods, which at the very best could merely temporize with a grave situation, could be induced to work unitedly for the new ideals. The penology of the past was based on a doctrine of vengeance that no longer finds acceptance. The penology of the future must rest on firmer foundation. It will use logic rather than emotion in dealing with the criminal. But in so doing it will need no gallows, or guillotines, or electric chairs. And assuredly it will need no whipping-posts.

HENRY S. WILLIAMS.

MONEY.

BY JAMES A. QUARLES, D. D., LL. D.

IT IS now conceded that the coining of money is not a private business, but is properly a function of a sovereign civil government. There are false ideas as to the ground for this. It does not grow out of the sovereignty of the government, as though the civil power by its fiat makes its coined metal to be money. It is the function of the government, partly, because its stamp is a trusted attestation as to the purity and weight of the coin; and, partly, because the government is the duly accredited agent of those whose acceptance and use of the coin make it valuable and current as money.

The race has advanced far enough to see that it is wise to have a national rather than a provincial money. Some of the European nations have caught the higher truth, that money is neither a private nor a local, nor even a merely national interest, but is properly international; and so Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have formed the Scandinavian Monetary Union; while France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Switzerland, and Spain constitute a similar Latin Union. A few thinkers look even beyond this and see that money is not even so confined as to be considered merely an international concern, but that it is properly, and will be eventually, a *universal* interest. The day is probably not near when this will be realized, for provincial conservatism is very tenacious of life and slow to yield. This is seen in the like matter of the other weights and measures, in which, manifestly convenient as universal uniformity would be, but little progress has so far been made. Trade is not local now; it is year by year becoming more world wide, and, with the advance of the race, we may look for a day when there shall be perfect freedom of intercourse and traffic the whole world over. When

this universal reign of commerce shall be established, it is probable that money shall then bear the stamp of The Commercial Union of the World. Even now we have a postal union, which is about coextensive with the civilization of the race, and there is every reason of economy for the universality of money. It would not only do away with the vexatious differences of names and weights and ratios, now so distracting, but it would determine the kind and amount of money needed for the most efficient handling of the world's traffic.

THE VOLUME OF MONEY.

A. The amount of money in actual existence in the world, Aug. 16, 1893, has been estimated by our treasury authorities as something over ten billions of dollars (\$10,261,178,000); of which \$3,582,605,000 are gold, \$4,042,700,000 are silver, and \$2,635,873,000 are paper not representing specie. This does not embrace the uncivilized portions of the earth, but the civilized and semi-civilized, estimated at a population of 1,220,000,000, which would give an average per capita of \$2.94 gold, \$3.31 silver, and \$2.16 paper, or a total of \$8.41. The population of Europe, including the Russian possessions in Asia, is put at 390,900,000, with a gold stock of \$2,602,605,000, silver of \$1,573,200,000, and paper of \$1,455,873,000, making a total of \$5,631,678,000; thus giving Europe a per capita of \$6.66 gold, \$4.02 silver, and \$3.72 paper, or a total of \$14.40. The United States, with an estimated population of 67,000,000, had a gold stock of \$604,000,000, silver of \$615,000,000, and paper of \$412,000,000, or a total of \$1,631,000,000; with a per capita of \$9.01 gold, \$9.18 silver, and \$6.15 paper, or a total of \$24.34. The only countries having a larger total per capita than the United States are: France, \$40.56, West Indies, \$31.00, Netherlands, \$28.88, Australia, \$26.75, and Belgium, \$25.53; all the rest have a much smaller per capita than our country.

B. We cannot tell with mathematical accuracy just how much money any particular people may need for the most efficient conduct of exchanges. There are, however, certain *popular* impressions on this point, which are manifestly *mistakes*. I. One is, that the *prosperity* of a country is graduated directly by the

amount of money it may have. This error is as old and as palpable as the myth of Midas. Money is not an end but a means to an end. It is not one of those utilities which can of themselves satisfy the wants of man ; it is mediately not immediately useful. It serves its purpose not by our keeping it, nor by consuming it, but by giving it up. It is essentially, in its utility, a tool, an instrument, and, like all other tools, it has a limited use. There can be too many plows, or engines, or factories in a community ; the same values would be much better distributed among other things of which there is a need. So there may be too much money, more than can be economically used, with the result that it either lies idle or else it inflates values, so that three dollars are used to do the work which would have been better done by two. It is somewhat like a farmer using four single plows in his corn, when the same work can be done by a single plow with four shovels ; or, as if the farmer had four plows and had work for but one. A community with nothing but plows would be in a bad condition, which could not be relieved by adding to the number of their plows. A community with nothing but money, though there might be millions of it, would be in a state even more deplorable ; for the men might pull the plows and make them useful ; but what could be done with the money ?

II. There are other mistakes as to the basis upon which the needed volume of money rests. It does not depend upon *population*, except as a minor condition. It is not true that twice the population need twice the money ; they may not need any more, they may not need as much. Money is not like clothing and food, which all use and all must have ; it is a tool and its quantity depends, so far as population is concerned, upon those only who need to use it as a tool ; not on the number of the people, but on the number of the exchangers, the traders ; not upon the number of these absolutely, for one trader may need and use one hundred dollars when another has work for only one. All the talk about the per capita of money is misleading, and does not rest on any solid basis of fact or principle. Take the civilized progressive nations, embracing Europe, Canada, and the United

States, and we find the per capita of money varies from a minimum of \$8.02 for the Scandinavian Union to a maximum of \$40.56 for France. France is surely not financially or commercially more prosperous than the United States, or Great Britain, or Germany; and yet her per capita is much larger than any of these.

III. The necessary volume of money is not the *aggregate* of the annual or monthly *exchanges*. This is manifest from the fact that in the course of a year the same dollar may aid in a thousand different transactions. But more than this, the volume of money needed does not depend absolutely upon the number and value of the exchanges at any one moment of time; in the sense that there must be as much money as the largest possible aggregate of business for any one instant may be. Indeed it is possible that for that supreme moment of business not a single actual dollar of money may be needed or used. This is manifest when we reflect that the weightiest transactions are often made by checks, drafts, or mere entries on a daybook or ledger. It is especially true of the largest transactions.

C. So much by way of removing misapprehensions as to the quantity of money needed; there are a few truths of a *positive*, or constructive character which may be noted. I. So far as the chief function of money is concerned, as the *measure* of values, (1) the most important suggestion is, that there should *not* be any sudden or *great change* in the volume of money, by way of either contraction or expansion. The chief reason for this is, that it seriously interferes with the relative rights of debtors and creditors. As we have seen, should we drop to a silver basis, with the effect of driving all the gold out of circulation, it would make it difficult and expensive for debtors to meet their maturing obligations, with a currency diminished nearly one half. On the other hand, when the United States and Confederate governments during the Civil War rapidly inflated the currency by issuing millions of legal tender paper money, the effect was equally injurious to creditors.

(2) It is not expedient, however, that the volume of money should be absolutely stationary. In order that it may continue

to be a just register of value, it should be *elastic*, and respond to the varying conditions of the commercial community, whose servant and standard it is. If the community is progressive, with an increasing volume of trade, the amount of money should increase *pari passu*; and the contrary, if it is commercially retrograding.

II. Looking at money in the light of its other function, as a *medium* of exchange, there are two facts to be noted. (1) The first is, that the one use of money in the actual transactions of business is to *settle final balances*. A very large part of the daily exchanges, of the most civilized and enterprising nations and communities, is substantially *barter*. How much money is necessary to carry on the business between New York and the rest of this country? Millions of dollars in various products are daily sent there from all sections of the country; and millions of dollars in goods are daily sent from there and distributed all over the land; these millions of entries and departures may exactly cancel each other, so far as the trade of each section is concerned, and then no money is needed; or, in some sections, there may be a balance due from or to New York, and to settle this balance the actual money is used. It is the same with the trade of different nations, on the largest scale of exports and imports; and it is the same with the petty transactions of individuals; goods exchanged cancel each other, so far as their values are equal, and money is needed for the balances alone.

(2) But again, these balances may require to be *frequently* adjusted, or they may very *seldom* be, and the amount of money used will depend on this. Here are a farmer and a merchant, who trade together every week in the year; if they settle their balances every time they trade, it may require fifty times as much money for their traffic as if they settled but once a year. Moreover, much depends upon the *banking* facilities enjoyed and used by the parties exchanging. If both make use of banks, they may conduct their business with each other for years, and not a dollar in money pass between them. The volume of money is thus seen to depend upon the *habits* of the traders, and, especially, the use they make of banks. It is doubtless true that it re-

quires in New York for the transaction of the same amount of business only a fraction of that necessary in the backwoods settlements. In London, as we have seen, only one per cent of the exchanges is effected by the use of money, and in New York the same is at least approximately true. The effect of civilization on the habits of the people and conveniences for trade in banks, railroads, and telegraphs, is to minimize the need and the use of money. That community is the most advanced which transacts the largest business with the smallest amount of money.

D. As to *our own country at this time*, do we need more money? I. The fact is, that we have the largest volume of money of any nation on earth, amounting to about \$1,727,000,000 (late Treasury report). France approximates us with \$1,581,402,000. India is next with \$928,000,000; then Germany, \$918,000,000; Russia, \$810,000,000; Great Britain, \$700,000,000; Austria, \$390,000,000; and Italy, \$307,276,000. There are only five nations whose per capita equals or is greater than ours, and of these France is the only one that is a first-class power. Our per capita is greater than Great Britain's, Germany's, Italy's, Austria's, or Russia's; it is nearly three times as great as the average of the civilized nations, and it is more than fifty per cent greater than the average of Europe. II. Moreover, comparing ourselves with ourselves, we have more money now than we have ever had in our history as a people, and the per capita is greater than it ever was; both the aggregate and the per capita have steadily increased ever since the alleged demonetization of silver, twenty years ago. III. In addition, our facilities for supplementing money with credit are now good and are yearly improving (there are about seven thousand banks in the country); while the net work of our railroads and telegraphs enables us to transfer our money rapidly from points where it may be in excess to others where it is needed. IV. Finally, we have means, and should use them, for the steady and conservative increase of our money, as the demands of trade may call for. These are all indisputable facts, and seem to give a decided negative to the question, Have we too little money and should it be materially increased?

Statement showing the amounts of money in the United States, in the Treasury, and in circulation, on the dates specified.

Year.	Amount of money in United States.	Amount in circulation.	Population.	Money per capita.	Circulation per capita.
1890	\$442,102,477	\$435,407,252	31,443,321	\$14.06	\$13.85
1891	452,005,767	448,405,767	32,064,000	14.09	13.98
1892	558,452,079	554,607,744	32,704,000	10.96	10.23
1893	674,867,283	665,394,038	33,365,000	20.23	17.84
1894	705,588,067	699,641,478	34,046,000	20.72	19.67
1895	770,129,755	714,702,995	34,748,000	22.16	20.57
1896	754,327,254	673,488,244	35,499,000	21.27	18.99
1897	728,200,612	661,992,069	36,211,000	20.11	18.28
1898	716,553,578	680,103,661	36,973,000	19.38	18.39
1899	715,351,180	664,452,891	37,756,000	18.95	17.60
1870	722,868,461	675,212,794	38,588,371	18.73	17.50
1871	741,812,174	715,889,005	39,555,000	18.75	18.19
1872	762,721,565	738,309,549	40,596,000	18.79	18.19
1873	774,445,610	751,881,809	41,667,000	18.58	18.04
1874	806,024,781	776,083,031	42,796,000	18.83	18.13
1875	798,273,509	754,101,947	43,951,000	18.16	17.16
1876	790,683,284	727,609,388	45,137,000	17.52	16.12
1877	763,653,847	722,314,883	46,353,000	16.46	15.58
1878	791,253,576	729,132,634	47,598,000	16.62	15.32
1879	1,051,521,541	818,631,793	48,866,000	21.52	16.75
1880	1,205,029,197	973,382,228	50,155,783	24.04	19.41
1881	1,406,541,823	1,114,238,119	51,316,000	27.41	21.71
1882	1,480,531,719	1,174,230,419	52,485,000	28.20	22.37
1883	1,645,489,816	1,230,305,696	53,693,000	30.60	22.91
1884	1,705,454,189	1,243,325,969	54,911,000	31.06	22.65
1885	1,817,658,336	1,292,568,615	56,148,000	32.37	23.02
1886	1,808,559,694	1,252,700,525	57,404,000	31.50	21.82
1887	1,900,442,672	1,317,539,143	58,680,000	32.39	22.45
1888	2,062,555,949	1,372,170,870	59,974,000	34.39	22.88
1889	2,075,350,711	1,380,361,649	61,289,000	33.86	22.52
1890	2,144,226,159	1,429,251,270	62,622,250	34.24	22.82
1891	2,109,139,092	1,500,067,555	63,975,000	32.83	23.45
1892	2,219,719,198	1,603,073,338	65,520,000	33.88	24.47

NOTE.—The difference between the amount of money in the country and the amount in circulation represents the money in the Treasury.

E. A word as to two popular *arguments* urged in favor of adding largely to our currency. I. It is said that *France* has a much larger per capita than have we; \$10.56 to our \$25.57. The per capita argument is a delusion, as was shown above. If valid, we may say that New York probably has a per capita of more than \$100, therefore, Texas and Oregon should have the same; therefore, the whole country should have as much. Or, Arkansas probably has a per capita of only \$10, therefore, Massachusetts needs no more, and the United States ought to reduce its volume of currency. If the example of France is good, why are not those of Great Britain and Germany equally so? These countries have a per capita twenty-five per cent less than ours. France is clearly an exception in her prodigal use of money; no other nation, civilized or uncivilized, approaches her per capita; she has five times the average of the world, nearly three times the average of Europe, and over three times the average of the

other first-class powers, including the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia; while we have fifty per cent above the average of these same powers. Moreover, let us remember that France has for nearly twenty years stopped the free coinage of silver; and especially, that she has \$800,000,000 in gold and only \$781,402,000 in silver and paper; while we had last summer only \$604,000,000 in gold and the enormous sum of \$1,027,000,000 in silver and paper.

II. The other and chief argument for expansion is, that the interest of *debtors* demands it. There are said to be debtor sections and creditor sections, debtor states and creditor states, debtor classes and creditor classes, debtor individuals and creditor individuals; and these are set off in antagonism to each other, and an appeal for sympathy is made on behalf of debtors as the oppressed party. Now, who are these debtors? It is said that they are the poor. There are two classes of the poor, the unfortunate and the thriftless, and, in this country, there are three of the latter (including the present writer) to one of the former. "'Tis not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings." If we have involved ourselves in debt by a lack of judgment, industry, or self-denial, we ought to bear the consequences. Did we voluntarily incur the debt, then we should pay it to the last farthing. It is demoralizing, degrading to his self-respect, for the debtor to evade the full measure of his responsibility. But the true issue lies in the question, Does the debtor owe a debt of one hundred cents on the dollar? or, one of sixty cents? Here it is readily acknowledged that Shylock's plea is not to be urged; we do not merely ask, What is denominated in the bond? but rather, Did the debtor get one hundred cents on the dollar, or only sixty cents? Did he borrow on a gold basis, or on a silver basis? Did he borrow under inflation, or with money at its normal value? These are the questions which determine the justice of the debtor's plea for an inflated, depreciated currency in which to liquidate his debts. The one overwhelming answer to his plea is, that his debt is a gold debt, a hundred-cent debt, a normal value debt; that there is more money in the country now, both per capita and in the aggregate,

than when his debt was created ; that the money of to-day, in which he is allowed to pay his debt, is as cheap a money as that which he borrowed.

Moreover, for every debtor there is a creditor, and the rights of the creditor are as sacred as those of the debtor ; and the high-minded, self-respecting debtor refuses to scale his obligations or compromise his honor. Creditors, on the other hand, where there is real inability to pay, are willing and sometimes anxious to cancel their claims at a heavy discount upon their face. But we close this issue by again asking, Who are the debtors? A few of them are poor and fewer the unfortunate poor ; the mass of debtors in this land are the rich, the capitalistic class. Individual notes, bonds, mortgages, as given by the masses, are but a trifle of the great volume of debt in this country. The real debtors are the towns, cities, counties, states, railroads, banks, factories, merchants, speculators. It is as honorable to loan as it is to borrow ; it is disgraceful to refuse to pay a debt in full ; it is not so to enforce its payment.

F. What would be the *effect* of a rapid and great increase of money? I. *Extravagance* in personal and public expenditure, extravagance in business ; wild speculation and (II.) an enormous increase, instead of decrease, of *debt*. But worse than all this, perhaps, would be (III.) the grinding of the *poor* laborer (whose wages never increase as rapidly nor in proportion to the rise in other prices), and the stinting of all those whose salaries are fixed, or who live upon annuities from vested funds.

G. But, finally, if there is to be an increase of the money in our country, *what kind* of money shall it be, gold or silver? Europe has more than a billion more gold than silver money ; France, held up as our example, has one hundred millions more gold than silver ; Russia, the only silver standard country now in Europe, has more than four times as much gold as silver ; while we have now more silver than gold, and, in addition, have over four hundred millions in uncovered, credit paper money. We have more ballast and sails than we have freight. We manifestly need less mortar and more rock, less soft money, and more hard money, less silver and more gold.

DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER IN 1873.

There have been three general coinage acts passed by the United States Congress. The first, April 2, 1792, established the first mint at Philadelphia; provided for the coining of gold eagles, half-eagles, and quarter-eagles, upon the basis of 27 grs. to the dollar, one twelfth alloy of silver and copper; for the coining of silver dollars, halves, quarters, dimes, and half-dimes, on the basis of 416 grains to the dollar, $44\frac{3}{4}$ grs. alloy of copper; for the coining of copper cents and half-cents; the ratio of gold to silver being 1 to 15; all coins unlimited legal tender; and all coinage free.

The second, Jan. 18, 1837, changed the standard for the gold coinage to a basis of 25.8 grs. to the dollar, $\frac{1}{10}$ fine; for the silver coinage to a basis of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grs. to the dollar, $\frac{1}{10}$ fine; decreased the amount of copper in the cent and half-cent; continued the ratio of gold to silver, adopted June 28, 1834, at 1 to 16; charged for expense of preparing gold and silver bullion for coining; and provided for the purchase of copper for coining.

The third and last general coinage act was the famous one passed Feb. 12, 1873. This provided for the coinage of gold double-eagles, eagles, half-eagles, quarter-eagles, three-dollar, and one-dollar pieces, on the same value basis as the act of 1837; for the coinage of the trade dollar in silver, 420 grs., $\frac{1}{10}$ fine, and for silver halves, quarters, and dimes, on the basis of 384 grs. to the dollar, $\frac{1}{10}$ fine; for the coinage of the five and three cent nickel (three parts copper and one nickel), and the one cent bronze (95 per cent copper and 5 per cent tin-zinc). The silver dollar, half dime, and three-cent piece were dropped from the coinage; all gold coins were made, as before, unlimited legal tender, the silver coins were reduced to a debt-paying capacity of five dollars, and the nickels and bronzes to twenty-five cents; there was a charge of one fifth of one per cent for the coining of gold, and a charge for the necessary expense of preparing the bullion for the coining of the trade dollar, and the bullion was to be bought for the remaining coins. The subsidiary silver coins were first reduced in weight below the

dollar by the act of Feb. 21, 1853, and their full legal tender quality was taken away by the same act.

The interest as to this act of 1873 centers in the *dropping* of the *silver dollar* from our coinage; it is charged that it demonetized silver, and that it was done surreptitiously. I. Did it *demonetize* silver? (1) No; if you mean by demonetization that silver was no longer to be recognized as money. All the silver coins already issued were to be treated as money, and provision was made for the coinage of silver trade dollars, halves, quarters, and dimes. As a fact, there were over seventy-eight millions of silver coined during the five years of the operation of this law, 1873-7, and only something over nine millions during the five years prior to its passage.

(2) If, however, by demonetization is meant the purpose to treat silver not as standard money but as subsidiary token money, then unquestionably it was an act demonetizing silver. Its free, unrestricted coinage was no longer allowed, except as to the trade dollar, and, especially, its legal tender quality was limited to debts of five dollars.

Was this law the cause of the demonetization, or was it merely the recognition of a fact already existing? As to the subsidiary coins, they were demonetized by the act of Feb. 21, 1853, twenty years before. As to the dollar, it had been practically demonetized since June 28, 1834, when the act requiring sixteen grains of silver to be equal to one grain of gold was passed. This undervalued silver to the extent that the standard silver dollar never circulated afterwards in this country as money up to the passage of the Bland Act of Feb. 28, 1878. It was melted by silversmiths or it was transported to Europe. Up to the act of 1873, only a fraction over eight millions of silver dollars had been coined since the opening of the first mint; and for ten years prior to its passage, the coinage of silver dollars had been about \$350,000 a year, although there was free, unlimited coinage. Moreover, Mr. Carlisle says these dollars were not in circulation.

II. The more serious question is, Was this demonetization of silver done *surreptitiously*? This is frequently charged by

respectable and intelligent men. It is a serious charge, and, if true, ought to consign its authors to infamy; if not true, it is slanderous on the part of its authors. What are the facts? (1) Silver, at the time of the introduction and passage of the act of 1873, was at a premium over gold; the motive, therefore, to creditors would induce the demonetization of gold rather than of silver.

(2) The act originated in the Treasury department in the spring of 1870, when a bill was prepared and a report made, both of which were submitted to the committee on finance in the Senate; by whom the bill was reported and recommended for passage Dec. 19, 1870, and passed the Senate Jan. 10, 1871. It was reported to the House from the committee on coinage Feb. 25, 1871, but, as that Congress expired in about a week, it did not pass; and was again introduced as a bill into the House March 9, 1871. It was considered by the committee on coinage several times and discussed by the House, until, in an amended form, it passed that body May 27, 1872. It went back to the Senate, was there considered by the committee on finance more than once, was fully discussed, and finally passed the Senate, amended, Jan. 17, 1873. Then it went to a committee of conference, and their report was agreed to and the bill became a law Feb. 12, 1873, substantially as it was originally framed by the Treasury officials. Hon. Lewis Sperry, M. C., says that the Congressional Record shows that "the bill was read in the Senate several times, and on Jan. 9, 1872, it was read in the House. It was undoubtedly read at other times. The bill was printed separately eleven times, and twice in reports made by the deputy comptroller of the currency; thirteen times in all by order of Congress. It was considered at length by the finance committee of the Senate and the coinage committee of the House during five different sessions, and the debates upon the bill in the Senate occupied sixty-six columns of the *Globe*, and in the House seventy-eight columns of the *Globe*."

(3) The provisions of the bill as to the standard silver dollar had two forms: (a) In the original Treasury bill, in the bill as it passed the Senate twice, and in the bill as once reported to the House by Mr. Kelly, the standard silver dollar, in every form,

was omitted ; (b) in the bill as twice printed by the House, and as it passed the House, May 27, 1872, a silver dollar coin containing only 384 grains, instead of the standard $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, was provided for. In the act as finally passed by both Houses, the standard silver dollar was omitted. All forms of the bill agreed in discontinuing the coinage of the standard silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

(4) The following section was in all the forms of the bill, and in the act as passed : "No coins either of gold, silver, or minor coinage shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth."

(5) The purpose of the bill in general and of omission of the standard silver dollar from the coinage in particular, is thus stated by Hon. J. J. Knox, the author of the original draft : "The present bill has been framed, and it is believed to comprise within the compass of eight or ten pages of the Revised Statutes every important provision contained in more than sixty different enactments upon the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, which are the result of nearly eighty years of legislation upon these subjects." "The coinage of the silver dollar piece is discontinued in the proposed bill. It is by law the dollar unit, and, assuming the value of gold to be fifteen and one half times that of silver, being about the mean ratio for the past six years, is worth in gold a premium of about three per cent (its value being 103.12), and intrinsically more than seven per cent premium in our other silver coins, its value thus being 107.42. The present laws consequently authorize both a gold dollar unit and a silver dollar unit, differing from each other in intrinsic value. The present gold dollar piece is made the dollar unit in the proposed bill and the silver dollar piece is discontinued." This was in his official report, which accompanied the draft of the bill when it was first submitted to the finance committee of the Senate.

From these facts, it is manifest that probably no piece of legislation is enacted, where fuller opportunities are given to all parties interested to know what is proposed to be done.

THE RISE OF GOLD.

The strongest point made by the advocates of the free coinage of silver is the alleged appreciation in the value of gold. It is their trump card, because there are facts which render it plausible that gold has risen; and, if gold has risen, there is substantial justice in the plea that debts of long standing have also appreciated. Many thoughtful, intelligent men have been won to the free coinage error by this consideration, and others, convinced by many solid reasons that free coinage of silver is inexpedient, nevertheless do not see how this adverse argument is to be met. To all such, we commend a late article in the *Forum* by David A. Wells, on "The Rise of Gold Fallacy."

Value is relative and depends upon the comparative supply and demand of the articles exchanged. Take wheat and iron, the most useful cereal and the most useful metal; what is the value of wheat in iron? It will always depend on the supply of wheat with reference to its demand, on the one hand, and the supply of iron with reference to its demand, on the other. With a limited supply of wheat and a large demand, iron being normal, wheat will be high in iron; with a large supply and limited demand, wheat will be low in iron; with a supply and demand normal, wheat will be normal in iron. So with iron, wheat being normal, iron will rise or fall in wheat according as its supply or demand dominates the one the other.

Again, wheat may fall with reference to one class of articles and rise with reference to another class, and remain steady with reference to a third. This will depend, as in the case of iron, upon the comparative supply and demand. Very seldom, if ever, would wheat rise or fall with reference to all other articles.

Gold is a value like wheat and iron and follows the same law of supply and demand; with this modification that gold being money has a steadier demand by virtue of that fact than have other values. Now, as we have seen, gold may rise with reference to other things, by causes affecting it alone, or by causes affecting other things alone, or by causes affecting both it and them. These causes will all come under supply and demand.

I. Let us see if gold has risen by reason of *its own* defective

supply or increased demand. (1) The *supply* of gold. Authentic sources of information reveal the fact that the world's production of gold from 1851 to 1891 was \$5,072,410,000, and of silver \$2,967,444,000. Compare this with previous productions; the output of gold from 1493 to 1850 was \$3,314,553,000, and of silver \$7,358,450,000. That is, about fifty per cent more gold has been produced in the last forty years than in the previous three and a half centuries. Our information is that all the chief gold fields of this country, Australia, and Africa are continuing to yield increased supplies. We must bear in mind that gold differs radically from wheat and iron and most other values in the slowness of its destruction. Wheat does not last a year, and iron is exposed frequently to such hard usage that it speedily wears away by friction or by the corrosion of the air. Gold lasts for centuries, and thus the supply is constantly accumulating. There is manifestly no deficiency of supply and no probability of any. To quote from the speech in Congress of Hon. Lewis Sperry, to whom I am indebted for many valuable facts: "According to Dr. Loetbeer, the monetary stock of gold and gold reserve in the treasuries and principal banks of civilized countries has shown an increase for every decade since 1850, and at the end of 1885 was nearly four times what it was in 1850." According to Prof. Laughlin, "In 1870-4 the gold reserve amounted to 28 per cent of the total note circulation and 64 per cent of all the specie reserves. In 1885 the gold bore a larger ratio to a larger issue of paper, or 41 per cent of the total note circulation and 71 per cent of the specie reserves."

Moreover, the value of wheat does not depend on the quantity of wheat alone that is produced, but also on the supply of all other things that may be substituted for it: maize, rice, oats, rye, barley, potatoes, indeed all kinds of food material. So it is with gold as money, its rise or fall does not rest on its own supply alone, but as well on that of all other articles which take its place as money. We have already seen that over three billions of dollars in silver have been produced since the middle of the present century. The civilized nations are using nearly three billions of paper money, all of which takes the place of

gold. Finally, checks and drafts are employed as substitutes for money to an extent that is marvelous; fully ten times the quantity in value of these as in gold, silver, and paper money put together. Truly there is no lack in the supply of gold and its equivalents as money.

(2) We now inquire whether gold has risen by reason of an increased *demand*. As there has been a largely increased supply, gold must have fallen unless the demand has kept pace with the advancing supply; and the increase of demand must have exceeded the advance in supply, if gold has risen. Here it is alleged that the demonetization of silver has thrown an increased burden on gold, and so has enormously magnified the demand. There is much plausibility in this, but no real truth. The demonetization of silver has merely removed it from competition with gold as a co-standard of value. Values are now reckoned in gold alone. This, however, has not caused the disuse of paper, or of checks and drafts, as money; nor has it thrown silver out as a money metal. Germany is the only country which has decreased its use of silver money in the last twenty-five years, while the United States have more than offset this by their enormously increased use of it; Germany disposed of some four hundred millions of silver money, and we have added to our silver stock in the last twenty years over six hundred and fifty millions. Moreover, the German silver was not thrown away; it was simply transferred to other countries. The world is now using over four billions of silver money, of which about three and a half billions are full legal tender. The mints of the world since the demonetization of silver have been turning out more silver money than they have gold; the official reports show the world's coinage, 1882-91, to have been, gold \$1,186,000,000, and silver \$1,302,000,000. It is clear, therefore, that the demonetization of silver does not mean the disuse of silver as money, and that there is no additional demand for gold growing out of this fact.

As bearing upon the amount of demand on gold as money, we must recall the fact that the tendency of civilization is to dispense with the free use of money and to employ *substitutes* in

its stead. By increased facilities of communication and especially by the multiplication and use of banks of exchange, it is well known that not less than nine tenths of the business of civilized countries is now transacted by mere book-keeping, without the use of money at all ; checks and drafts now do what formerly required the actual gold and silver to accomplish. It is a fact that actual money is now chiefly used in petty transactions, while large dealings are mediated by its substitutes.

While business therefore has greatly increased and exchanges have been equally multiplied, the demand for gold has, by no means, kept equal pace. So that we must conclude, considering the greatly increased supply of gold and its equivalents and the not more greatly increased demand for money, that gold has not more than preserved its normal value.

II. As value is relative, this question cannot be settled by considering gold alone ; we must, therefore, now look at *other things*. The silver advocates convince themselves and others that gold has risen relatively, because there are many things which are cheaper in gold to-day than they were twenty years ago.

(1) Facts show that many things, *most things*, have fallen with reference to gold since 1873, and this has doubtless caused more trouble to the believers in the gold standard and given more confidence to the free coinage advocates than any other consideration. From what we have already seen it is clear that this fall of values is not due to a diminished supply nor an increased demand for gold. We must, therefore, look for the cause in the relative supply and demand of the articles that have depreciated. If we can see that their supply has increased beyond the demand for them, this will explain their fall without any rise in gold. For example, let wheat remain stationary and iron be produced in greatly increased abundance, then iron will fall with reference to wheat, without any change in wheat. So gold may remain normal, and yet wheat may be produced in such quantities that it will fall as compared with gold.

(2) But a new fact must be taken into consideration ; *decreased cost of production* has the same effect on value that increased sup-

ply or diminished demand would have. If it should cost no more now in labor and capital to make two knives than it did twenty years ago to make one knife, we can readily see that knives, other things being equal, will fall in value. Even if the demand will absorb twice the number of knives, this will likely be true; because the new demand will be largely made up of buyers who could not afford to purchase at the old price. In cost, transportation and distribution are included, as well as manufacture.

(3) Now take the great world *staples*, iron, wheat, cotton, and wool, and see what the facts are. In 1873, pig iron was worth \$50 per ton; iron the same grade can be bought for \$13. Manifestly iron has fallen or gold has risen; iron has fallen, as iron specialists tell us that the world's production of iron since 1877 has increased 91.6 per cent and that of the United States 343 per cent, with a greatly diminished cost of production. Wheat has declined since 1885 and is now considered the cheapest of the world's products. Has wheat fallen or has gold risen? Wheat has fallen: as is plainly shown, not only by the greatly increased production, amounting in 1891 to one hundred million bushels more than ever before known, but more surely by the fact that, despite its cheapness, the demand is so slack that the visible supply in 1893 was larger than ever known. When you approach the saturation point, a very little more will prove an excess and will precipitate; and in values the excess carries all down along with it.

Cotton was worth 20 cents in greenbacks in 1873; it now brings from 5 to 7 cents. This is due to oversupply. Cottons are now so cheaply produced, that they are universally used and demand has attained its practical maximum. It is readily seen that, in this state of affairs, an increase of a million of bales in the year's production is bound to affect prices seriously. Wool is lower than the world has ever known it, and is explained by the power of sheep to multiply rapidly under favorable conditions. It is said that the sheep of Australia, the greatest wool-grower in the world, have increased fifty per cent in the past six years.

To every thoughtful person it is manifest that, as the world advances in civilization, has better government, improved machinery, increased facilities for handling and transporting products, all costs must be lowered and values with reference to any normal standard must fall. So it is in the experience of the race now. The standard, gold, remaining the same, all values, favorably affected by the progress of the race, must decline.

(4) A final proof that gold has not risen, but most things have fallen, is seen in the fact that the fall has *not* been *simultaneous*, nor has it been *universal*. (a) If the rise in gold was the cause, then all values would be affected by it at the same time; the one cause operating simultaneously on all must produce simultaneous effects on all. Facts show beyond dispute that the decline, where it has occurred, has not been simultaneous in time nor corresponding in degree.

(b) But the more fatal form of this final fact is that the decline, if due to gold, should have affected its value with reference to all things, and has not done so. One class of values has fallen, and another class has risen in the last twenty years. The line that divides the two classes is marked and has nothing whatever to do with gold. All commodity values have fallen, unless there were special reasons to the contrary; all that have been affected by improvements in production, transportation, and distribution have fallen. On the other hand, all labor values have risen, unless there were special reasons to the contrary. This is clearly seen in the report made to the Senate at the second session of the Fifty-second Congress by its finance committee on wholesale prices, wages, and transportation.

From this report it will be seen that wholesale prices have declined with fluctuations from an average of 116.8 in 1840 to 92.2 in 1891; while wages, taking the same year, 1860, as the standard, have, with fluctuations, risen from 87.7 in 1840 to nearly double in 1891, to 160.7. Thus it is clear that our advancement in civilization has worked to the cheapening of commodities and to the appreciation of labor; and that the common standard of value, gold, could not possibly have produced such directly opposite effects. Manifestly the tendency is to give the race more

Relative wages and prices in gold in all occupations, 1810-91.

[Simple average of all the returns, taking the wages of 1860 as 100. From report of Senate Committee on Finance on wholesale prices, wages, and transportation. Report 1894, part 1, Fifty-second Congress, second session, pages 9 and 14.]

Year.	Prices.	Wages.	Price of silver.	Year.	Prices.	Wages.	Price of silver.
1840	116.8	87.7		1866	136.3	108.8	\$1.339
1841	115.8	88.0	\$1.316	1867	127.9	117.1	1.328
1842	107.8	87.1	1.303	1868	115.9	114.9	1.326
1843	101.5	86.6	1.297	1869	113.2	119.5	1.325
1844	101.9	86.5	1.304	1870	117.3	133.7	1.328
1845	102.8	86.8	1.298	1871	122.9	147.8	1.326
1846	106.4	89.3	1.300	1872	127.2	152.2	1.322
1847	106.5	90.8	1.308	1873	122.0	148.3	1.298
1848	101.4	91.4	1.304	1874	119.4	145.0	1.278
1849	98.7	92.5	1.309	1875	113.0	140.8	1.246
1850	102.3	92.7	1.316	1876	104.8	135.2	1.156
1851	105.9	90.4	1.337	1877	104.4	136.4	1.201
1852	102.7	90.8	1.326	1878	99.9	140.5	1.152
1853	109.1	91.8	1.348	1879	96.6	139.9	1.123
1854	112.9	95.8	1.348	1880	106.9	141.5	1.145
1855	113.1	98.0	1.344	1881	105.7	146.5	1.138
1856	113.2	99.2	1.344	1882	108.5	149.9	1.136
1857	112.5	99.9	1.353	1883	106.0	152.7	1.11
1858	101.8	98.5	1.344	1884	99.4	152.7	1.113
1859	100.2	99.1	1.360	1885	93.0	150.7	1.0645
1860	100.0	100.0	1.352	1886	91.9	150.9	.9946
1861	100.6	100.8	1.333	1887	92.6	153.7	.97823
1862	114.9	100.4	1.346	1888	94.2	155.4	.96807
1863	102.4	76.2	1.345	1889	94.2	156.7	.93512
1864	122.5	80.8	1.345	1890	92.3	158.9	1.04633
1865	100.3	66.2	1.338	1891	92.2	160.7	.96782

and more of the benefits of nature's bounty, and to make value depend more and more on the human labor it contains.

(5) But our silver friends will say that there is one point of their position, and a strong one, which has so far been overlooked; it is that, while gold has not fallen like other commodities, *silver* has and is, therefore, the truer standard of value. The fact is substantially as stated, but the inference is exactly the opposite of that which the fact demands. Suppose we have a scale for a thermometer which would rise and fall with the mercury or the temperature, would it be a standard? No; that is the standard which remains stationary, so that it can measure the variations of the things that rise and fall. The fact, therefore, that silver has fallen like most other commodities and gold has not, shows that gold is the standard of value and silver is not.

Moreover, silver has fluctuated by a law of its own, independent of other commodities. Its variations have not been the same in time nor degree as those of other commodities; showing thereby clearly that it has not produced the variations in other commodities, nor have other commodities produced its variations, nor has the same cause produced the variations in both.

But, finally, the convincing proof that the fall of silver no more than the rise in gold is the cause of the decline of values, is seen in the fact that, while silver has fallen rapidly in the last twenty years owing to the law of its supply and demand, wages have in the same time risen. Silver, from 1840 to 1872, remained a little above the value of gold, about \$1.32 an ounce; during the same period, as seen in the above table, wages rose from 87.7 to 152.2. Since then silver has rapidly declined, until in 1893 its average value was about \$.78219 an ounce; while wages have continued to rise, reaching, as we have seen, in 1891 a maximum of 160.7. Silver is now, November, 1894, less than 65 cents an ounce.

We conclude then, that, whether we look at the supply and demand of gold, or at the lowering of the values of commodities, including silver, or at the appreciation of wages, there is nothing in the present or in the past to justify the assertion that gold has risen and has thereby depreciated values and appreciated debts.

The financial question is the economic issue of our day; this paper is meant to contribute to its proper solution, so far as metallic money is concerned.

JAS. A. QUARLES.

SOCIALISM AND A MUNICIPAL COMMONWEALTH.

BY REV. LEMUEL C. BARNES.

IT IS agreed on all sides that municipal government is the critical point in American institutions.

At the same time the atmosphere is gradually becoming charged with socialism now, as it was with liberty in the days before the Declaration of Independence, and with freedom in the days before the Emancipation Proclamation.

This is not intended to say that the drift toward socialism may not be an awful mistake. It is only observing that the tendency exists and is wide, deep, and rapidly cumulative. That it is a growing theme for serious thought and dissension would be amply indicated by comparing the tables of contents of the world's great periodicals for 1893 with those for 1883. We are now being confronted by two great questions, questions so intimately related that we cannot attack them one at a time, but must grapple them both at once, the question of municipal government and the question of socialism. Anything, therefore, which bears on them both is of deep concern.

The bare thought of putting vast amounts of property (as would be necessary by any socialistic scheme) into the hands of city governments as we know them is appalling. Does it not mean wild, swift, and certain ruin? Before we go any further with speculation on the subject, let us stop and look at the facts as they now stand. Take, for example, the city of Pittsburg, which may be as fairly representative as any other. How much of the wealth of the city instead of being private property is held in common, *i. e.*, is owned and managed on a socialistic basis? A complete answer can never be given in dollars and cents. But something definite toward an answer can be obtained by patient study. At the last regular triennial assessment of the city in 1892, for the first time a valuation was placed on a

great many pieces of property which are exempt from taxation. This included many which are private property, such as inclined planes and railroads. On the other hand, more than three fourths of the property owned by the municipality itself was not included in this valuation. Of the valuations which were made large portions were not classified or summarized. But a great mass of material was put on record item by item according to location throughout one ward and then another to the end. By delving long enough in this promiscuous heap of official data, one may gather out material which can be condensed into blocks of solid fact, with which to lay the foundation courses of a clear-cut knowledge of our common wealth. It should be borne in mind that it is the rule of the Pittsburg assessor's office to assess property at its full actual value, neither more nor less.

The legal title to the common property of the community is vested in five or six styles of ownership. But, whatever the technical title, the essential reality is that the property is owned by everybody. In the following rapid summary, details are for the most part omitted and only final aggregates given, with merely such remarks as may serve to indicate in general the kind of property included and the source of the estimate of value. As convenient an order to follow as any is that of the technical titles.

I. THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

The post-office, arsenal, and several other items foot up to \$3,342,680. \$85,000 of this is the estimate of a government official. All the rest is gathered from the city assessor's records.

II. ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

Richardson's splendid work of art, the courthouse, and other property is valued by the city assessors at \$4,481,784.

III. THE MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

Under this head a considerable block of facts is summarized for us by the city controller, from the assessor's books. He finds our municipal hall, engine houses, engines, police stations, patrol wagons, horses, market houses, parks, reservoirs, water-pipes,

high school and normal schools, with a few other items, to be worth \$9,480,013. But the bulk of the municipal property is not named in the controller's report, or mentioned on the assessor's books. Data, however, are given at the City Hall from which a close estimate can be made. We have 123 miles of sewers, worth, on an average, \$3.00 per foot, *i. e.*, \$1,948,320, in all. We have 170 miles of paved streets. These pavements cost us \$3.00 per square yard on an average, or \$14,361,600 all told.

We have, paved and unpaved, 367 miles of streets, *i. e.*, 2,109 acres of land in our highways. Officials in two departments of City Hall estimate that \$10,000 an acre is a fair average valuation of land in the city, exclusive of buildings. If so, the land in our streets is worth \$21,090,000. The Carnegie Library and Phipp's Conservatory were not included in any of the foregoing, but should be. Then putting the various items together, the property vested in the municipal corporation is worth \$47,829,933.

IV. THE WARD SCHOOL BOARDS.

According to the city controller's report, the wards own school property to the value of \$3,204,409.

V. THE CHURCHES.

It was a fascinating task to fish out the hundreds of pages of assessor's records in the volume of "exempted property," the church items, and to classify them according to denominations. The aggregate result is \$9,783,373.

VI. OTHER CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS.

These are scattered through the same mass of records as the churches at the assessor's office. The hospitals, asylums, public "homes," and the properties of various other Christian associations, are valued at \$1,155,351.

The grand total of the six classes of common property above enumerated is \$69,797,530, in round numbers seventy millions. This is almost entirely real estate. For the sake of comparisons later on, it is best to eliminate from it everything which is not real estate. A few items under the head of General Government and Municipal Corporation are of the nature of personal property, amounting in all to \$973,197. Subtracting these, the

total of real estate held in common is found to be \$68,824,333. That may be taken as a fair minimum estimate. There are only two considerable items in it about which any serious question is possible. One of these is the church property. The writer is inclined to think that it would be the better policy to have all church property taxed. But as affairs now stand church property is treated by the authorities as public property in the matter of taxation. Much of it is in a very substantial sense common property. The houses of worship are open to every citizen without certificates of stock, without gate fees, without passwords. The variety of styles in religion is so ample that no one is debarred even by some unwritten social or theological code. Every citizen who thinks that there is anything in the universe above clay and nerve reactions can find some congenial, open place in which to recognize and cultivate that higher reality along with his fellow-citizens. The other item about which question might be raised is the valuation of land in the streets. Technically, private deeds run to the center of the highway. As a matter of fact, however, the street land is not reckoned in buying and selling as a private asset to be paid for. And in actual possession it belongs to the public. As to the estimate of \$10,000 per acre for Pittsburg land it is simply an estimate. Every piece of property on the assessor's books is divided into a valuation for the land and a valuation for the buildings. But this division is of no exact use for general purposes, because it has not been carried out in any of the totals. It has, however, given to the officers who are familiar with the way it runs, some solid basis for their estimate. By an independent process the commission on valuation and taxation, in its last report to the Pennsylvania Tax Conference, reaches a result for Allegheny County which indicates for Pittsburg a land valuation not materially different from that assumed in the present study.

The fullest abatement on account of the church and street elements in the problem and on account of any other doubt which might arise, can be freely made without impairing the general result, because such abatement would be offset by an immense piece of common property which has been in no way included in

the foregoing estimate, viz., the rivers and levees. Land all along the north side of Water Street ranges from three to five hundred dollars per front foot. What is it worth on the levee side of the streets? The public river banks with their improvements along the Monongahela and the Allegheny are of uncalculated value. But the rivers themselves, along with their banks, are of almost incalculable value. If the inhabitants of McKeesport and Wheeling should some night dig a ditch straightening the course of the Monongahela River between those two cities, and the people of Kittanning and Rochester should make a similar cut-off for the Allegheny River, what would be the amount of damages for which Pittsburg would sue them? The total property, public and private, of those four handsome towns combined, could scarcely pay the amount of the damages. At any rate, by the meagerest possible estimate, Pittsburg's share in the value of our three noble rivers is enough to offset, much more than offset, any abatements which any one might be inclined to make from the foregoing estimate of our common property. The real estate which we own in common is worth \$68,824,333 at least.

Now the interesting question arises, What part is this of the total real estate of the city? The assessor's valuation of the whole is \$223,219,795. But to that we must add the value of the streets, pavements, and sewers, \$37,399,920, making a total of \$260,619,715. This includes the \$68,824,333 of real estate owned in common. In other words, of the total real estate of our city $73\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is private property and $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is common property. Is it not a discovery worth making that more than one fourth of the solid realty of our city is common wealth?

In view of these facts an inquirer who is hunting after nothing but realties cannot fail to ask himself many questions.

(1) What right has any citizen to feel poor when he is in daily possession and use of many millions of dollars' worth of property, unless indeed he be without work, which is a moral as well as a physical poverty?

(2) In view of the enormous length to which Pittsburg has already gone in socialism, at the very least $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the

whole length, and in view of some crying needs, how would it do for the community to take control as rapidly as it can be done with equity, of its bridges, its street railways, its electric and gas lighting plants, its great scavenger service? These undertakings, technically called natural monopolies, on the continuous conduct of which not only the welfare, but the very existence of the community depends, must be strictly controlled by the community. They must not be left to private caprice. They cannot from the nature of the case be adequately controlled by competition. Herbert Spencer theorizes that roads should be private property, just as he thinks that the coinage of the currency should be in private hands. But such speculations are likely to remain in the clouds. The common sense of the community has made its roads and called them "common roads." It has gone further and affirmed its carriers are "common carriers." This verdict is confirmed by every new decision handed down by the logic of events. Witness on the one hand the interstate commerce law, on the other the governmental suppression of the Debs rebellion. The community is being compelled by forces deeper than speculation to assume more and more the management of both capital and labor in the natural monopolies. One railroad president has already demanded that the community shall buy the business which it has determined to conduct. Is anything less than this finally practicable? The socialization of all the natural monopolies would still leave limitless realms subject to the spur of private enterprise. The putting of the civil service on an absolutely non-partisan basis of competitive fitness, is of course essential to the safe enlargement of the community's business. But it is essential to the safe continuance of the community anyhow. That would open up, too, a field of perfectly legitimate personal ambition, even in the socialized departments of life. Does any one think that the motive of personal ambition is too weak in army life? Is it not rather just there notoriously mighty?

(3) Is it a fact or is it not that slowly, slowly the world has been creeping up toward an ideal goal which was hung for a moment in the terrestrial heavens when they "had all things

common"? Do we record our progress in our speech when we say "common wealth," "common roads," "common carriers," "common schools"? It may be centuries more or millenniums of years before the end is reached. But do we step by step move ever onward? Is the unseen Commander of the march the one who said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"?

(4) In view of the vast interest now at stake and of the vaster possibilities looming up, has any laboring man, any business man, any professional man, any man whatsoever a right to shirk strenuous civic responsibilities and duties? Is there any way for the mass of us to safely acquire more wealth in common unless we show an active appreciation and a wise control of the common wealth which we already possess?

(5) Does not the following from Phillips Brooks concerning approaching social evolution strike a deep chord in every thinking soul?

The passage from light into light must be always through a zone of darkness. How we are feeling this in these days in which we live! Old social conditions are ceasing to be possible any longer. In their place new ones are evidently coming, which, when they shall have come, we know will be more just and happy and humane than those which we have known so long; but who that feels this most deeply is not conscious of misgiving and of dread as he enters with his time into the cloud of disturbance that hovers between the old and the new? Whenever a great public policy has exhausted itself and must be exchanged for a broader and better, it is not mere blind conservatism, it is the true sense that in the untried ways must lie unguessed dangers that make every wise man, however determined he may be, pause in a momentary dread and hesitate a second—and, if he be a real servant of God, pray for new grace before he cuts loose from the familiar shore and sails out to the untried seas.

LEMUEL C. BARNES.

DO THE VICTORS OWN THE SPOILS?

BY ELLIS BIDDLE REEVES.

THE history of the conflict between the highest authority of our land, and the supporters of party rule, is the history of the great divisions of our political life, and to understand and appreciate the depths of the evil, and the growth of the festering sore which threatens the very continuance of our corporate existence as a nation, a careful study of that history will be necessary. We shall see, by this study, how the freeman, from the days of the framing of our Constitution, when he was a sovereign by the right inherent in his suffrage, has become bound by fetters far stronger than ever chained the hand of slave, and we shall see, in the retrospect of the acts of our forefathers, the remedy for the evils so brought upon us by the diminution of our rights and prerogatives.

First, then, let us look back upon the most remarkable body of men that ever assembled to devise free government for free men, the Constitutional Convention of 1787. They approached their work with the dismal failure of the government of the Confederation fresh before them. The minds of all deep-thinking men were filled with apprehension of equal failure of any scheme of reserving unrestrained power to the several states comprising the Union, or of delegating unlimited sovereignty to the federal government comprised by these states. Therefore, making individual preferences and individual gains subordinate to the good and welfare of the country at large, they rose to the level of the patriots who had died that they might live in independence and freedom from monarchical oppression, and created that written law of the land, which has so well stood the test of a hundred years. Looking beyond the mere present, they devised plans by which a civil service could be instituted purely and solely "of the people, by the people, and for the people." To them was no

thought other than that of the best performance of the duty of the office, for the best good of the community, and truly of them could the words of the poet-historian have been written :

“ Then none was for a party ;
Then all were for the state ;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.”

It was not until after the final ratification of the Constitution by the requisite number of states, and the wheels of government fairly started in the full hope of ultimate success, that the first intimation of party lines was brought to view ; for Federalist, the advocate of a strong, centralized government, even to the borders of monarchy, and anti-Federalist, who saw, in the new *régime*, only a diminution of those rights denominated “ State,” which had been the bone of contention in the confederated government, alike sank their personal views, and labored assiduously, the one hopefully, the other in despair, for the safety and welfare of the country. So far did this absence of party lines dominate the policy of these early patriots, that the choice of Washington’s first cabinet embraced Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, men not only opposed to one another in their views of the new government, but also destined to be the respective founders of two distinct schools, each of which has exerted a great and lasting influence upon the polity of the nation and the manner of carrying on the government.

In the second Congress, which met in October, 1791, the administration had the support of a large majority of both Federalists and anti-Federalists, but at the close of this session party organization was for the first time fairly instituted, and, since their course of action had been so thoroughly in accord with the upholders of the federal Union, the whilom opponents were forced to seek another name, which was supplied by Jefferson, the acknowledged leader of the party, in Democratic-Republican, which, afterwards abbreviated to Democratic, although a contemptuous title conferred on them by the Federalists, was called Republican, until about 1828. Although the spirit of party division was thus beginning to manifest itself, so much so that even

in the cabinet meetings Hamilton and Jefferson, the two great exponents of their parties' tendencies, were—to use Jefferson's own words—"pitted against one another like game-cocks," no thought of carrying this difference of opinion into the country's policy was expressed, and for the second time, at the solicitation of both parties, Washington assumed the chair of the chief executive, and John Adams was reëlected as vice-president. So the young nation pursued the tenor of its way, guided by men, "high-minded men," who deemed public office to be a public trust, solemnly assumed, to be strictly performed, and who realized that they were honored by the faithful performance of their duties.

In Washington's farewell address is struck the keynote of the political march of the times, by his appeal to the people to put down party spirit, and to make religion, education, and public good faith the basis of government. We shall see, as we pursue this study of the development of parties, how the spirit of high-minded patriotism and devotedness to the country's good flourished, as long as this policy of "All for the state and nothing for one's self" was continued, and how the status of the body politic was lowered when wolves crept in, devouring what they could, and making havoc among those who had served their country gladly and for the country's sake.

Washington was succeeded by John Adams, and Jefferson, a Republican of the most pronounced type, inasmuch as he was the creator of the tenets of his party, was elected vice-president. Even this anomalous composition of the head of the nation did not cause any well developed attack upon the accepted policy of acting for the good of the country, irrespective of opinion, and several times during this administration both parties united upon points of general welfare. But political events, preëminently the relations toward France, which had become strained by reason of the French Revolution demanding an expression by the government as either for or against the new *régime* there established, so distracted individual opinion from the standard of patriotism which had never failed to secure the services of the best citizens for the public offices, that party lines were

tightly drawn, and President Adams, under the protest of two of his cabinet, which was sustained by the leading Federalists throughout the country, took that step which cost him the support of the party which had elected him, and, worse than all, the aid of Hamilton in guiding the reins of government.

The first internal revolution in the nation's political history occurred in the election of Jefferson and Burr. From Jefferson the Republicans demanded that the offices, subordinate to the heads of departments, should be handed over to them by deposing the Federalist incumbents. He, though founder of the faith that is now the most clamorous for place, was conservative enough to see that the greatest good to the country should be the measure and scope of action, refused to remove any but such as had used their office as political levers, and thus, in fact, by his firm stand, postponed the crisis to a later stage of the country's history. Well would it have been had all his successors heeded the lesson which he so effectually taught the time-serving politicians whom he found in office, and had established, as a precedent hand in hand with the one limiting the presidency to two terms, that no official of subordinate degree should be removed except for cause detrimental to the welfare of the country.

Up to this time, the election of the presidents and vice-presidents had been preëminently free, inasmuch as the vote of the elector was untrammelled by any instruction from any constituency whatever. In the selection of electors, immediately after the retirement of Washington, no formal nominations were made, but it was understood that Federalist electors would cast their votes for John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, and Republican electors for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. During the session of Congress following the rupture between Adams and Hamilton, the members held *caucuses*, and nominated presidential candidates, and Hamilton, by intriguing, endeavored to accomplish the election of C. C. Pinckney as president, and Adams as vice-president, but the division resulted only in throwing the election into the House of Representatives, according to the provisions of the Constitution, and thus, by the most restrained method of all, in the scheme of the government, was the

transfer made from Federalist rule to that of their opponents.

But to resume the study of the progress of party domination. The tenure of the Republican ascendancy continued, through all the vicissitudes of the troubles with France and Spain over the accession of Louisiana, the war with England over the impressment of American seamen, during which period such statesmen as Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were leaders of their party in Congress. Additional states were admitted, one balancing the other in strict succession, as for or against slavery. Through the stormy days of the "Missouri Compromise," the nation struggled, with the Republican party still in command of the government, and by the aid of the "Monroe Doctrine," it grew, and assumed, among the powers of the world, a position higher than any it had yet held.

It is not to be supposed, and, in fact, the history of the times shows distinctly the reverse, that, during this period, the country was without the stigma of corruption, having gained some foothold in the position it now occupies in its affairs. This manifested itself in the charge made against Henry Clay, that he had bargained with John Quincy Adams to control in his favor a majority of the House of Representatives' vote for president, and that the reward for so doing was the appointment to the position of secretary of state. The appointment, following immediately the election, gave the color of truth to the charge, which was indignantly denied by Clay, and the war of renewed charges and denials which ensued was instrumental in the formation of a new party, by the Clay and Adams faction, called National Republicans, a title soon afterwards changed to that of Whigs. The old true and tried Federalist party had long since been extinct, their work ended, and their principles absorbed by the Republicans, who were now, in 1828, changing their nature as a party, and, under the leadership of Andrew Jackson, their name to that of Democrats, which they have ever since retained, both name and nature. In this year, the presidential election resulted in the complete success of the Democratic ticket, Jackson and Calhoun.

No president up to this time, not even in the great revolution

of party caused by Jefferson's election, had made changes in the occupancy of public offices. Jackson, on the contrary, following a president who had created a hostile party, decided to fill every vacancy with a partisan of the administration, and, further, to *create* vacancies, by exercising the almost disused privilege of removal from office. He inaugurated the system of spoils, forgetting the admonition of the father of his country, upon relinquishing office, and thus laid the foundation for the corruption of the civil service, which has resulted in lowering the standard of the country's servants, and substituted, for the patriotic, true-minded statesman in high and subordinate place alike, the self-worshipping, groveling politician.

Thus we have seen that for forty years, nearly one half of the country's existence under the Constitution, the true intent and meaning of that instrument had been adhered to, in the administration of government. It never contemplated official beheading of those serving the country, it never recognized the arbitrary lever of party in the affairs of the country, but regarded each holder of official place as secure in his tenure as the clerks or artificers of mercantile and manufacturing establishments.

And must it now yield to the usurpation instituted and continued by the spoils system, and deliver up the free and enlightened citizen to slavery, to be bound by the fortuitous circumstance of the change of administration, to surrender to the incoming power all the minor official degrees throughout the land? The victor does *not* own the spoils, he who is chosen on his own merits for special duties, and he should suffer to remain, in their respective spheres, such as have made their services valuable to the country, and thus are more worthy than new incumbents could be.

The remedy for this long-continued usurpation is a return to fidelity to the country of our forefathers, to the sinking of party feeling and party strife, and to the performing truly and faithfully all the duties devolving upon both citizen and official.

The pernicious system of spoils has caused to be forgotten that the office-holder is not the representative of a party, as a class, but is a component of the whole, a servant of the country. How

much more do the national legislators not merely represent a constituency, and owe fealty to none but them, but have been placed in their position of high trust to make laws for the whole country, and to deliberate together for the best means of attaining that end.

Let us cease, then, this irrepressible conflict between a hundred thousand office-seekers and a hundred thousand office-holders, and, rising to the plane of patriotism occupied by the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, make everything subservient to the country's welfare, and following the admonition of Washington's farewell address to the American people, "preserve intact the unity of the government, put down party strife and make religion, education, and public good faith the basis of good government," and so establish, in the words of that other immortal ruler of our destinies, Lincoln, a government truly "of the people, by the people, and for the people, and which shall not perish from off the face of the earth."

ELLIS BIDDLE REEVES.

ENERGY OF LEGISLATION.

BY EDWARD P. POWELL.

NOWHERE else in the world, and never before in history, was there such energy put into making laws as in the United States. The average of new laws per day is not much less than one hundred, including only those that in some way affect a large district, or the traveling public. Besides these there is a mass of minor lawmaking by school wards and municipal authorities. Those laws enacted that may affect any citizen of the United States who travels are nearly or quite one hundred every twenty-four hours. It is of course impossible for any one to discover all these statutes; and he undoubtedly breaks many every day of his life. I was surprised not long since by a neighbor who informed me that I was breaking a law of New York in killing a skunk that had destroyed in one night fifteen of my chickens and the mother hen.

Our Aryan ancestors, like all other primitive peoples, grew laws, but never made them. There were customs; and these in many cases were very fixed; but for any body of men to sit in council and decree the reversal of a custom, or even to bring its wisdom into question was a late innovation. Sir Henry Maine, speaking of the Hindoo despot, Runjeet Singh, says: "He could have commanded anything; the smallest disobedience to his commands would have been followed by death, or mutilation; and this was perfectly well known to the enormous mass of his subjects. Yet I doubt whether once in his life he issued a command which could be called a law. The rules which regulated the life of his subjects were derived from their immemorial usages; and those rules were administered by domestic tribunals, in families, or village communities." That is, the human family, or families rather, were for ages without lawmaking bodies, or even law-creating rulers of any sort. They followed customs that had

evolved out of the exigencies of social life. Even the patriarchs acted under family customs; and the later groups or councils of village patriarchs, and finally the arbitrary conqueror, ruling a vast territory, acted under these unwritten constitutions.

The United States began its career by the curious innovation of a written constitution. Already English lawmaking had become such a drift of political life that some plan was needed to restrain any successors of Parliament that might be set up, or had been set up in this country. The village councils of five thousand years ago developed into the Greek *ekklesia*, the Roman *comitia*, the British Parliament; and then into the American Congress. These had come to be something more than interpreters of customs. The drift grew strong to initiate law without precedent. Still any scholar of English history comprehends that in that country precedent has a power that we do not feel, or quite understand. Law in America early began to be an effort to break with direct tradition, and fall in with the Hebrew theodicy. The spirit of the initiative grew stronger when, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the spirit of religious skepticism crossed over from France, and led many New England thinkers to adopt more rational views of Hebrew history.

The end has been that law is no longer understood to be eminently a body of customs, but a body of statutes, issuing from the brains of legislators. Each newly elected body of representatives can annul what its predecessors enacted; and decree the entire opposite. There is little restraint upon unlimited lawmaking, except constitutions. Drawing up statutes has grown to be a passion with us. A legislator's standing with his constituency is determined largely by the "measures" he originates. This fertility of legislation has led to the next stage of the disease, a confidence in laws as the remedy for all possible social ills and individual complaints. The first thing a reformer seeks is to get a bill through Congress. An aggrieved laborer turns with about equal confidence to the strike and to the legislature. This does not, however, indicate with any certainty a growing popular respect for law. We are warned by foreign observers, and are conscious of it ourselves, that we are in danger of a growth of

lawlessness. Not only is mob lawlessness on the increase, but the outbreaks in connection with strikes are alarming. Is it too great familiarity with legislation that makes it cheap? or is it a fact that we have been largely on the wrong track, undertaking to do by statute what can only be the result of education? Are we not positively so entangled in laws that we cannot obey them?

Meanwhile the spirit of personal liberty is not on the decrease. It asserts certain fundamental, individual rights with as great temerity as they were asserted by Henry and Jefferson. It is impossible to enforce a Sunday law. It is even impossible to generally enforce a Sunday saloon law. Lincoln said: "Let reverence for law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in the schools, seminaries, and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits, and proclaimed in legislative halls, as well as enforced in courts of justice; in short, let it become the political religion of the nation." But Mr. Lincoln's great secretary was author of the popular statement that there is a law higher than even the highest enactment of Congress, or decree of a Supreme Court. It was necessary to formulate the "Higher Law" as protection against possible legislation of a malignant, inhuman sort.

The appeal to conscience in matters of obedience to popular enactment is an appeal to one against the many; the assertion of the rights of the minority. This brings out strongly the fact that a law is the opinion of a majority, generally a very temporary majority. Mr. Lincoln voices a very desirable public sentiment; but the question is rising whether lawmaking has not gone to such an extreme that reverence is impossible. Are we in danger of a break-down of the law and order spirit of our citizens? Is this being brought about by our legislation? Can we overcome it by more legislation? These are questions that we cannot go around. The Constitutional Convention that has spent its summer at Albany recognized the fact that the Empire State now needs nothing more than it needs safeguards against lawmaking.

A tariff can be created in one session of Congress affecting

every branch of production and every line of commerce. It can be displaced by the next session. But this is not the whole of it, or the worst of it. The popular uncertainty as to what is to be the basis of buying and selling has kept our whole business world unsettled, and at last threatens a permanent social unrest. It begins to be felt by students of social economy that it is not the character of the tariff that most seriously affects our prosperity for good or evil, but the certainty that no tariff is sure of a permanent footing. A leading Boston business man, a millionaire, writes : "It is not a question of high tariff, or of low tariff; but of a fixed tariff. I am a Democrat, and prefer a very low tariff for revenue only; but I have learned to have such confidence in the public common sense, that I am sure the American people can adjust both production and trade profitably to any sort of a tariff; but they cannot do this, they cannot do business safely, while a body of lawmakers sits at Washington, with powers, by a majority vote of lawyers, to change, at any moment, the values of every pound of material that the merchant handles and the consumer pays for, as well as the values of every pound of native production." This opinion of Mr. Schlesinger is more or less getting to be the general conviction of the soundest judges. It is not hasty legislating that we have to fear so much as superfluous legislating; the quantity is worse than the quality.

Our legislative machinery is extremely prominent, as is natural when every man is a member of the government. The emphasis at the close of the last century was on the advantage of popular government over autocratic and aristocratic government. Law-making naturally tingles at the finger-tip of every equal factor in the government. Each voter believes that he not only sees a way of rectifying public evils, but that he has a right to experiment in trying his remedies. To this I propose no objection in our present political stage of development. It is wholesome for the people to rule. But the question has at last become urgent whether we are not overruling. Laws lie around like leaves in Vallambrosa forest. They die often still-born; others are rarely enforced. A single example of instability is seen in the legislative statute that in 1882 created for the state of New York com-

missioners in each township, at the option of the people, to secure the destruction of black knot on plum trees. These commissioners were very generally appointed, and began to enforce the law. One provision of the article required them to enter a man's property and cut diseased trees at the owner's expense. The law-makers reassembling, suddenly annulled the law; and several commissioners not learning instantaneously the repeal, were sued as trespassers, and fined.

Mr. Bryce charges that restrictions of labor and tariff meddling have been much greater and more general in America than in England. "Moral duties are more frequently enforced by legal penalties. Railroads, insurance and banking corporations are more regulated. Although the state has not gone so far in superseding individual action as to create for itself monopolies, it is apt to spend money on objects not so cared for by European governments." But since Mr. Bryce wrote, lawmaking has crossed over the restriction he names. We have now state monopolies; and the Gothenburg system is considered by a very large class to be the most practical as well as ideal method of managing the whisky problem. I do not care to touch the socialistic phase of the question. It is not improbable that the definition of the state will be considerably enlarged in the immediate future. This may be done without any increase of the burden of multiplied laws. The real evil is in reaching out in every direction to make every natural process compulsory.

One hundred years ago John Adams and Marshall and Jefferson were intent on safeguards against the executive power of the state. History warned them against the encroachments of a chief of the nation. It is interesting to read of the elaboration of the system of checks devised against such possible tyranny. The tyranny of popular legislation had never been experienced outside of municipal boundaries. At least it did not occur to them that the chief danger to the people in a federated republic would be from themselves, in their representatives. Mr. Adams wrote, as late as 1814: "Is there a constitution on record more complicated with balances than ours? In the first place eighteen states and some territories are balanced against the national government.

In the second place the House of Representatives is balanced against the Senate. In the third place the executive authority is balanced against the legislative. In the fourth place the judicial power is balanced against the House, the Senate, the executive power, and the state governments. In the fifth place the Senate is balanced against the president in all appointments to office, and in all treaties. In the sixth place the people hold in their hands the balance against their own representatives." This looked to be the very perfection of political machinery; but how has it come out in practice? The nation has steadily encroached on the states; until at present the national spirit does not differ much from that in France or England. We have largely lost our state spirit. The judicial power is not balanced against Congress, as it was intended it should be; for Congress has created, when it needed, new judges, who would be subservient to its will. The only conservative check that now remains is the Supreme Court; and it is always in danger. We may be sure that whenever the conflict comes the president will be impeached, and the Supreme Court revolutionized, if they stand in the way of legislation.

My aim has not been to present an historic, but a suggestive paper, to warn the American people against what is rapidly becoming a national passion, the love of lawmaking. The consequences I do not undertake to wholly picture; but to suggest that in all probability our present instinctive reverence for law, which is inherited from the primitive reverence for custom, will be weakened, and finally obliterated. Our safety so far has been in our social instincts. Will our instinct for obedience to law endure further severe test? There are symptoms, especially in the Southern States, indicating that the effort to overrule precedent and custom by statutes has gone too far. Our instincts reach far back; and are liable at any time to take government back into first hands. Our popular instincts precede our organized social sentiments.

The problem with a republic is to remain democratic. Over extended territories the popular will (mind) can be known only through representatives. This removes lawmaking to quite a distance from the people. Is it not possible that the referendum

as adopted by the Swiss would to a great extent carry legislation back to the people in such a manner as largely to lessen its quantity? Mr. McCracken in his "Rise of the Swiss Republic" says: "When we remember the vast mass of legislation, often contradictory and inconsistent, and generally useless, if not absolutely harmful, which is being piled up by the legislation of the various states and of the federal government, it will be seen at a glance what a boon the referendum in reality might become; how valuable, nay, how providential, a check it might be upon this reckless, wholesale rush of legislation. To-day reform lies in the direction of repeal, rather than of more laws; of liberty rather than of restriction." This seems to be a growing opinion, since the modified referendum is to become a feature of Australian government. Our danger is in the creation of a purely lawmaking body; or of hundreds of such bodies covering every phase of social or individual existence.

With this drift toward legislating we have so far done very little to educate our people into a special capacity for legislative government. Even our universities have only begun to develop culture in economics and civics. Corruption is a great danger; but there is a greater danger in ignorance. Our lawmakers do not know the important part that history plays in the enforcement of statutes. While great stress should be laid on the creation of the citizen more must be laid on the making of the legislator.

EDWARD P. POWELL.

CANADA'S FUTURE, AS SEEN BY CANADIANS.

BY HELEN GREGORY-FLESHER, A.M.

A GREAT many Americans have a strong, though perhaps rather vague impression, that a large proportion of the Canadian people if not absolutely anxious for, would readily agree to annexation by the United States. Many also believe that Canada's evident and inevitable destiny is absorption into the great republic.

But are these views of the case really correct? Do Canadians themselves think political union with the United States either inevitable or desirable? First, do they regard it as inevitable?

Prof. J. G. Schurman, of Cornell, himself a Canadian, said some months ago in the *Forum*: "The destiny of Canada will be settled by the people of Canada themselves. There is no manifest destiny but what they themselves decree." Now granting this to be the case, what then do Canadians themselves regard as their probable and most desirable future?

We can easily ascertain by an examination of the public utterances of their prominent men, their statesmen and thinkers, whose opinions may be fairly taken as expressing those of the people at large, for whether we believe that statesmen lead or follow public opinion, we must acknowledge that they are the nation's mouthpieces.

It is obvious to the most superficial observer that Canada has a choice of only four paths, one of which she must take. First, she may remain a colony, a dependency of the British Crown, as she is now. Second, she may try imperial federation. Third, she may join hands in political union with the United States. Fourth, she may become an independent nation, "a great semi-continental, interoceanic commonwealth."

As to remaining as she is, and where she is, few Canadians, or Americans either, consider such a condition of affairs either pos-

sible or desirable. As she increases in wealth, population, and importance she will and must outgrow the conditions that suited her infancy. "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child, but when I became a man I put away childish things." So it is with Canada. Scarcely a parliamentary session passes but some leading Canadian statesman, or prominent member of one or the other of the political parties, rings the knell of the past and heralds, though yet afar, the dawning future. She must grow or fall: when the tree ceases to increase or put forth leaves it is dying or dead. Canada, with her Northwest Territories and great provinces of British Columbia and Manitoba newly opened up and rapidly settling; with miles upon miles of the best wheat land in the world in Manitoba; with ideal stock-raising country in the Territories; with coal and iron in Nova Scotia and British Columbia (anthracite and gold, too, in the latter); with iron, copper, silver, nickel, asbestos, and gold mines in Ontario; with phosphate in Quebec; with hundreds of miles of lignite coal in the Rocky Mountains; with almost boundless forests and with magnificent fish supplies, not only in British Columbia and the Maritime Provinces, but also in the Northwest Territories—with all these known and many other unknown resources it is not natural to suppose that Canada will not progress.

Mr. Wilfred Laurier, a French Canadian and the leader of the Reform party in the Dominion House, said in a speech made last year: "Canada is not always to remain a colony, light as our dependence on the mother-country may be, that dependence is not to remain forever." And this opinion is simply a statement of a feeling more or less general, though perhaps to a certain extent unspoken, among Canadians. As to precisely what the future holds for Canada there may be some diversities of opinion, but there is an almost universal belief that her future will not and cannot exactly resemble her past: move in one direction or the other, she must.

The scheme of imperial federation at the time of its inception attracted a good deal of attention and has yet many eminent advocates and adherents, though not quite so many now perhaps

as in its first flush. But most Canadians regard it as a dazzling impracticability more easily worked on paper than possible of realization. The greatest objection to be urged against it is its cumbersomeness. The late Sir John Macdonald said plainly, "Imperial federation is utterly impracticable."

It is not at all likely that Canadian members would care to attend an Imperial Federation Parliament, sitting somewhere in Great Britain, to vote upon a mass of affairs upon which and in which they have small knowledge and less interest: such as East Indian or Australian matters for example. Nor is it probable that the English, Irish, or Scotch members would like to have their time occupied discussing the details of colonial affairs. Then again it is doubtful whether Canadians, in purely Canadian matters, would care to see the absolute power and authority of their own Parliament taken from it and transferred to a body sitting outside of the country. The Marquis of Lansdowne, late governor-general of Canada, saw all these objections and pointed them out in a speech made just before his departure from the country.

"I would ask how the policy of centralizing imperial business, say at Westminster, would work if you pushed it too hard? You have colonies that are protectionists, you have colonies with *ad valorem* duties, and colonies with specific duties. Let us suppose that you are going to try your hand at the introduction of the uniform system. You will have two tremendous obstacles to encounter. In the first place, if you are going to propose that the ports of the British Empire shall join hands and adopt a common tariff against other nations, you will have to convince the people of Great Britain that you are not going to lead them into a morass. The United Kingdom does, roughly speaking, at present, three fourths of its trade with foreign countries and one fourth with British possessions. Self-preservation is a pretty strong instinct in commercial circles at home [England] as it is in Canada, and you will find that not a few of our friends will hesitate to disturb the three fourths of their business which they do with the foreigner on the chance of making the remaining one fourth larger than it is now."

Lord Lansdowne's words seem almost prophetic when we remember that on June 30, 1892, at the "Congress of the Chamber of Commerce of the Empire" in England, a resolution was offered declaring that "fiscal union between Great Britain and the colonies by preferential duties would be politically and commercially disastrous." Sir Charles Tupper, high commissioner for Canada, proposed an amendment to this resolution to the effect that "a small differential duty should be adopted by Great Britain and her colonies against foreign imports." The amendment was defeated by seventy-nine against thirty-four in favor, a very strong evidence that the mother-country has no intention of "joining hands with her colonies and adopting a common tariff against other nations."

Though many still recognize imperial federation as a possibility, it is not now very widely regarded as a probability; nevertheless those who hold these views have an able advocate in Sir Charles Tupper, high commissioner for Canada, and there is a contingent of Canadians who see in this movement Canada's future.

The two remaining paths are annexation or political union with the United States, and independence. The most widely known advocate of annexation is Prof. Goldwin Smith, who is, of course, not a Canadian. Here and there throughout Canada may be found sporadic knots of annexationists, but so far they have not been sufficiently large in number to receive parliamentary recognition as a political party or to have a leader of great political influence.

Prof. Schurman in the article before quoted also said: "The case of Canada is different, infinitely different, from that of all the other territories ceded during the nineteenth century. There you [the United States] gained unpeopled lands by purchase or conquest. Here, on the contrary, you have to do with five million human wills, to be followed in the next generation by twice that number." He then proceeds to point out that Canada's destiny will be settled by her own people and they themselves will say what it shall be.

It has been asserted from time to time that among the French

Canadians of the Lower Province there is a strongly developed annexation sentiment. This is a grave error. The French Canadians of the province of Quebec, numerically strong and taking a large and active interest in politics, are solidly opposed to political union. At present they enjoy privileges and concessions that they could hardly hope to retain if Quebec became a state of the American Union. Now their provincial court is governed in all civil cases according to the French law (*The Coutume de Paris*), French ranks equally with English as the legal language, and all proceedings must be conducted and reported in both tongues.

Mr. Erastus Wiman proves the fallacy of the supposition that the French Canadians favor annexation in an article in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, in which he says: "The French [Canadian] people are to-day more dominated by the Roman Catholic Church than other people in the world, and the influence of that great hierarchy in Canada is dead set against annexation. The Church of Quebec is intrenched by conditions extremely favorable to its power and growth, which it is universally believed would all be changed should Quebec become a state of the Union. True, this is a mistake, for any state in the Union may do as it pleases with regard to its church, its priesthood, or its religious matters, but the change from existing highly favorable conditions would be viewed with apprehension, while the possibilities of the introduction of a new life and new institutions make it simply out of the question that, in the lifetime of any one living, the French people while under the influence of the Church of Rome will favor annexation."

But there is still another very strong objection among Canadians to political union. Having always managed their own affairs as a self-governing colony, the idea of losing this control more or less and being divided into three or four or more states in the Union is hardly pleasing to them. Though Canada is sometimes rather contemptuously spoken of as a "dependency of the British Crown," it is more a figure of speech than a reality, and she may be said to have fully tasted the sweets of self-government, and to feel within her breast the embryonic heart-

throbs of a national pride. There is also a pretty general belief that if annexation were an accomplished fact the enormous area of Canada added to that of the United States (which it exceeds if we except Alaska) would render the governmental machinery so unwieldy that the union would soon break to pieces and fall apart from very ponderousness.

Perhaps one of the strongest objections, however, is that while Canadians see much to admire in American institutions, they have naturally a very strong bias in favor of their own. As a commercial people, the descendants of a "nation of shopkeepers," the recurrence every four years of a season of depression in trade and commerce owing to the disturbances of a presidential election leads them to view with some apprehension any movement tending to make them sharers of such a season of depression.

Secondly, they hear Americans themselves assert, both through the press and their public men, that the administration of the law in the great republic is not so satisfactory as it might be. Not very long ago a writer in the *Century Magazine*, discussing the subject of good laws inefficiently administered, said: "The fact is notorious that all over the Union plain statutes are disregarded by those who are plainly bidden to enforce them, that sheriffs, constables, and policemen stand and look on while the laws which they have sworn to execute are dishonored before their faces." Now this is no slight matter to Canadians, who are a law-abiding people, and, rightly or wrongly, they argue that it would seem to indicate a radical defect somewhere in the system when any administrator of the law can be subjected to the temptation to shape his course with a view to the next election. And it is difficult to suppose that if the political "heeler" commits a crime or a breach of the law, that the arrest and conviction by the men whose supporter he may be will be prompt and effective. Canadians are not naturally more morally disposed than citizens of the United States, but the evil-doer, whether a politician or not, knows well that if he defies the law punishment swift and sure follows his act.

Public prosecutors, judges, sheriffs, and policemen are sup-

posed to have no political leanings toward any party, indeed a publicly or widely expressed preference would be considered most improper and unbecoming, and if it amounted to active partisanship would probably bring in its train the dismissal of the offender. That the framers of the law should be elected seems quite proper, but to most Canadians the system of electing the administrators does not appear calculated to produce the best results.

Then, too, in regard to the civil service, Canadians are disposed to look with favor upon the British custom of leaving the civil service officers undisturbed so long as they perform their duties efficiently, while the "spoils" system which prevails in the United States appears to them as a very doubtful blessing. The very few cases in which men have been turned out of office when their political opponents came to the power have always been regarded as a public scandal.

The United States has a good many political issues peculiarly her own to settle, such as the negro question, emigration question, the silver question, and last, but by no means least, the pension list, to which fund it is not at all probable Canada would care to contribute. Mr. Erastus Wiman has pointed out that if Canada came into the Union it would be far from an unmixed blessing from the American point of view, for Canadians could if they liked upset the legislature of the country by simply holding the balance of the power and casting a solid vote this way or that. Indeed, American statesmen have said that if the annexation of Canada were put as a direct vote to their citizens, the proposition would be defeated. But of course nothing but the actual experiment could prove the truth or falsity of such a prediction.

There is another and more cogent reason why Canada wants neither imperial federation nor annexation—she has an ambition of her own. Mr. Walter Blackburn Hart, in a recent number of the *New England Monthly*, said: "Canada could not want a better future than to form a part of such a nation [the American]"; and Prof. Goldwin Smith, in "Canada and the Canadian Question," says: "If to be a nation is strength, energy, and

grandeur, to be less than a nation is to have less than a full measure of all these. Canada does ask a better future. She wants a full measure of strength, energy, and grandeur." To be a nation of herself, or, according to Prof. Schurman, "the semi-continental, interoceanic empire" which he further declares it is her destiny to become; a destiny in which her statesmen and people should firmly believe. Many eminent Canadians have openly said and published abroad the fact that they confidently look forward to the time when Canada will be independent. The late Sir John Macdonald, through whose exertions the various provinces were federated into one great Dominion, though a loyal British subject, was a pronounced home-ruler. When the Manchester Chamber of Commerce protested at the Colonial Office against the Canadian adoption of a protective policy, Sir John, without mincing matters, said plainly: "We will govern our own country, we will put on the taxes ourselves, if we choose to misgovern ourselves we will do so, and we do not desire England, Ireland, or Scotland to tell us we are fools." This was very plain talking, and if not a declaration of complete independence, nominal and real, it was at least very independent speaking and a pretty open avowal of actual freedom and independence of action.

There seems to be an impression among American politicians that the Liberal or Reform party in Canada is the one most favorably inclined to annexation or political union. But if this be the case, it is singular that all the leaders and prominent men of that party who have been accused of such views most emphatically deny any such ideas. Though advocating reciprocity of trade, they most distinctly declare that they thereby do *not* mean political union. The Hon. Edward Blake (recently called to Ireland), one of the most able and prominent members of the Reform party, in his "Address to the West Durham Reform Convention," said: "It [Canada] is a goodly land, endowed with great recuperative powers and vast resources, as yet almost undeveloped, inhabited by a population, moral and religious, sober and industrious, the descendants of a choice immigration of men of mark and courage, energy and enterprise, in the breasts

of whose children still should glow the sparks of those ancestral fires." And in a subsequent note to the *Globe* newspaper he stated that: "Political union was by no means our ideal nor as yet our inevitable future." Speaking of independence he said in the above address: "It is quite possible that in connection with such a policy advantageous international arrangements on various most important points might be secured."

The Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, premier of the Ontario Provincial Parliament and a Liberal, says in an open letter to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie (since deceased): "Liberals were nearly if not quite unanimous in not wanting political union; but they did want unrestricted reciprocity, they [the electorate] were not asked to support unrestricted reciprocity except on fair terms. We did not want it, if to obtain or to keep it we had to abandon our aspirations for an independent Canada on Canada's ceasing to be part of the British Empire. To political union we would not agree. The aspiration of Canadians is for an independent Canada. Political union would put an end forever to the hope of this. . . . In case of annexation Canada would be no more." Sir Oliver also states: "Liberals and Conservatives alike are against it for many reasons."

Mr. Laurier, before quoted, said in a speech at the banquet given in his honor at Boston: "Canada is still a colony, but I am proud to say a free colony. It is the destiny of colonies to become independent nations. . . . If such a boon as freedom of trade were to be purchased by the slightest sacrifice of my nation's dignity, I would have none of it." So much for the Liberal party.

On the other side of politics it is more difficult to obtain publicly expressed opinions on the subject for the simple reason that the Conservatives have never been accused, rightfully or wrongfully, as the case may be, of the slightest desire for annexation; indeed, quite the contrary, they have again and again been accused of hostility to the United States. The Hon. Mr. Chapleau, late secretary of state, now lieutenant-governor of Quebec, a French Canadian and a Conservative, in a speech at Providence, R. I., said: "It is true, and I admit it, that every Canadian wants at

maturity a country of his own to live for, to fight for, and, if necessary, to die for. . . . I am a British-born subject and a Frenchman by parentage. . . . With such a parentage, with such traditions of courage, of intelligence, of glory, are the Canadians to be denied the noble ambition, the sure destiny of being a people by themselves, an independent nation?"

Even Mr. Goldwin Smith, the advocate of annexation, or political union as he prefers to call it, says: "There is nothing in nature or political circumstance to forbid the existence on this continent of a nation independent of the United States. Americans need not be feared. . . . The Americans are a moral people. It would not be possible now to excite them to an unprovoked attack upon another free nation or even to a manifest encroachment on its rights. . . . An independent Canada, however inferior to them in force, might rest in perfect safety by their side."

It has now, I think, been proved from the mouths of Canadians themselves that it is their hope and belief that Canada is destined to become a sovereign commonwealth, modeled somewhat on American lines, but not altogether so.

The head of the nation, or president, for example, will probably be elected for a longer term than four years. Much of the present Canadian policy would also be retained. Indeed, the principal and perhaps only real difference would be in that office now entitled the Governor-Generalship.

HELEN GREGORY-FLESHER, A.M.

ARE AMERICAN HOMES DECREASING?

A REPLY TO J. A. COLLINS.

BY HON. GILBERT L. EBERHART.

ONE of the curses of our country to-day is the pessimists who infest the rostrum, the columns of the daily and weekly papers, and the monthly journals. This class of writers and orators is never happy, save when finding fault with the present condition of society, or foreboding the dire calamities which, in their opinion, are sure to fall on our nation, unless the people at once totally forsake all their familiar and long established codes of morals, customs, and well-tested laws of civilization, and substitute for them the wild and futile theories of these modern reformers.

The result of all this is a dissatisfaction with present conditions of life, and a restlessness that is ready, on very slight, or no provocation whatever, to invade the domain of peace and good order with the destructive spirit of disregard for all law, and the ultimate and total defeat of the good results which only obedience to law and a jealous regard for the rights of others ever have achieved, or ever can achieve, so long as civilization shall endure, or a human being prefers good government and domestic tranquillity to anarchy and the fearful menace of mobocracy. I am not disposed to permit any one to exceed me in my love for the home circle; or to place a higher estimate on the sacred influences of the family than I do; but to assume that these wholesome and ennobling sentiments can be fostered and nourished only in homes built on land in which the head of the family holds a title in fee simple, is an absurdity which has no foundation in fact or reason.

Many of our best citizens are tenants, and are such from deliberate choice. And for the reason, they say, that it is much cheaper to rent than to own a home. I am ready to admit, and

I believe, too, that most men will feel a deeper interest in the safety of their neighbors' property, if they own the homes they occupy ; but this arises, not from any stronger spirit of patriotism thereby created, but from the natural and selfish instincts which provoke the individual to lead such a course as will most surely command the aid and coöperation of his neighbors in the defense of his estate, when menaced by the mob, or other dangers of destruction.

It seems to me, however, to say that a man who has not a title in fee to the town lot on which he makes his home, or the few acres from which, by his labor, he derives his support, "is a prey to any evil influences that choose to sway him ; that from such are the tools of despotism molded," is a libel, and an unprovoked insult to tens of thousands of the best citizens that tread the soil of America. And the truth of my assertion is proved by the figures which Mr. Collins gives in his article in the January number of *THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS*.

In that article he asserts that the percentage of tenants in the United States is 70, while in Portugal, Italy, and other countries but 28 to 55 per cent of the heads of families are tenants.

But Mr. Collins "reckons without his host." He is evidently more inclined to awaken groundless fears than he is to deal with the undeniable facts that confront us at every turn, and to make comparisons between the social conditions, and the peculiar and ever-growing traits of our people and those of the people of Europe, which are wholly illogical, and where no comparison can possibly be drawn. The nations of continental Europe, and even of Great Britain, have their peculiar ideas of everything that pertains to religion, society, and civil government. They have their fixed habits of thought, and all these matters are, with them, the growth of many centuries.

Ours is a young nation, its elements incongruous, diversiform, and in a formative condition.

The environments of each individual citizen of our country is radically different from those of every denizen of Europe ; and the history of this country, even if we take only the past thirty years, proves beyond all doubt that nowhere else on earth are

the grand possibilities of rising from obscurity and poverty to eminence and affluence so numerous as in the United States of America. Any man who reads and looks about him knows that the poor boys of one generation are the statesmen, the business men, the leaders of enterprise, the inventors of the next. Need we cite examples? Do not our schoolboys and girls know what Lincoln and Douglass and Banks and Wilson and Grant, and Sherman and Sheridan and Harrison and Edison, *et id omne genus*, were in their boyhood?

And when we reflect that our nation has barely passed the one hundredth anniversary of its existence, need it be at all "startling that in the greatest republic on earth" the percentage of inhabitants who own homes is less than in countries that are from one thousand to two thousand years old?

But admitting for the nonce that Mr. Collins deals correctly with his figures, I am forced to say that his "indications that point to a dark future for our country, unless something is done to stay the tide of landlordism," are all airy nothings, are anything but complimentary to the intelligence of the average American citizen. To the man who will face the facts, rather than search for delusive theories, it is plain that the cry of "landlordism" is the veriest bugaboo that ever a pessimistic brain conceived.

Note the many changes that are constantly going on in the ownership of real estate. Only forty or fifty years ago it was common for men, in many of the original thirteen states, to own tracts of land embracing thousands of acres; and to-day, even where the owners had large families, not a foot of those immense estates is owned by a single descendant of the original patentee. The one, five, or ten thousand acres owned by one man only forty years ago are now owned by hundreds or thousands of thrifty inhabitants, and are covered by busy towns or cities.

The dense forests, in many instances, of only thirty years ago are to-day the locations of large and thriving villages, and productive gardens and farms. Men who owned small tracts of land a few years ago, with the city a mile or two away, have since found it at their doors ready to fold them in its municipal

arms. They sold out, and, as a matter of economy, put their surplus cash, which came from the increased value of "the little home," in the savings bank, and made their "homes" in tenement houses, or built others. Within the past decade, not only the natural increase, but immigration, has added largely to the number of families in the United States; but it is not to be supposed that a very large percentage of these, however much disposed to do so, could acquire homes clear of incumbrances in the short space of ten years with families to provide for in the meantime.

These and other facts, which readily suggest themselves to every thoughtful, considerate mind, clearly show how, at certain periods, an apparent—and only apparent—"decadence of home-ownership" may exist; but it is not, even if real, any evidence of a weakening in the foundation of our government, or ground for alarm for the perpetuity of our free institutions.

Mr. Collins in his peculiarly "startling" style claims that "figures show an immense and startling diminution in the proportion of home-owners during the past decade in every section of the country—such a ratio of diminution as to lead one to question the reliability of the data, yet the facts have been proved beyond question."

No, not beyond question. Mr. Collins, unfortunately, has given us one of those examples of argument in which the relation of only a part of the truth results in positive untruth; and the fact is, in this instance, that the only thing "startling" in his whole subject is the apparent delusion that controls him, and the inaccuracy of his figures, or at least the wide discrepancy between his and those given in the census report of 1890.

In that report we learn that, within the domain of our republic, we had, in the year 1890, the large number of 12,690,152 families, and that almost one half—48 per cent—of them owned the farms and homes they occupied. Of these farms and homes, a fraction over 72 per cent were free of all incumbrances.

In cities having a population above 100,000 souls, there were 1,948,834 home families, 23 per cent of which owned their homes, and the others—77 per cent—were renters; thus proving, as I

have already said, that many find it cheaper, especially in the larger towns and cities, to rent than to own homes. And one remarkable fact is that, of these city homes owned by the occupants, only 38 per cent were incumbered.

Of 4,224,560 families living in towns of 8,000 souls and less, 44 per cent owned, and 56 per cent rented, the residences they occupied; and of the families who owned their homes, 77 per cent held them free of debt.

Another striking fact, but not at all "startling," is that the value of the 1,696,890 farms and homes incumbered was \$5,687,296,069, and the total liens against them amounted to \$2,132,949,563—or less than 38 per cent of the aggregate value of the property.

The fact that property is mortgaged is not, *per se*, any evidence of hopeless insolvency in the owner; nor is the fact that in 1880, in Rhode Island, 20 per cent of the farms were hired, and in 1890 25 per cent were hired, the slightest proof that the number of farm-owners in that state had decreased. An investigation would, in all probability, reveal the fact that 5 per cent of the farm-owners had grown too old to work, and the farm was too small to support four or five grown-up sons who had the ambition to become "the architects of their own fortunes," or "to go West and grow up with the country." The rent of the farm would support "the old folks" comfortably; hence it was leased to a thrifty German who had the week before landed at Castle Garden, and who would make one acre of it, as a market garden, bring in more cash per year than the owner and his sons ever got from ten acres; a result, it must be admitted, that can be regarded as neither a danger to the happiness of our people, nor a menace to the permanency of our beloved republic.

Mr. Collins has allowed his *percentage* theory to delude and deceive him—to lead him to the illogical conclusion that, because the number of home-owners is less in proportion to the whole population now than in 1880, a steady and great diminution in the number of free home-owners is going on "in every state in the Union." And to this he adds the erroneous allegation that "70 per cent of our population are reduced to the condition of tenants."

The word "*reduced*" implies that seven tenths once owned homes, but by some sort of force and fraud they have been taken from them. His allegation means this, or it means nothing. And I must conclude that Mr. Collins is in error, and if he means only that the number of home-owners is less to-day than in the year 1880, or at any previous period of our national existence, he has fallen into an error that needs an explanation he has failed to make, and without which no man acquainted with the wonderful progress of our country, can be expected to place confidence in his allegations. In view of the rapid increase of the population and wealth of our country, and the undeniable fact that hundreds and thousands of dwellings exist to-day where none existed in 1880, it is incumbent upon Mr. Collins to show by what strange, abnormal process the homes in a state largely decrease—fall into decadence—while the population is constantly growing in numbers. He is certainly obliged to let his readers know what has become of these homes which, in such great numbers have, in a single decade, gone out of existence.

For example, Colorado in 1880 had a population of 194,327 and in 1890, had 412,198. Montana in 1880 had a population of 39,159, and in 1890 had 132,159. Kansas in 1880 had a population of 996,096 and in 1890 had 1,427,096—an increase of 431,000. Will Mr. Collins say that there was a less number of homes, or home-owners, in those three states in 1890, with all this increase of population, than in 1880?

Mr. Collins, I fear, is not aware of the means by which the poor man, or the man of limited means—the great majority of men—obtains a home. He seems not to know the fact that tens, aye hundreds of thousands of homes and farms are owned by men who could never have secured even the most humble "shanty" had no such thing as "the mortgage system" existed. Men must needs at times ask credit of their fellows, and why should "the mortgage system" be denounced as any worse than any other form of evidence of debt? And we can here cite Mr. Collins to the fact that in the city of Philadelphia, one hundred thousand homes were built by poor men in twenty-five years by the aid of building and loan associations, which are exclusively a

"mortgage system." Thousands of homes are to-day thus mortgaged, and not one in five hundred is likely to fall into "the clutches" of that denounced system.

The regular weekly, or monthly, payment of no more than the mortgagee would pay for the rent of a house to a landlord, in a few years brings back to him every payment in the shape of a title in fee simple; and thus is the mortgage a blessing to the poor man.

I have no fear for the future of our country, no matter how many or how few are home-owners. I have an unswerving and abiding confidence in the patriotism of my countrymen, so long as they seek after knowledge, wisdom, and virtue. In our country, and under our form of government, we have nothing to fear but the people themselves. Men who are ready at any moment to forsake wife and children, father and mother, houses and lands, as the men of this country have done, and with their lives in their hands march by hundreds of thousands to bleed and die on the field of battle for the rights of man, can never be robbed of their freedom, or frightened with such an ephemeral man of straw as "*landlordism*." Every man who has the health and the will to get a home in America can do so, and such will continue to get them many long generations after Mr. Collins and I have returned to the dust whence we came.

GILBERT L. EBERHART.

THAT "FALLACY OF THE W. C. T. U."

A REPLY TO MRS. WINSTON.

BY C. EMMA CAWTHORNE, M. D.

ONE of the things that we are obliged to learn, if we hold on to our friends and keep faith in humanity, is that different persons, each of the same veracity and honest purpose, looking at the same object from a different angle of vision, view it in an altogether different aspect. So I take it that Mrs. Winston draws her conclusions as one who has isolated herself from the work of the W. C. T. U. and therefore gets a very imperfect knowledge of what has or has not been accomplished by that organization. The first premise in her argument evidences this; for while the "object" is the "suppression of intemperance," seeing and realizing as we do the heinous enormity of that particular evil, yet the truth that all evil is correlative and each more or less dependent on the other is always taught and evidenced by the "do everything" policy. For what are the forty or more different departments each with its superintendent to look after and care for her especial line of work if we have but the one foe to contend against?

True, intemperance is hydra-headed; it is intrenched in the nation's bulwarks, has the strong arm of the law to protect it, and deep within depraved humanity lies the tendency to do evil; and the W. C. T. U. with other organizations has all these and many other things to contend against, yet we are not discouraged.

On the contrary, we have much to encourage us as we take a retrospect of the past and view the outlook for the future. First, we are a new organization as compared with others who are making the abolition of intemperance *the object* apparently of their work. Twenty-one years are but a few in comparison with those in which the Washingtonians, Sons of Temperance, Good Templars, and many others have been in the field. These

are a noble army and have done good service in stemming the tide of iniquity.

We are not a body of *lonely women*, as would appear from the article, but have right royal helpers in the persons of our brothers, sons, and husbands. If they are not yet admitted as voting members into our ranks they have all other privileges and I think have just as much confidence in us as if they were. It is always encouraging to be in good company and we are often cheered with this thought.

The change in public sentiment that has taken place in the last twenty or thirty years is encouraging. Then it was no uncommon thing for ministers of the gospel to take their drinks and many professedly Christian people did the same. Now such things would not be tolerated in the evangelical churches of to-day. Twenty years from now I have no doubt it will be considered just as much of a disgrace for a Christian man to cast a ballot to license or uphold the drink traffic as it would be now for him to take his drinks. The work that the W. C. T. U. has accomplished and is accomplishing alone through the Woman's Temperance Publication Association is enough to make glad the hearts of all those who believe in the dissemination of pure literature. The millions of white-winged messengers that are sent forth, filled with the gospel of love, purity, and peace—this alone is a monument that any organization might well be proud of, without mentioning the scientific instruction law that is obligatory to be taught in thirty-four states of our Union. Does Mrs. Winston think lightly of such a work or is it possible she was not aware of the fact?

But why try to specify or enumerate. I believe there is scarcely a local union, however feeble or poorly sustained, but might show forth some good accomplished. If philanthropists and Christian workers became discouraged because in twenty years they did not see the desired results of their labors where would be our Christian churches, ministers, and teachers? Has Mrs. Winston forgotten that it is nearly two thousand years since Christ's gospel has been preached among the sons of men? And yet there never was so much of crime and sin and misery

upon the earth as there is to-day. Would she have us do away with our Christian religion and church organizations because of this seeming failure? Nay, verily, I think not.

Again, there never were so many slaves on American soil as in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty; yet even then, when the cry of the oppressed was all unheeded by the masses, the hand was being raised that would break the chains and proclaim liberty to four millions of souls. It is not ours to be discouraged, but to labor and to wait, knowing that we have God and the right on our side and must prevail.

As regards the ballot being our greatest need, I am not aware that it is so considered. True, a large proportion of our membership fully believe in "equal suffrage" because we believe it to be right and just, and also believe it would help wonderfully in eradicating many evils, intemperance among others, that are now so appallingly prevalent. That "unexplained reason" in reference to Wyoming does not seem very hard to understand when we remember that there are nineteen men there to one woman. One would hardly expect moral reforms to advance very rapidly because of woman's vote under such circumstances. I have heard both men and women who have lived in that state and observed the workings of the law express themselves as highly gratified with the results. It is true all women are not wise, intelligent, and pure, and the lamentable fact is appallingly apparent that *all* men are not. If they were, we should have just laws and they would be obeyed, and consequently there would be no need of woman's ballot.

We have, however, abundant evidence that there are a larger proportion of women of that class than of men. As to intelligence, it is stated on good authority that there are four girls and women who graduate from our schools and colleges to one man. As to ascertaining the comparative morality and purity of the sexes, we have but to examine our prisons, jails, and police stations. We find that comparatively few women are incarcerated in these, and see that they are filled with men. This should convince any candid mind which of the sexes is the superior in point of integrity and honor.

That Colorado forecast seems to have been far from correct, since with equal suffrage the Prohibition vote was raised from one thousand seven hundred to more than seven thousand, or a gain of more than three hundred per cent.

It is true Miss Willard always speaks of her mother as the one to whom she owed largely the success of her life. But from Mrs. Winston's standpoint it would not seem to be much of a success; for if the W. C. T. U. is a failure, her life must be largely so, too, because it has been given in a large measure to the accomplishing of the work of that organization. But while she exalts her mother, as well she may, she does not ignore her noble father. On the contrary, she always speaks of him as a most worthy sire and a man of marked ability. It was the blending of these two remarkable characters in the marriage and in the home life that gave to Miss Willard first her royal birthright and later that broad culture and refinement of nature which has made her willing to devote her life to the healing of humanity's woes. Right royally has she heeded the divine call, and rich and deep is the fruitage she is reaping even in this life.

Mrs. Winston looks upon the ballot apparently only as a "weapon of power." I think the W. C. T. U. does not ask for it so much because of the "power" as for a defense that we may the better protect ourselves, our homes, and all that we hold sacred.

What surprises me perhaps most of all in her article is the fact that she seems not to be aware that endeavoring to educate girls to become true mothers is one of the important lines of work in our organization. I supposed that almost every person who had heard of the W. C. T. U. knew of "Mothers' Meetings," and knew they were for the purpose of enlightening mothers that they in turn might teach their children the sacred duties that will belong to them as parents and citizens. Some of the noblest thoughts that I have heard expressed have been in relation to this all-important work; and much of the labor that has been expended during the years has had "for its object the training of girls for motherhood," and the training of boys for fatherhood as well.

For we believe it to be a self-evident fact that the one cannot be successfully accomplished without the other. As well try to purify one half of the fountain head of a stream and leave the other half filled with all manner of noxious and poisonous substances and then expect the waters to be healthful and life preserving. The one effort would be as futile as the other.

"It may be as clear as demonstration can make it" to some minds that "prohibition or statutory restriction does not insure total abstinence"; yet the fact remains and is well established that where we have a "prohibitory law" it is as well enforced as many other laws on the statute books. We all read of murders, thefts, and crimes of all classes. Would our opponents have the laws against these removed and repealed because they do not "prohibit"? As high an authority as Louis Shade, the brewers' lawyer in Washington, D. C., says there is seventy-five per cent less liquor sold in South Dakota since we had prohibition than before.

That means something for the salvation of humanity. Mrs. Winston admits that legislation checks crime but does not purify human life. Neither can a mother's love and influence do this. Nothing short of divinity can. We can check, teach, restrain, and influence our children and hold them secure apparently until there comes a time, perhaps, that not even the sacred influence of a mother can restrain the waywardness of the once obedient and loving boy.

C. EMMA CAWTHORNE, M. D.

EDUCATION OF THE FARMER.

BY HON. SAMUEL JAMES LOGAN.

TO MY mind this subject stands conspicuous above and beyond all other questions that concern the prosperity and happiness of all those who engage in agricultural pursuits. A consideration of the education necessary for farmers cannot be confined to the curriculum of the common schools nor even to that pursued in most of our colleges and higher institutions of learning; but properly enters in that wider field of knowledge in which the agriculturist is called to act as one of the most important factors of our state and national life. The farmer's education should be such as to fit him for the most exalted station in life, because his pursuit is the most essential and should be regarded as the most honorable.

The farmer should be fitted to gather knowledge from every source that will aid him in comprehending nature's laws as exhibited in the intricacies of plant and animal life and upon a knowledge of which his success must largely depend.

The highest object of education is to teach men to study and investigate. With a mind properly trained and developed, man can press into his service every element that will contribute to success. In proportion to his development of mind is his ability to gather knowledge from every source and upon every subject and store it away to be drawn on whenever exigencies may require its use.

While education is needed by every citizen and is his inherent right, yet no other class of our people is called to fill so important a position, so diversified in its interests, and so comprehensive in its relations as is the farmer.

When we consider the necessity of greater concentration of effort, and the intelligent application of his labors in every department of agricultural enterprise, we are astonished that so

important an element to his success is scarcely thought of only by the rich who adopt it as an accomplishment for their sons that they may be distinguished from the common herd. But this education does not consist alone in the knowledge of those sciences and studies which are necessary to successful agriculture, but should embrace the science of government and political economy, which enters into the intelligent exercise of all those rights and immunities intended to be enjoyed by a citizen of this republic.

Greater in numbers than any other class or even all other classes combined, yet the farmer is subject to laws which totally ignore his existence as a factor in society. The farmer may work incessantly from year to year while others control and fix the price of his labor and the product of his toil. He has submitted as a beast of burden to whatever load the selfishness and avarice of others, for their own advantage, have seen fit to place upon him. In this country, where the voice and will of a majority should govern, the farmer possesses the power to extricate himself from the bondage and servitude in which he is floundering, had he the intelligence to put forth his strength, and by well directed effort secure fair play in the great struggle for existence. But this he will never do until by education he is enabled to think for himself, to form his own conclusions, based on the inexorable logic of cause and effect.

Regenerated by education in morals, in manners, and in culture, restored to life and activity by the spirit of independence, and conscious of his power and influence, he would rise to that higher plane in intellectual and social attainments, that would command the honor and respect of his fellow-man, and constitute him the peer and pride of the great republic to which he belongs.

But the question here arises, How can this be accomplished. By placing a high school in every township, where every science pertaining to agriculture shall be taught by competent instructors, thereby inculcating and disseminating the knowledge obtained by scientific investigation, and introducing the latest and most approved methods employed in every department of agricultural pursuits. There the farmers' sons and daughters can

acquire a suitable literary and scientific education within their reach and under and surrounded and protected by the influences of their homes.

It may be asked, Why not send the boys and girls to colleges and literary institutions instead of bringing the institutions to them. I answer, when farmers' sons and daughters receive their education away from home they are lost to the farm influences; and the calling and pursuit in which their education and energy are most needed is likely to be lost sight of in the more exciting life of the city. Farmers' sons and daughters are crowding to the front in all our literary and scientific institutions, and it is the tendency of the times that they go thence into the learned and skilled professions, infusing new life and blood into trades and professions where city effeminacy and dissipation can no longer hold the citadel. Thus the farmer has been aiding every other profession but his own. This method put into operation will forever solve the oft-repeated question, How shall we keep the young people on the farm. It will bring to the farm the attractions of elevated taste and refined society. It will open up new fields for scientific research and investigation, and reveal hidden treasures in earth and air and sunlight, where now is seen fatigue, drudgery, and discontent.

In addition to the establishment of high schools, every township should be organized into a Farmers' Union, composed of every family engaged in agricultural pursuits, whose domicile stands within the township lines. In these Unions should be consolidated the influence and attainments of The Patrons of Husbandry, the Farmers' Alliance, and all other farmers' organizations now in operation, bringing with them, and uniting their accumulations of wisdom and experience for the common good. The building provided for the high school should have an ample hall in which the Union can assemble, not less than once each month, and discuss all questions of practical interest pertaining to agricultural pursuits. At these meetings practical knowledge should be disseminated, the results of chemical analysis of the soil, its wants and necessities, should be explained, and the best methods of supplying the lacking properties necessary to

promote the successful growth and cultivation of the various crops, should be set forth in plain terms. This work should embrace all the discoveries of science that will aid the farmer in solving the vexed questions and intricate problems that are continually arising to impede his progress. He will thus be saved the costly expense of the thousands of blind experiments he has been forced to perform, in a vain endeavor to discover, with the light he possessed, the cause of a long succession of failures to reach profitable and satisfactory results. It is not necessary to go into detail as to the advantages to be derived from the education of such a school.

But one element in the farmer's education which transcends all others in the gravity of its importance, is that which will not only fit him for the high responsibilities of citizenship, but prepare him for the performance of the duties he owes to himself, his country, and posterity; and the enjoyment of those blessings and exalted privileges which were bequeathed to him by the founders of our republic as a heritage to him and his children. That is, the history, the nature, and formation of our government, and the study of its constitution and its laws. That which will inspire a patriotic love and devotion for our country's institutions, and the highest appreciation of the rights and privileges conferred upon its citizens. This should not be taught merely as the theory of government and political economy in the school, but should be carried into active practice by organizing in the Farmers' Union a model state government, consisting of a governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives, elected annually in due form by the members of the Union without regard to sex. In holding these elections the voters will acquire by practice a more perfect knowledge of the election laws, that will enable them to mark their ballots and exercise the right of franchise without assistance, thus preserving the secrecy of the ballot.

The General Assembly should be organized in accordance with the provisions of our state constitution and governed and controlled by the parliamentary laws and usages that govern all legislative bodies. Here the education of the farmer as a citizen of a representative government would be rendered practical and

effective. All questions of public policy, relating to the township, county, and state, can there be introduced by bills framed in proper form, and presented, referred to committees, reported to the respective bodies, thoroughly discussed, and a vote taken as to whether they shall pass. From this practice in these model legislatures, instituted by the "Farmers' Unions," would originate the future legislation that will be demanded by the farmers of the state united in solid phalanx, and represented by their own men, educated and trained in parliamentary law and legislative practice, accustomed to and skilful in the presentation of arguments in the defense and vindication of their cause.

When the farmers of Pennsylvania are thus united and represented by men educated in the science of government, elected of the people, by the people, and for the people, on account of their integrity and ability, their qualifications and attainments, then, and not till then, will the farmer become a power in the land. Then only will he receive that recognition to which he is entitled, and secure that measure of equality and justice that has been denied him by the state legislature during the past thirty years. Then only can the equalization of taxes be secured, by which the farmers will be saved millions of dollars annually, which sum is now retained by corporations and the organizations of capital. Then only can the rural districts in the commonwealth secure a just and equitable share of the state's appropriations to common schools. Then only can the numerical strength of the farmers be utilized by an intelligent and properly directed effort in securing all those rights for which they have been praying and petitioning for so many years. The county in which I live has within her borders 7,786 farms, represented by nearly ten thousand of the 14,000 voters which are enrolled on the registry lists in the various townships, boroughs, and cities in the county. About 75 per cent of our voting population are farmers, yet we see this seventy-five practically governed and controlled by the other 25 per cent, under the management of a system of bossism conspicuous only for its selfish viciousness. By the promise of place and position and by the use of money, every principle of public virtue is subverted and dishonored.

Patriotism and love of country and the purity of its institutions are lost in the overflowing scourge of avarice and ambition.

You may ask, How will the education of the farmer change this condition of things? I answer, by educating the farmers' daughters side by side with the farmers' sons, in all the sciences pertaining to agricultural pursuits, supplemented and adorned by literature, poetry, and music. Their education should embrace the study of our government, its history, its institutions, its constitution, and its laws. Instil into their minds the patriotic influences and example of the Spartan mothers, who taught their sons in their infancy to love and cherish and defend their country, its institutions, and its honor. I would hold up before them the heroic example of the patriotic women of '76, in our own great revolutionary struggle, by which the liberties of our country were achieved, amidst sufferings and privations.

The influence of woman on the intellectual character of the community may not seem so great and obvious as upon its virtue, its civilization, and its manners. The mother is necessarily the first instructor of the children. It is her task to watch over and assist their dawning faculties in their first expansion. To her is mainly committed the task of pouring into the opening mind of infancy its first impressions of duty, and stamping on its susceptible heart the first image of its God. Who will not confess the influence of a mother in forming the character of the child? What man is there who cannot trace the origin of many of the best maxims of his life to the lips of her who gave him birth? How wide, how lasting, how sacred is that part of woman's influence. Who that thinks of it, who that ascribes any moral effect to education, who that believes that any good may be produced, or evil prevented by it, can need any arguments to prove the importance of the character and capacity of her who gives its earliest bias to the infant mind.

But it may be said that woman's influence may become as corrupt as man's. Give the women of this country a chance. We read that during the palmyest days of the Roman Republic, amidst all the guardians of Roman greatness and Roman virtue, stands woman. By her smiles or her frowns she moved the ar-

biter of manners, of morals, and of virtue. By the dignity and majesty of her character she commanded the admiration and respect of all classes and ranks of citizens; and by the splendor of her virtues, gave a luster to the Roman name. Nothing in Rome was held more sacred than the majesty of woman. Such was the character of the Roman matrons that it stands recorded to their eternal honor that not a single divorce stained the marriage covenants of Rome for more than five hundred years after the days of Romulus. I have faith in the women of this country under like circumstances, educated as we have indicated, and placed in the full and free enjoyment and possession of all the rights and liberties, as citizens, that this government confers on man. I believe that the farmers, their wives, their sons and daughters, thus educated, will form the ruling and controlling power in this country's progress, to a greater, a brighter, and a happier day, and a grander and nobler destiny.

When agriculture will be no longer groping its way in darkness and ignorance; when the searchlight of science and learning will illumine the secret chambers of nature and solve their mysteries and reveal their hidden treasures; when purity and public virtue will be respected and honored; when the man who sells his vote or bribes his fellow-man shall commit high treason against the state and be made to suffer for his crime; when the ballot that records a freeman's will shall be counted honestly, unchanged by leprous hands; when righteousness shall exalt our nation, and sin in what should be a court of justice be considered a disgrace to any people; when the sneaking, sniveling politician's slimy trail can no longer be traced defiling the path of honest men—then will the education of the farmer have accomplished its highest mission, and they, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, educated, organized, and united, illustrating the highest and noblest type of American manhood and womanhood, will assume that exalted position in society, the state, and the nation which God and nature designed they should fill.

S. J. LOGAN.

THE SINGLE TAX.

A REPLY TO ARTHUR KITSON.

BY R. W. JOSLYN.

I READ with pleasure in the October number of THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS the criticism of the single tax by Mr. Arthur Kitson. It would seem that Mr. Kitson has criticised Mr. George's arguments in justification of the remedy, rather than the remedy. If the remedy would be just and beneficial in its effects, then it seems to me it is immaterial whether Mr. George presents good or bad logic to justify his system. I agree with Mr. Kitson that Mr. George is self-contradictory, but will his remedy cure the evil which Mr. Kitson admits exists in the "land question"? I present below inferences as to the practical effects that a single tax would produce.

The proposition presented by those who advocate the system known as the single tax as a remedy for certain social evils is, as I understand it from Mr. George's books, the imposition of a tax upon land rents, regardless of improvements, and making this tax upon land the only tax or tariff imposed by the government. It is the purpose of this article to discover some of the practical effects that would be produced by the realization of such a system of taxation, the professed aim of such a tax being to reduce the value of land, and abolish rent for land.

And, *first*, in order to realize this aim, the tax imposed must be equal to the rent of any given piece of land, for if the tax was less than the rent there would be a profit to the owner, and he would continue to gain by holding his land for rent, which is the thing to be removed. Thus if a man owned a lot in Chicago, which rented as land for \$25,000 a year, the tax upon that lot must be 100 per cent of the rent in order to destroy speculation, for if the tax was 60 per cent and the rent \$25,000, there would be a profit of \$10,000 to the owner, and assuming the rent to be 7 per cent of the real value of the land, the lot would sell for nearly \$143,000 and would increase in value as the rent margin

over the tax increased, and this increase in value would be a speculative profit; so it is evident that the tax to be imposed must be nearly, if not fully, 100 per cent of the rent. This would be necessary as well from the standpoint assumed by single taxers that the public create and hence are entitled to the rent of land. If the public is entitled to *one per cent*, it must be the *rightful owner of 100 per cent*. This is evident, so that we will assume as proven that the single tax would be 100 per cent of the rent value of land.

We have then but one line of research to pursue, What would be the effect if a tax of 100 per cent was imposed upon land rent?

In order to make the situation more clear, the present condition may be expressed as follows, taking property in the city of Chicago as illustrative :

<i>Location of land.</i>	<i>Present selling value.</i>	<i>Present rent.</i>	<i>Present tax.</i>
Adams St.	\$400,000	\$24,000	\$2,000
12th St.	200,000	12,000	1,000
18th St.	50,000	3,000	250
24th St.	15,000	900	75
30th St.	10,000	600	50
40th St.	8,000	480	40
50th St.	6,000	360	30
65th St.	4,000	240	21
70th St.	2,000	120	10
80th St.	1,000	60	5
90th St.	400	24	2

Such being the present condition, we assume that a single tax of 100 per cent is declared by constitutional amendment or statute. As soon as the tax became a law all land speculation would be destroyed, because the rent of land which alone gives land its value, would be collected as a tax, and go to the public treasury, instead of going, as it now does, to the landlord.

Stated in figures the condition would be as follows :

<i>Location.</i>	<i>Selling value.</i>	<i>Rent.</i>	<i>Estimated single tax.</i>
Adams St.	Perhaps $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$	Taken as tax.	\$3,000
12th St.	"	"	1,500
18th St.	"	"	400
24th St.	"	"	100
30th St.	"	"	60
40th St.	"	"	50
50th St.	"	"	40
60th St.	"	"	30
70th St.	"	"	15
80th St.	"	"	8
90th St.	"	"	5

Land would thus be almost entirely removed from commercial exchanges as a factor of value. *Titles would not be changed, and no person would lose his ownership.* His exclusive right to use the land would still remain as before, but if he wanted to *sell* the land, he could get but little for it, compared to its present selling value, as it would have comparatively no exchange value; nor could he rent it and realize a profit, for the tax would equal the rent he would receive for the land. (It must be kept in mind that in speaking of land, the advocates of this system mean *land simply*, not figuring on improvements, and in speaking of rent, is meant not rent for houses, but for land, simply, assuming that they can be separated.) All personal property would be exempt from taxation.

We seem to have reached one positive effect of a 100 per cent tax on land, viz. :

The destruction of present land values, and a reduction of values to a far lower standard, and, as a consequence, the destruction of land speculation, and the renting of land, but not, however, the renting of houses and stores. The purpose outlined in the beginning would then have been accomplished. All persons who now receive an income from leasing vacant land or from leases of land upon which other persons have erected buildings, and are paying rent to the owners of the land, would lose such income. Those owners would still own the land, but they could make no profit from leasing the land, since the full lease-rent would be taken as a tax by the people, whether such rent was high or low; the tax being 100 per cent of rents, vacant lands would be held only when used.

Having seen that land values would be destroyed, we next consider, What would be the effect upon rent for land? John Jones before the 100 per cent tax was receiving \$25,000 per year from the lease for 25 years of his lot on Adams Street, Chicago, Richard Howe being his lessee, when 100 per cent tax is made a law. The tax on Jones's property we will assume (for the sake of argument) becomes \$25,000, the total rent for the land, and Jones receives \$25,000 from Howe, but he must pay the same amount as a tax. He has the trouble of collecting the rent, but

makes no profit on it, so he directs Jones to pay the tax. The result is that Jones receives no profit from his lot, his ownership is useless to him. When the lease expires after 25 years, Jones will be the owner of the building, as well as the land, and will then take Howe's place and pay the tax of \$25,000, assumed, plus the increase in rent value during the 25 years. Suppose the building to be an office building, and profit from the building in rent to be \$100,000 per year. Jones pays the land tax of \$25,000 and his net profit is \$75,000 from the building, whereas, had no single tax arisen, he would have realized when the lease expired \$100,000 per year, less a tax of \$2,000 per year. The practical effect upon land rent would be to destroy that factor so far as owners are concerned. They would make no profit from renting land, for the entire rent is absorbed by the 100 per cent tax. Hence we may name as a second effect : The destruction of land rents to individual owners (bearing in mind still that this does not mean the destruction of rent for stores, houses, and other buildings).

We have so far argued that the effect of a 100 per cent tax on rent value of land would be to destroy the selling and renting value of land, so that land would be decreased and rents would be taken by the government property, exclusive ownership and occupation as against the world would be effected, so long as the owner paid the tax.

We have admitted, for the sake of argument, that the high rent now paid to landowners would go to the public treasury. But would rent, equal to the present rent, go to the public treasury, if a tax of 100 per cent were placed on rent? We will now consider the question.

In the city of Chicago a certain lot on La Salle Street pays a yearly rent of \$37,000 to the city, it owning the lot; another on the same street pays to its private owner a rent of \$40,000. The tax collected from these lots is now about \$2,000 for each lot. Now if you place a tax of 100 per cent on rents, would the revenue to the city from these lots increase from \$2,000 to the full rent value? Instead of collecting a tax of \$4,000 from these lots, would the city collect \$77,000, or about nineteen times as

large a tax? In considering the value of a 100 per cent tax, this is an important question, for if the needs of the city are met by the present tax of \$2,000 on each lot, then to collect \$77,000 would mean the collection of \$73,000 surplus, which might better be left among the people than to be juggled with by the politicians, or distributed per capita as has been suggested by some. I think no such an effect would result, but rather that while a tax of 100 per cent on rent would destroy the present selling and renting value of land (not including, however, rent for houses), and while not destroying private property, would make the amount of taxation but little, if any, higher than it is now. The lot mentioned, which is now paying its owner \$40,000 per year, while the owner pays a tax of \$2,000, would, under a 100 per cent rent tax, pay no rent, either to the owner or to the city. I draw this conclusion from the following reasoning:

There are at the present time in the city of Chicago, perhaps thirty or more lots which return to their owners \$40,000 per year in rent. I mean that the lots, not including the buildings on them, pay this rent. Assume that on the first of January, 1895, a tax of 100 per cent on rent is to be collected, that is, the city of Chicago will demand as a tax the entire rent of those lots. The result would be that these lots would have no rent value. This principle is seen in the effect of the 10 per cent tax on the issue of state banks. The result was that the state bank money was made valueless by the fact that no interest could be realized on it, since the 10 per cent tax *would have absorbed the interest*, or enough of it to make it unprofitable money. The result has also been that no tax is paid on the money issued by state banks, upon which this tax is imposed, because no such money is issued. It would be the same with a tax of 100 per cent on rent. When the assessor sought to collect the 100 per cent from the owner of a vacant lot, the owner would claim that it had no rental value. He would say: "I cannot rent it and make any profit, for the tax takes all the rent. I will pay the tax on it, but it has no rent value. It pays no rent." The assessor coming to the owner of the lot mentioned, now paying

\$40,000 rent, would find him claiming that the lot had no rent value. He would say: "You claim that this lot rents for \$40,000 ; I deny it. I might collect \$40,000, but I would have to pay it to the city, and be paid nothing for the trouble of collecting it. I receive \$40,000 and pay out \$40,000, and have no profit. I will have to allow my tenant to occupy the land until his lease expires, but I get no rent. If you will name your tax I will pay it, and will have it returned to me by my tenant, but there is no rent value to the lot." It would be the same with every owner. Securing no rent for himself, he would not collect it, and *the city would be under the necessity of imposing a valuation upon the land.*

The city assessor would be compelled to fix the rent or tax and it would be fixed to meet the needs of the government. The idea of *auctioning* off land is absurd and can under no conditions be justified. By the imposition of a 100 per cent land tax, taxation would be collected upon lands as a basis, and would no doubt be more just and equitable, since the relative value of land for occupation is more readily determined than any other property. Near the center of trade the tax would be the highest, since at such points the city's expenses are more for improvements and police protection, and it is for these purposes that taxes are collected. I think it, therefore, evident that a 100 per cent rent tax would not make taxes much if any higher than at present, unless a higher tax were necessary, while it would destroy land traffic and land rents, and equalize taxation.

I believe the advocates of the single tax are in error in asserting that the public have created and hence may by right collect rent, but since the tax they propose would in fact *abolish* rent, which would be just, and not collect it, which would be unjust, as Mr. Kitson explains, this objection is removed, and the only question presented as to the application of the tax is the justice of destroying the traffic in land and rents for land ; remembering that "land" does not mean improvements.

The principle of imposing a tax for the purpose of destroying an evil is not new. It is the same idea that the advocates of a liquor license present for the destruction of the liquor traffic, except that they do not make the license high enough to destroy

all the profits. If a 100 per cent license were to be placed on the sale of liquors, it would destroy the traffic. It would be clearly an error to claim that the liquor-dealer would continue the traffic, and pay all his profits to the public. So also it is illogical to argue that landholders would pay 100 per cent of the present rent or any rent tax voluntarily. The assessor would be compelled to establish valuations.

There are two ways of destroying the liquor traffic: first, by prohibition backed by public sentiment; second, by a license high enough to absorb the profits of the business, which would not increase public revenues, but rather destroy the business.

There are also two methods of destroying the traffic in lands, the business of buying, selling, renting, and dealing in land regardless of improvements: first, by prohibition, that is, by a law declaring that land shall not be sold or rented; second, by a tax or license so high as to make the business unprofitable.

The 100 per cent tax would seem to be the more advisable method, since it would destroy the traffic in land and at the same time equitably distribute taxation. It would tend to cure two evils by one law; but its effectiveness as a remedy for unequal taxation would depend on its application, since assessors would be no less biased than they now are.

As a remedy for land speculation and the traffic in land, the 100 per cent tax or single tax it would appear is to be commended, since it would realize the destruction of land speculation and rents and open land to those who, having sufficient capital, desire to produce from it, for no doubt with the destruction of land sales and rents, land could be secured for but little more than the taxes which we argue would be but little higher than at present.

As before stated the principal controversy remaining is the justice of abolishing the traffic in land. If the present business of buying and selling and renting land for profit is unjust, and against the higher interests of society, and retards its legitimate growth, or gives one an unfair advantage over another, then the single tax of 100 per cent of rent deserves universal approval and adoption, for it would apparently accomplish this object.

R. W. JOSLYN.

SHALL WE NATIONALIZE THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC?

BY MRS. A. L. CORNWALL.

IT SEEMS incredible that a proposition for the government to manufacture and sell intoxicants for beverage purposes could be received by sober, intelligent people without indignant protest. Yet this scheme, which makes it not only legal but imperative for the ruling power to deal out poison to its subjects, has a large following. It is openly proclaimed as the policy of one great national party. It is embodied in its platform, advocated by its press and leadership, and reiterated in the party utterance of a large number of states.

The issue must, therefore, be squarely met, the slippery standpoint of its logic examined, the plausible arguments for its adoption analyzed, its absurdity and unrighteousness exposed.

The justice and wisdom of any measure may be tested by three questions: Is it right? If right, is it feasible? If right and feasible, is it expedient?

We affirm that the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicants for beverage purposes are entirely wrong, that they are not only sins, violations of moral law, but crimes which cannot, in equity, be permitted by legal enactment.

In the discussion of this question we do not intend to make a bulwark of the saloon. The saloon may be the most dangerous outgrowth of the liquor traffic. It may be a greater menace to society than the insidious habit of private drinking. It is an open enemy, and the direful consequences of its iniquity cannot be concealed or denied. For this reason temperance workers have made their direct fight against the saloon. Private drinking in prohibition states, even, has not been made amenable to law.

But the final adjustment of this matter will turn on the ques-

tions, Have people the right to drink liquor? and, Is it an unjust infringement of personal liberty to stop by law the use of intoxicating beverages?

If it is right to drink, it is right to furnish those who wish to drink with their chosen beverages and the liquor traffic belongs to legitimate commerce. As such any authority has the right to regulate it in the interest of the people of its jurisdiction. But no power has the right to stop it or to demand a penalty in the form of a tax.

Society has the right to demand that no citizen shall so destroy himself physically, mentally, or morally, as to become a public burden, or to disqualify himself for the responsibilities of life. The verdict of both scientific research and actual experience is that alcoholic drinks work the decay of body, mind, and soul. "Thou shalt not," is the just protection government owes to the sober and industrious who are continually being robbed to pay for the self-indulgence of the vicious and idle. The authority which has the right to levy tax or to appropriate public lands to pay teachers and build schoolhouses, that the child may grow up intelligent and law-abiding, most surely has the right to take away the bottle and the jug, that the carefully reared child may not degenerate into a pauper, a criminal, or a sot.

The drinking of liquor, even in what is termed moderation, incites to crime. The man who drinks is liable to become, not only a dependent, but a dangerous member of the community. Are helpless women and children to live in constant peril that men may gratify their thirst for the stimulants which they have taught themselves to think necessary? Drinking is an unnatural habit and fosters an unnatural appetite. Although all who drink may not become drunkards, yet drinking is the source of all drunkenness and the manufacture and sale of intoxicants is the source of all drunkard-making. The supply creates the demand and not the demand the supply. What, then, is the duty of the ruling power? Clearly, to cut off the supply, to put an immediate stop to this wicked traffic.

It is the unquestioned evidence of station-houses, courts, and

prisons that drunkenness is a most prolific source of crime. What then shall we say of a national policy which fosters drunkenness? It demoralizes public officers, sears the public conscience, and utterly subverts the ethical principles of government.

What God is to the universe (we say it reverently), the ruling power is to the nation. If God should sin, the whole realm of intelligent being would fall into moral chaos. No power would be left to reestablish the throne of absolute righteousness. If the government becomes the criminal, no power is left to punish crime. If the state holds out to the citizen the cup which excites cupidity, inflames passion, and dethrones reason, no authority remains which can righteously inflict a penalty on drunken guilt.

Here we might rest our case. The absolute right is both possible and expedient. To deny this is to lapse into atheism. No permanent material success, even, comes from evil-doing. The divine Creator has not so builded his universe that good results from disobedience to moral law.

You doubtless remember an anecdote which runs in this wise. An advocate having failed to produce in court an important witness, the judge sharply demanded the reason for his absence. "Your honor," said the lawyer, "I can give you twenty good reasons why he is not here. The first is he is dead and cannot come." "Never mind the other reasons now," replied the judge, "go on with the case." There are, however, a great many people who are not so lenient as the judge. They have not had his experience in weighing evidence and clamor for the other nineteen reasons. Plausibility has more weight with them than logic. In an argument they are apt to build on untenable grounds.

On this subject their first premise is, "Prohibition cannot be carried." We take issue; prohibition can be carried; sooner or later prohibition will be carried. No delay is necessary. As soon as all those who are already convinced of the urgency and necessity of this measure shall unite to work for it, God's time will have come and prohibition will be carried.

The next premise is, "We can unite and carry nationalization." Let us see. The Republicans scout it as Populist doctrine. The Prohibition party stands solidly against it. The Democrats object to sumptuary legislation. With the Populist leaders, even, it is only a makeshift to pacify both temperance and liquor interests, and it has few friends in either element of the party. It has never been through the "initiative," and if it passed to the "referendum" it would be deeply snowed under, for three fourths of the rank and file of the Populists are really Prohibitionists.

To draw the line on non-partisan grounds—liquor men fight this movement and temperance men will have none of it. Where, then, is the aggressive, united force which can make it the law of the nation? When we come to the details of the proposed law we encounter still greater difficulties.

It is proposed that honest, respectable men be appointed to sell pure liquor at cost. That no sales shall be made to minors, drunkards, or those who are liable to become drunkards. That the vending places shall be closed on Sundays and after ten o'clock p. m. That no liquors shall be drunk on the premises.

It sounds plausible. But we all know that honest, respectable men will not sell intoxicating beverages, that *restricting* the liquor traffic under *present* laws is a myth, that the appointment to sell rum will not make public officers less corruptible. We know further that they will enrich themselves by false measures, adulterations, bribes, and evasions of the law; that they will use the wealth thus acquired in dishonorable ways, for continuance in power. What is to hinder them? The game will be in their hands, the sovereign people will be counted out.

The advocates of this measure, being persuaded that it is not right, are full of excuses. "The government is already in the business." True, but not with your consent or mine. It is for us to do what we can to redeem it from this degradation. "The national government has no constitutional right to stop the traffic." Crime is not a subject for "local option." No town, county, city, or *state* has the right to say that for this consideration or that you may commit crime. It is the duty of the govern-

ment to protect its citizens, not simply to allow the law-abiding to defend themselves if strong enough, if too few or weak to become the prey of the vicious.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that states have the right to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, and in giving reasons for its decision has made the following statements :

"No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals."—*Stone vs. Miss.*, 101 U. S., 816.

"The public health, the public morals, and the public safety are endangered by the use of intoxicating drinks."—*Mugler vs. Kansas*, 123 U. S., 623.

"If the public safety or the public morals require the discontinuance of any manufacture or traffic, the hand of the legislature cannot be stayed from providing for its discontinuance."—*Beer Co. vs. Mass.*, 97 U. S., 32.

From these statements the evident deductions must be that states have no right to license the sale of liquors and no right to sell them. If any national policy is possible, that policy is prohibition. If the nation can, in the words of a Populist orator, "grasp the whole traffic by the throat," that grasp can be held and tightened until the monster is dead, dead, dead.

"Nationalization is a step toward prohibition." Say, rather, it is the intrenchment in power of prohibition's most wily and deadly foes. What light is there in trying every suggested experiment, and thus gradually leading up to total prohibition? What reason have we to trust the advocates of pacification or delay? If any one of us were threatened with a murderous bludgeon, would he use argument and moral suasion, would he gently rebuke the murderer and try to win him to repentance, or would he turn on him instantly and fight for his life? Standing face to face with an army of murderers, coming ready-made out of two hundred and fifty thousand legalized grog-shops, we cannot spend precious time and strength seeking out some remedy less stringent than prohibitory law.

We are paying heavy tribute to the rum power. We are furnishing it with the sinews of war. It is growing rich and strong at our expense. It is like a great, loathsome, and dan-

gerous serpent, fattening on human victims, tightening its scaly folds around all our free institutions, fastening its poisonous fangs into every living development of justice, civilization, and humanity. Shall we tame it, foster it, keep it in government cages, feeding it with choice young men, fair women, and tender children, shielding from its rapacity only the criminal and the drunkard, already doomed by its venom? Common sense says, kill it. Humanity says, kill it. Religion says, kill it. Let all Christendom unite in dealing direct and vigorous blows upon its hydra-head.

MRS. A. L. CORNWALL.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS. WASHINGTON, D. C.—A new organization has been effected in Washington, D. C., under title of "The Civic Center." Its plans for useful work are being very carefully matured under the able guidance of Dr. J. M. Gregory, A. I. C., formerly United States Civil Service Commissioner, who is its president, and will furnish information as to its activities through these pages. Among its principal promoters are Mrs. Anna L. Woodbury, Miss Catherine Hoamer, Rev. Alexander Kent, and Mr. A. L. Diggs.

.
A WOMAN'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION has been organized in the state of New York, in the interest of suffrage for women, as elsewhere announced under the head of "Women and Their Activities."

.
ANTI-CIGARETTE LEAGUE.—Prof. Charles B. Hubbell, of the New York City Public Schools, about a year ago inaugurated, under title of "The Anti-Cigarette League," a movement intended to interest the New York school-boys in the matter of self-protection from a pernicious habit specially affected by lads in their 'teens, and which has an unfortunate influence upon the mind and body of immature youths. The movement has now spread to other cities, and it is estimated includes in its membership about 250,000 boys. The organization is described and its by-laws published in *The School Journal* of New York, issue of Dec. 22d, last.

.
VINELAND, N. J.—The Citizens' Committee of Vineland, N. J., Dr. Thomas W. Braidwood, A. I. C., president, and Rev. Adolph Roeder, A. I. C., secretary, has issued a public address from which we quote as follows: "The enclosed paper is sent to you because we believe you to be interested in having Vineland protected against the custom whereby political cliques, unknown to constitutional or statutory law, dictate nominations to party and public alike, rendering any deliberate and well considered expression of popular choice difficult, if not impossible. Experience has already given us a taste of boss influence. If we are wise, it will prompt us to seek its destruction as soon as possible. It would seem that the people would only be honoring themselves and the city by taking the business of the municipality out of the hands of the bosses into their own. Less than that at the present time, when the whole country is agitating and organizing to exterminate these

robber bands, would look like cowardice and neglect of the sacred duty of citizenship in a government of the rule of the people. You will perhaps be as surprised as we were to learn that the expenditures for municipalities are three times as much as it costs to conduct the affairs of all the states and territories. Is it therefore not strange that citizens generally attach more importance to national politics, about which they can cast but an indirect vote only once in four years, than they attach to municipal affairs where they can cast two votes annually in the important matters of appropriations and the selection of the men (and perhaps women) who will make the best administrators for their municipalities and schools? What a primary school for the study of patriotic citizenship the proper conducting of the municipalities of the United States might become if the voters would give the time and attention that the proper government of cities requires under the rule of the people!"

.

SAGINAW, MICH.—The *Saginaw Courier-Herald*, speaking of the civic club of that city quotes a member as saying: "To educate the people on all municipal questions through public discussions, and without expense, is a grand idea, and the politicians who sneer at such an organization must have 'wheels' in their heads."

.

THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE organized in Boston counts among its well-known supporters Robert Treat Paine and Edward Everett Hale, of the A. I. C., Prof. N. S. Shaler and Gen. Francis A. Walker.

.

JEFFERSONVILLE, KENTUCKY, has a new organization of citizens for the promotion of better local government.

.

DR. PARKHURST'S WORK.—Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, A. I. C., president of City Vigilance League of New York City, says in the organ of the league, *The City Vigilant*, that the work of the league has merely begun, and maps out for it activities intended to be both wide-reaching and persistent. "We have discovered," he says, "that the best and surest way of accomplishing by means of the league all that we hope to attain is by having a large number of workers and imposing only a slight burden on each. It was supposed at the outset that no larger force would be required than such as would be sufficient to place one man in each election district. It has been discovered, however, that the number of details that we desire to be informed upon is so large that one man is assuming too great a burden and obligation in undertaking to hold himself responsible for an entire election district. It is, therefore, judged wise by the executive committee, that we should aim to place one man over each election district, but that he should gather around him as his aids a number of colleagues such that only one block will constitute the province of each worker." Dr. Parkhurst has organized a Junior Vigilance League, composed of boys, who are enthusiastically lending their aid in the work of reform by taking notes of, and reporting, violations of law.

.

DR. CHARLES H. PARKHURST.—Common consent assigns to Dr. Parkhurst the chief credit for the late wonderful civic revolution in New York City. That the hoped-for fruits of this overturning are not to be secured without difficulty and delay, is evidenced by the attitude of the members of

the party which it placed in power, who seem disposed to use this victory of the people for partisan advantage. Every effort possible is being put forth by those who truly represent New York's best citizens for the prevention of this result, as evidenced by a monster mass meeting in Cooper Union, at which Hon. Joseph H. Choate, A. I. C., Gen. Wager Swayne, Simon Sterne, A. I. C., James C. Carter, Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, A. I. C., and other friends of good government eloquently voiced the desires of those who buried Tammany under a majority vote of 150,000. Dr. Parkhurst received an ovation from the multitude present which had special significance in view of the attitude toward him recently assumed by Republican politicians who are imperiling their party's best interests by failing to recognize the fact that its return to power represents not a party victory, but a triumph of good citizenship regardless of party. We are pleased to present in this issue of THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS what is regarded as the only good portrait of Dr. Parkhurst, and are enabled to do so by the courtesy of the publishers of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, of Philadelphia.

ALAMEDA, CAL.—O. E. Swaim, A. I. C., reports the organization of a Good Government Club. Its officers, all prominent citizens, are: President, George Babcock; Vice-Presidents, J. G. Wall, Green Majors; Secretary, Joseph R. Knowland; Treasurer, Henry Sevensing.

SCHOOL OF APPLIED ETHICS.—A report of the three summer sessions of this school held at Plymouth, Mass., and a program of a session to be held in Washington, D. C., Feb. 13 to March 28, have been issued by S. Burns Weston, secretary, 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa. Among members of the Institute of Civics who will aid in the work of the school are Hon. W. T. Harris, LL.D., Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., H. C. Adams, Ph.D., E. J. James, Ph.D., and James McAlister, who will deliver lectures; Senator Hawley, Dr. John M. Gregory, Dr. W. N. Hailman, Major J. W. Powell, and Dr. G. Browne Goode, who will preside at its sessions, or assist in other ways. There will be eighteen lectures at the Columbian University Hall, and tickets for the course will cost five dollars.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL. THE NICARAGUA CANAL BILL, which has been passed by the United States Senate, is to be regarded as a measure entirely in harmony with American ideas, and was undoubtedly calculated to promote American interests. The bill directs the issue of \$70,000,000 of Nicaragua canal bonds, and provides that the United States shall guarantee to the lawful holders payment by the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua of the principal of said bonds and interest accruing thereon, and as it accrues. An additional \$30,000,000 of bonds is to be issued without the United States guarantee. The total hundred millions thus issued is to be used in constructing the canal. The secretary of the treasury is to have general supervision of the project. A board of fifteen directors is to have immediate charge of the work. Of this board, the president is to designate ten members. The United States is to receive \$70,000,000 of the canal company stock in return for guaranteeing the bonds, and is to hold a mortgage lien on all the property.

ARKANSAS LIQUOR LAWS.—Arkansas legislators have before them the problem of enacting laws in harmony with the popular vote at the recent election, when 47,622 people voted for continuing the license system, while 49,595 voted to make the liquor traffic illegal. There can, therefore, be no

doubt whatever as to the sentiment of the majority of those who voted; it is unfortunate that the total vote expressed in the above figures is only about 50 per cent of the state vote.

CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY.—The legal principles on which Justice Gaynor founded his decision on the application for a writ of mandamus in the action against the trolley companies in Brooklyn, says the *New York Tribune*, are familiar to students of law, but have, as he says, been lost sight of in most of the labor cases which have been taken before the courts. Legal proceedings have usually been directed toward the managers of strikes or against the employees of corporations. Such cases as have arisen in which the companies have been made defendants and have been required in spite of disputes with their employees to carry out their contract with the public in conveying passengers or freight have usually resulted in a quick resumption of the usual methods of transportation. A corporation owes a duty to the public and cannot refuse as a private individual could do to carry out its contract with the public on the ground that it does not pay to do so. Judge Gaynor's opinion is an unusually clear and able statement of the legal relations between corporations and the state.

THE NORWEGIAN SYSTEM for the regulation of the liquor traffic is again to be a prominent topic of discussion in Massachusetts, for a bill to allow towns to adopt the principles of that system is to be introduced again into the legislature this year. A pamphlet prepared by Mr. George P. Morris, A. I. C., one of the editors of *The Congregationalist*, has just been issued, giving an outline of the history of the system in Scandinavia, and of the history of the movement in this country. In a brief and compact form the facts are presented which one needs to know in order to understand the discussion concerning this method of restricting the liquor traffic. The pamphlet, with other literature, may be had without other cost than the postage by addressing J. G. Thorp, Jr., 89 State Street, Boston.

BOUNTIES UNCONSTITUTIONAL.—In the matter of a mandamus to compel Secretary Carlisle to pay the Louisiana sugar bounties on the 1894 crop, the Court of Appeals says:

"The court thinks that authorities cited establish beyond question that the power of taxation, in all free governments like ours, is limited to public objects and purposes governmental in their nature. No amount of incidental public good or benefit will render valid taxation, or the appropriation of revenue to be derived therefrom, for a private purpose. If it may be for 'the general welfare of the United States' to encourage the production of sugar by grant of a bounty, it is hard to conceive why the producers of corn, wheat, cotton, wool, iron, silver, etc., might not be paid a bounty also. If Congress be conceded the power to grant subsidies from the public revenues to all objects it may deem to be for the general welfare, then it follows that this discretion, like the idea that this is a government of 'delegated, limited, and enumerated powers,' renders superfluous all the special delegations of power contained in the Constitution, and opens a way for a flood of socialistic legislation, the specious plea for all of which has ever been 'the general welfare.' It is a doctrine that we cannot subscribe to."

The opponents of a protective tariff are now asking if this, which they claim to be in the nature of a bounty, is not also under the ban of the Constitution.

TRIALS BY JURY.—Horace F. Cutter, A. I. C., of San Francisco, has prepared a jury reform measure which Senator Perkins has introduced in the United States Senate, and which will also be advocated by Senator Jones of Nevada. The bill is as follows: "In relation to trials by juries in United States courts. Be it enacted, That the laws in relation to trials by juries in United States courts are hereby amended so that hereafter in civil actions and cases of misdemeanor the jury may consist of twelve or any number less than twelve upon which the parties may agree in open court, but in criminal cases amounting to felony the jury shall consist of twelve persons.

"SEC. 2. That in civil actions three fourths of the jury and in criminal cases five sixths thereof may render a verdict: *Provided*, That a trial by jury may be waived in criminal cases not amounting to felony by the consent of both parties expressed in open court, and in civil actions by the consent of the parties signified in such manner as may be prescribed by law."

THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY.—It went out of active existence in Louisiana last year. But it did not die. It has simply transferred its operations to another locality. It reappeared as the Honduras National Lottery of Puerto Cortez, Honduras. But great harvests had been gathered in the United States, and it was necessary to keep a foothold here. So an office was established at Port Tampa City, in Florida. Once a month drawings are conducted in Honduras, but a steamer immediately turns its prow toward Florida, and the business is really done at Port Tampa City. The law of Florida was dead against the lottery, but it has been modified so as to be harmless to these evil-doers, and the advantages of a plant in this country are secured without much fear of interruption or arrest. What is needed is national legislation, and such legislation is now before Congress, but it needs a little push. Nudge your Congressman and you need not do it very gently. He will bear some strong words on this subject.—*Presbyterian Observer*.

AMERICAN EXTENSION DEPARTMENT.—The increasing usefulness of INSTITUTE OF this department under the efficient direction of Mr. Hughes CIVICS. D. Slater, manager of *Public Opinion*, is evidenced by the multiplication of its local branches. *Public Opinion* devotes a page weekly to this department of the work of the Institute, presenting brief articles upon important civic problems, followed by bibliographical notes and other matter of value to the local branches or clubs, and others who are interested in the promotion of right civic and social conditions. Dr. Cyrus Northrop, A. I. C., president of the University of Minnesota, commending this work, says: "There is, perhaps, no more serious evil in educational matters than the neglect of undergraduates of the history that is making, while they may be very earnest in studying history that has been made. I think very highly therefore of classes to study the present." Among the articles above referred to have been papers on "Reform in Land Tenure," by Edward F. Peters; the "Relations of the Individual to the State," by Dr. Swan M. Burnett, A. I. C.; "A Model Plan for Civic Education," by Dr. W. B. Scaife, Geneva, Switzerland; "The Importance of a Proper Distribution of Wealth," by Dr. William J. Hull, A. I. C., Swarthmore College, Pa.; "The Evolution of Political Parties," by Prof. E. O. Bourne of Adelbert College; and "Good City Government," by Hon. Seth Low, A. I. C., president of Columbia College. President Low says: "I have watched with great interest the development of the Institute's plan for

enlisting the interest of large bodies of people in the question of city government in the United States. The fundamental difficulty," he believes, "has arisen from the fact that by the habits of our people every city is simply a pawn in the game of national politics." There is a volume of meaning in this sentence. The remedies for existing conditions which he suggests will command attention everywhere.

GLEN COVE BRANCH.—Dr. James S. Cooley, A. I. C., has been instrumental in effecting a branch at Glen Cove, N. Y., which takes the name "Lyceum," begins with fifty members, and proposes to establish a library.

A CLUB IN EVERY VILLAGE.—There are at least a few in all country towns who desire to so inform themselves as to the pressing civic problems of our day that they will be in position to think, speak, and act intelligently with regard to them. They can accomplish this result in no better way than by the organization of one of these interesting and useful clubs. A book, with full instructions as to organization and methods, can be had by sending ten cents to P. O. Box 348, Washington, D. C., or to the offices of the Institute, 38 Park Row, New York.

INSTITUTE LECTURE CORPS.—A noteworthy feature of the January issue of this magazine was the appendix, presenting the names of those who constitute the lecture corps of the American Institute of Civics. These more than two hundred lecturers include able and distinguished men in all parts of the country, who are willing, when possible for them to do so, to aid in the dissemination of intelligent ideas as to important civic and social questions, by addresses upon a variety of subjects. Those who desire the services of qualified speakers upon any questions the discussion of which will promote better citizenship or better civic conditions, are invited to correspond with the Institute lecturers who are nearest at hand, or they may address the Institute at 38 Park Row, New York.

HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER.—Of an address recently delivered by one of the Institute lecture corps before an assembly of teachers, the Kingston (N. Y.) *Leader* says: "One of the best things was the lecture on 'Education for Citizenship,' by Hon. Charles R. Skinner (Albany, N. Y.). Its line of argument was that no public school education is well rounded that does not include instructions to impart a knowledge of civil government, so far at least as relates to our own state and nation, and also arouse, cultivate, and stimulate those principles of honesty and patriotism which lead men to discharge the duties of citizenship in a faithful and upright manner. This lecture included a succinct summary of the scope of the instruction and training for citizenship that should be given in public schools. The close relation of the state and the school and of right education and good citizenship was clearly shown, and the necessity for the public schools to be both the foundation and bulwark of the principles of freedom, as taught by the founders of our nation, was strongly set forth." It is expected that Mr. Skinner will be the next superintendent of public schools in the state of New York.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS. POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.—The growing tendency of political parties to nominate their candidates for United States senators in convention with other candidates indicates that the time is coming when the people instead of the politicians will choose them. There is no reason why such a nomination

should not materially strengthen the party, for it shows to the people that the election of senator is not to be left to the caprice of the legislature, to be perhaps the source of a grave scandal.

The only objection urged in either party to the nomination of senatorial candidates at the opening of the campaign is that it would cause disgruntlement among the defeated aspirants and that the party would lose their help in the campaign in a great measure at least, but that is an argument which would fit any other case where there is more than one aspirant for a place on the party ticket. The argument loses its force when it is applied to both parties, for they would be equally affected by the same cause and would stand on equal ground in that respect. Besides this, a party would really be stronger after it had alienated the support of the men who would use it for their own selfish purposes. The only way for the people to do is to emancipate themselves from the rule of the politician. The public official should serve the people, not rule them.—*Milwaukee Times*.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS.—The most efficacious way to purify a stream is to go to the fountain head. If the source is pure the water will not be contaminated except from causes that can be seen and remedied. In this country the fountain head of political power is in the people. It is expressed, usually, through organized parties. The voice of the whole mass of the people is heard only in the primary conventions or caucuses of the respective parties. It is there that they delegate their power to representatives who are called delegates, and who represent the masses of the party in the ward, city, county, district, or state conventions. If the primaries are conducted honestly and fairly, the will of the people will find expression, and the most fit and proper men are likely to secure nominations for the various offices, and the principles of the party to secure correct exposition. Many reputable voters are kept away from their party primaries by a sense of helplessness. They know that the caucuses are often packed and controlled by the ward heelers or other "fine-workers," and realize that their influence will count for little or nothing—hence they think it is not worth while for them to take the trouble to turn out. If the primaries could be regulated by law, as elections now are, freed from manipulation and bribery, and made an honest expression of the will of the majority, it is probable that they would be much more generally attended.—*Minneapolis Tribune*.

BALLOT REFORMS IN THE SOUTH.—Since the defeat of the Force Bill and the repeal of the Federal Election Laws, the South, freed from the menace of negro domination, has turned its attention in earnest to the matter of ballot reform. Public sentiment is now solidly in favor of fair elections, and state after state has made haste to place adequate safeguards around the ballot-box. Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, and Texas have adopted the Australian ballot law or some modified form of it; Louisiana is moving in the same direction; South Carolina's Constitutional Convention will wheel into line with the movement, and the present session of the Georgia legislature is sure to place on the statute book a law that will make it absolutely certain that every qualified voter shall be able to vote once and have his ballot counted once, and have the result honestly announced.

There is no longer in any locality in the South a sentiment in favor of the methods which self-defense and self-preservation made necessary in the reconstruction days when white supremacy was endangered by a bayonet behind every black ballot. When the southern people saw that there was no

longer any danger of interference from the federal government they became a unit in favor of a fair ballot and an honest count, and they have lost no time in passing laws that will thoroughly protect every voter in the exercise of his rights.—*The Constitution (Dem.)*, Atlanta.

MORTGAGED HOMES.—As shown by Extra Census Bulletin No. 71, the real estate mortgage indebtedness on farms and homes in the United States Jan. 1, 1890, amounted to \$6,019,679,985, represented by 4,777,698 mortgages. The state of New York has mortgages amounting to \$1,607,874,301, which is 26.71 per cent of this class of indebtedness in the whole country. The average life of a mortgage is computed to be about 4.6 years, and the real estate indebtedness about 16.6 per cent of the true value of all taxed real estate and untaxed mines. The mortgage debt per capita of population in the United States is \$96, and rises in New York to \$268, in Colorado to \$206, and in California to \$200. Kansas has the largest proportion of mortgaged acres, the per cent of the total number of taxed acres incumbered being 60.32, Nebraska standing next with 54.73 per cent, and South Dakota with 51.76 per cent. The average indebtedness on each mortgaged acre in the whole country is \$8.08 and on each mortgaged lot \$916. The average rate of interest for all mortgages is 6.60 per cent, and the total annual interest charged \$397,442,792. Only 14.41 per cent of mortgages bear a rate of interest higher than 8 per cent, and the average interest rate had declined from 7.14 per cent in 1880 to 6.75 in 1889. Deductions based on incomplete statistics indicate that 89.92 per cent of all mortgages were made to secure purchase money, to make improvements, and other solid investments.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.—Theodore Roosevelt, in a recent summary of results accomplished in the way of civil service reform, says that when the work began in 1883 the larger post-offices and custom-houses with 14,000 employees came under the provisions of the newly enacted laws. In 1889 the railway mail service was included, and in 1893 all free delivery post-offices. In 1894 all smaller custom-houses and the internal revenue service were brought under the law. With other smaller extensions meantime made, the number of employees protected by the civil service laws has increased from the original 13,000 to a present total of about 50,000, or about one fourth of all the offices in the gift of the general government. All of these results are due to the action of successive presidents under the original law, without other action of Congress than the making of appropriations for meeting the necessary expenses of the commission. When the laboring forces under control of heads of departments and the employees of the District of Columbia have been brought under the rules, the executive will have accomplished practically all that it has power to do in the way of promoting civil service reform, without congressional aid. It will then remain for Congress to make provisions for the inclusion under the rules of fourth-class postmasters and the consular service, as proposed in bills introduced by Senators Lodge and Morgan.

RECORD OF WOMAN'S WORK. "The morality of our society, from the highest to the humblest walk is in the hands of woman. The condition of our morals indicates the condition of woman's influence. If society is corrupt it simply means that women are corrupt. If the standard of right living is degraded it is because women permit it. In this we assume that woman is morally man's superior. He may transgress and be pardoned;

if she errs the mantle of charity is not broad enough to conceal her from the world's scorn.

"It is folly to say this is wrong and it is useless to urge that the same rules should apply to both sexes. The effect of man's errors is not so widespread as is the influence of a woman's misdeeds. The purity of the family, the relations of brothers and sisters to each other, are entirely dependent on the honor of the mother, and in this, and for this reason, the written and unwritten laws of all ages and all lands are severe on the errors of the wife.

"When modest women, at the dictates of fashion, expose themselves in a way that puts physical charms on exhibition for the gaze of men who are not their fathers, husbands, or brothers, it would seem that the still nobler fashion of purity should interdict it and force a less suggestive form of evening dress.

"If a higher standard of social purity is to prevail the women must set the example. In the days when the dissolution of the Union was threatened the women of the land rose equal to the occasion, and to them quite as much as to the bayonets of the men the success was due. Now they must work to save the family.

"The family altar is the cornerstone of the republic. The men and women of the next generation will illustrate the characters of the mothers in this.

"The woman is the mistress of the home, the home is the school of morality, and in this crusade for decency we should begin at the cause, the home, and leave nude pictures and other immoral effects to perish from public sight with the greater purity and care of the family circle."

.

The foregoing represents the views of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, which refers in the same issue to the organization of the New York Woman's League for Political Education, as follows:

"The army of the equal suffragists, defeated but not vanquished, are rallying their forces for a long, determined siege, and have opened the recruiting barracks preparatory to beginning the campaign. Evidently the majority of the two hundred and fifty women who were invited to join the League for Political Education responded at the first meeting, in the home of Mrs. Henry M. Sanders, at No. 433 Fifth Avenue.

"Mrs. Robert Abbe presided, and introduced Professor Giddings, who advocated warmly the study of the history of law as of more importance than the study of the history of kings. He said that no amount of argument upon any subject would effect a conversion and that the most certain way to obtain the exercise of the right of suffrage by women was the individual self-information, which should develop an individuality of opinion. This self-reliant attitude in the way of ideas would influence more effectively others not so well informed and secure a following. Of every million voters, he said, six controlled the result. Six men, by their steadfast, confident belief, growing out of thorough knowledge, could perceptibly bend the influence of those around them. So in her struggle for equal suffrage, a woman who thoroughly understood the political situation of the time and the details of the questions at issue could carry the weight of opinion with her far more easily than if she brought the question simply to discussion.

"He maintained that no gained right had ever come from the fighting of the element which was oppressed, but had come, as equal suffrage must come, from the preponderance of opinion, which acted always in self-preservation.

"Dr. Mary Putman Jacobi said, it was proposed to organize circles throughout the entire state, with the idea of persuading them to use their spare time

in this study. Drop your Ibsen clubs, your Browning clubs, and your Dante clubs, and take up in its place this more important work.

"There are over one hundred and fifty assembly districts in New York State, and we hope to have a circle in each one with more than one each in the thirty-five districts of New York City. The secretary of each of these circles will report periodically to the secretary of the General League. The headquarters will be opened at No. 23 West Forty-fourth Street, where those who wish may pay \$2 each and become members."

Mrs. L. Ferro, in the *Minnesota White Ribboner*, answers the question, "What has the W. C. T. U. done?" as follows: "The law making the study of temperance a mandatory one in all public schools in all the states, save four, has been spread upon the statute books. The law relating to the age of consent has been raised in every state of the Union. Several other laws have been made more binding, and there is a leaven that has been introduced into the body politic, intended to bring about other great results which will appear later. All of these things and many more have been done or caused to be done under the influence of our national union, of which every little local union is a member, and in which each woman who has done her duty has had some part. Under the regimen of our society women have developed mentally, morally, and physically.

"Our literature is aiding thousands of mothers in the guidance of little feet that will eventually walk life's dangerous pathway the better for the purity inculcated by such chaste teaching."

SOCIAL HABITUAL CRIMINALS.—Judge Sage, of the United States District Court of Ohio, has declared to be constitutional the law of that state under which a man named Blackburn, convicted as an habitual criminal, has been sentenced to life imprisonment. The case may be appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

OPEN SALOONS.—While there is an open saloon to every one hundred and a fraction of the population to tempt earnings from men and women with depraved appetite and vicious habits, the work of reformation seems hopeless. It will be said by some that the slums demand the saloons, and that it is not wholly true that the saloons create the slums. Either way it is put, the fact remains the same that the slummers themselves will not abolish the saloon. They are in a slavery worse and far more hopeless, unless they have help from outside, than the man who was bound with chains. The foreign-born citizen is an important factor in these communities, and there is no doubt that he has great influence in the ratio of illiteracy, criminality, and the whisky consumption. The ignorant, unskilled, rebellious foreign immigrant is a menace and a problem to American civilization and progress, but he only increases and emphasizes the saloon problem. He does not overshadow nor obliterate it.—*Topeka Capital*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Among recent additions to the literature of civics are the following publications, some of which will receive further notice hereafter: From G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, "Joint Metallism," a plan by which gold and silver together, at ratios always based on their relative market values, may be made the metallic basis of a sound, honest, self-regulating, and permanent currency, without fre-

quent recoinings, and without danger of one metal driving out the other; by Anson Phelps Stokes. Second Edition. "The True Conception of the State, or the People as a Body Politic," with special consideration of certain present problems, by Frank Sargent Hoffman, A. M., Professor of Philosophy in Union College. "The Story of the Civil War," a concise account of the war in the United States between 1861 and 1865, by John Codman Ropes. In paper covers, from A. Lovell & Co., New York, "American History Leaflets," No. 17, documents relating to the Kansas-Nebraska Acts; and No. 19, containing extracts from the Navigation Acts, 1645-1696. From the secretary, Meetings and Proceedings of the Political Science Club of New York, 1893-94. From Robert C. Spencer, Milwaukee, Wis., "Address on the Complete Secularization of the State, and Relation of the State to Religion," by Rev. G. E. Gordon. From the author, "Absolutism and Individuality in Education," by A. F. Craven, Ph.D., Columbian University, Washington. From the author, "Socialist-Populist Errors," by Arthur H. Dodge.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Wealth Against Commonwealth. By Henry D. Lloyd, cloth 8vo, pp. 563. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a remarkable book, and is perhaps the strongest arraignment of trusts and combines in general, and the Standard Oil Company in particular, that has ever been published. The author's style is good, his matter well arranged, and his facts seemingly well authenticated. The first paragraph well illustrates the style of the book: "Nature is rich; but everywhere man, the heir of nature, is poor. Never in this happy country or elsewhere—except in the Land of Miracle, where 'they did all eat and were filled'—has there been enough of anything for the people. Never since time began have all the sons and daughters of men been all warm, and all filled, and all shod and roofed. Never yet have all the virgins, wise or foolish, been able to fill their lamps with oil."

He notes a comparison between our method of doing things and that of the Romans as follows: "Rome banished those who had been found to be public enemies by forbidding every one to give them fire and water. That was done by all to a few. In America it is done by a few to all. A small number of men are obtaining the power to forbid any but themselves to supply the people with fire in nearly every form known to modern life and industry, from matches to locomotives and electricity. They control our hard coal and much of the soft, and stoves, furnaces, and steam and hot-water heaters; the governors on steam-boilers and the boilers; gas and gas fixtures; natural gas and gas pipes; electric lighting and all the appurtenances. You cannot free yourself by changing from electricity to gas or from the gas of the city to the gas of the fields. If you fly from kerosene to candles, you are still under the ban. . . . Property is monopoly, the attorney-general of the United States says. Those who own the bread, meat, sugar, salt, can fix the price at which they will sell. They can refuse to sell. It is to these fellow-men we must pray, 'Give us this day our daily bread.'" And when we have broken the bread of life for the last time, we get our entrance to our long home only by paying exorbitant toll for our shrouds and our coffins to the 'Undertakers' and the 'National Burial Case Associations.'"

The combination of capital to secure the coal lands of Nova Scotia and the United States is discussed at length, and figures given to show that the railway companies now practically control the coal, both anthracite and bituminous, of the country, the smaller producers being crushed out by freight discrimination.

A history of the oil business is given from its humble beginnings to the present, when the Standard can make or unmake laws at will.

He calls the rebate the deadliest gun known to commercial warfare, and declares that it is not a lawful weapon, but like the explosive bullet, not recognized by the laws of war.

An appendix gives a list of trade combinations that are either in operation, or have been attempted, and the list of commodities covered by them includes nearly everything man eats, wears, drinks, or uses. The book contains thirty chapters, and deserves a careful reading. We think the author might have improved the work by giving each chapter a title that would convey some meaning as to its contents. Most of the titles do not afford the least clue as to what may be expected to follow.

Socialism: The Fabian Essays. By G. Bernard Shaw. 12mo, cloth, pp. 281. Boston: Charles E. Brown & Company.

This American edition of the well-known English Fabian Essays contains an eighteen-page introduction by Edward Bellamy, and a twenty-page chapter by William Clarke, A. M., on the Fabian Society and its work, not found in the English work. The remainder of the book is divided into seven chapters, each consisting of one essay on some particular phase of the question of socialism. The editor, Mr. Shaw, has contributed two essays, the first treating of the economic basis of socialism, and the other of the transition from the present condition to that of social democracy, as he terms socialism.

The historic basis of socialism is discussed by Sidney Webb, the industrial features by William Clarke, A. M., the moral basis by Sydney Oliver, Graham Wallas considers the condition of property under socialism, while Hubert Bland discusses the outlook for socialism as seen from his standpoint.

The Fabian Society is named in honor of the Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus, who is the patron saint of the society. The society does not expect to carry its views into effect by a rush, but through the slow methods of patient discussion. While admitting that the socialist movement has its share of cranks and scoundrels, Mr. Clarke affirms that he knows the movement well and that it contains among its supporters the ablest men of his acquaintance.

Socialism has a history, and it has also some very enticing theories that can be advocated with effect, and hence the writers on this part of the subject have an easier task than the one who takes up the question of transition from the present condition to that held up by socialists as the ideal one to be reached by society.

This part of the work has been undertaken by the editor, Mr. Shaw. He insists that we are already in the middle of the transition period and that he has only to deal with that which lies ahead of us. He understands a gradual transition to a purely social democracy to mean the extension of franchise, and the transfer of rent and interest to the state. Looking at the subject from this standpoint he sees that we are far on

the way to socialism, with men helping the cause who do not dream that they are touched with the spirit of the socialist. The English income tax, which takes from the individual and gives to the state, he considers a step toward socialism.

Mr. Bland, in discussing the outlook for socialism, assumes that machinery will continue to replace hand labor; that the joint stock companies will swallow up private firms, to be in turn absorbed by rings and trusts, and that eventually, when the great majority become employees and the very few owners, universal suffrage will bring socialism as the only relief.

The Book of The Fair. By Hubert Howe Bancroft, Auditorium Building, Chicago.

This magnificent work, which has been mentioned from time to time in this magazine, is nearing its completion and its high character has been kept up from the initial number. It is the reproduction in book form, in the highest style of art, of the entire Exposition. In "The Book of the Fair" the great panorama moves from the past to the present, in logical and historical order. The reader will observe how the foundations upon which previous fairs were built gradually broadened, and like some magical plant he will see the unfolding of the ideas which are at the base of the Columbian Exposition. The book traces its evolution in all details, shows how it was built, and who were its chief founders, and then pictures it not only in its general but in its special features. In the evolution of the broad foundation upon which the fair is established, in the creation of the fair itself, and in the presentation of the gorgeous and the bewildering spectacle which is now before us, the pencil of the artist and the pen of the author are complementary, each assisting the other.



E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, President Brown University.
Member Faculty and Lecture Corps American Institute of Civics.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

APRIL, 1895.

THE MODERN THEORY OF REPRESENTATION.

BY LEWIS R. HARLEY, M. A., HONORARY FELLOW IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE highest national policy yet developed is the representative national government. The city state was a normal type of antiquity, and the feudal system may be considered as a normal type of the Middle Ages, but the leading characteristics of the political development of modern times are: first, a national policy; second, the extension of human rights and civil liberty; and third, that many leading nations may flourish at the same time, under the protection of the law of nations, and in the bonds of an advanced civilization. Dr. Burgess, in his "Political Science and Constitutional Law," defines the nation as "a population of an ethnic unity, inhabiting a territory of a geographic unity."* Dr. Burgess was preceded in this definition of the nation by Dr. Francis Lieber, who, in 1868, dedicated an essay on "Nationalism and Internationalism" to General Grant, developing very fully the theory that "the word nation, in the fullest adaptation of the term, means, in modern times, a numerous and homogeneous population, permanently inhabiting and cultivating a coherent territory, with a well-defined geographic outline and a name of its own—the inhabitants speaking their own language, having their own literature and common institutions, which distinguish them clearly from other and similar groups of people; being citizens of a unitary government, and feeling an organic unity with one another, as well as being conscious of a common destiny."† With this concep-

* Burgess, "Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. I, p. 1.

† Lieber's "Miscellaneous Writings," vol. II, p. 227.

tion of the nation in view, I desire to discuss the theory of representation as it applies to such a political organization. Only the national system is adequate to the many demands of our modern civilization. While the national spirit blossomed forth in Grecian learning, yet, in her political life, Greece never got beyond her frail confederacies. In our own system, the national feeling is necessary to stimulate patriotism. Modern patriotism is not satisfied with the narrow limits of the American commonwealths. Indeed, the state governments are now regarded as less important than formerly, and now the political relations that concern us most are those of the city and the nation.

The size of the Grecian states was so small that the need of representation was not felt. The difficulties of modern politics, on account of vastness of territory and decentralization, were not dreamed of. There are traces of the representative system in the Amphictyonic Council, but there was only occasional recourse to this system. It was not till the doctrine of human equality and of individual right had to be deferred to, in connection with extended areas of territory, that the subject could take the place in all political inquiries which it occupies at this date.*

Let us now consider the real basis of modern representation. Its leading features are that it should be broad and popular. It has been maintained in England that property should be the basis of representation, and, in our own country, Webster declared the same principle in his Plymouth oration. The system of representation in Great Britain was very unequal up to 1832. Out of 658 members in the House of Commons, 487 were nominees of the aristocracy or of the government, and only 173 represented independent constituencies. In 1832 a reform bill was passed, by which fifty-six rotten boroughs returning 111 were disfranchised, and other small boroughs lost in all thirty members; twenty-two large towns, including districts of London, gained the right to return two members each, twenty to return one each, and the members for the larger counties were increased from 94 to 159. As for the right of electing—in the boroughs, it

* Amos, "Science of Politics," p. 26.

was given to ten-pound householders resident in the place, paying rates, and not receiving relief from the parish. In the counties, several classes were added to the old forty-shilling freeholders, as follows: copyholders and leaseholders for terms of years, and tenants at will paying a rent of fifty pounds a year.*

The bill of 1867, for reforming representation, contains among other provisions the following, which are of special importance: 1. The franchise. In the boroughs, any full-aged man can vote in parliamentary and municipal elections, who has been for twelve months an inhabitant, as owner or tenant, of any dwelling house, has been rated to rates for the relief of the poor, and paid his rates like others; but no joint occupier can vote. The vote is also given to every lodger in the boroughs who is sole tenant of a dwelling house of the clear yearly value of ten pounds or upwards, has resided there twelve months, and put in a claim to be registered. In the counties, any man of similar status can vote, who is seized in law or at equity of any lands or tenements of freehold, copyhold, or any other tenure, of the clear yearly value of not less than five pounds. Persons also have the right to vote who are lessees or assignees of lands, on any tenure, for the unexpired residue of any term originally created for a period of not less than sixty years, of at least five pounds yearly value. Changes were also made in the distribution of seats in Parliament. No borough having in 1861 a population of less than 10,000 could return more than one member. Thirty-eight boroughs were thus reduced, 10 new boroughs were created, 3 cities returned three members instead of two, 2 old boroughs returned two instead of one, 1 borough was divided into two, and 13 counties were subdivided so as to return 35 members.

What is really meant by the theory that property should be the basis of representation, is that a certain amount of property ought to be specified below which no suffrage ought to be granted. This theory was popular in the day when it was held that property holders had more to stake in the welfare of the state than non-property holders. There are many in the

* May, "Constitutional History of England," vol. I, ch. vi.

United States who still believe that universal suffrage is the root of all political evils.* In Connecticut, the capacity to read is made a condition for being made a "freeman," and in Massachusetts and Mississippi there are educational tests for voting. But the property and other qualifications so common in the early constitutions of the American commonwealths are passing away, and we are now following the principle that population is the basis of representation; that one representative is chosen for a distinct number of represented citizens; and that, therefore, a large population should have more representatives than a small one.

In our national government, the theory has long prevailed that the two Houses of our Congress do not rest upon the same principle of representation—that the House of Representatives represents the people, and the Senate the states. But the Senate represents people just as the House does, the only difference being in the distribution of the senators. In fixing the basis of representation for the House, the Constitution provided that Indians not taxed should be excluded, and that three fifths of all other persons should be added to the whole number of free whites, at the same time prohibiting representation of a population numbering less than 30,000, but providing that each state should have at least one representative.

This original principle of representation has been modified by constitutional amendment. The thirteenth amendment abolished slavery; so there are no unfree persons. The fourteenth amendment also declares that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number in each state, excluding Indians not taxed; and that when the right to vote at any election for presidential electors or representatives in Congress, or for the executive or judicial officers of a commonwealth, or members of the legislature, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of the commonwealth, being twenty-one years

* A representation of property is prescribed in the constitution of Delaware, as it requires a property qualification for senators in the General Assembly. The governor of Massachusetts is also required to possess property to the value of \$5,000.

of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for the participation in rebellion or other crime, the representation of such commonwealths shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years old in such commonwealth. Likewise the fifteenth amendment prohibits a state or the United States from passing any law making race, color, or previous condition of servitude a disqualification for voting. While this amendment does not directly give any one the right to vote, it guards the individual against discrimination.

The principle of representation further requires that the laws governing the control of elections for representatives shall be national rather than local, in order to secure uniformity. Article I, section 4, paragraph 1, of the Constitution confers upon Congress power to make regulations prescribing the times, places, and manner of holding elections for members of the House of Representatives, prescribing the times and manner of holding elections for members of the Upper House. Congress may prescribe the whole manner of electing members of the Lower House, and also for the Upper House, except as to the place of choosing the senators. Congress has exercised the power of fixing the times for holding the elections of senators and representatives. The law provides that the time for the election of senators is the second Tuesday after the meeting and organization of the legislature next preceding the expiration of the senatorial term. The law also provides that the time for the election of representatives shall be the Tuesday following the first Monday in November, every second year after 1876. Congress has also legislated in regard to the manner of electing members of the House.

The Revised Statutes, section 27, provide that votes for congressmen must be by written or printed ballots, and sections 2011-2016 allow federal supervision of elections. By this law, upon a written application of two citizens of any town or city having 20,000 inhabitants, or of ten citizens in any county or parish in any congressional district, made to the judge of the circuit court for the circuit in which such city, town, county, or

parish may be situated, expressing the desire to have the registration and election guarded and scrutinized, the judge should open the court at the most convenient point in the circuit ten days before the registration or election, and keep it open for the transaction of business connected with the registration or election, up to and including the day following the election. Provision was also made for the appointment of supervisors of elections in each district, and upon application of the citizens, deputy marshals might be appointed to aid the supervisors in the discharge of their duties. These officers were given power to arrest without process persons undertaking to commit fraud against the laws of registration and election, and to bring such persons before a commissioner, judge, or court of the United States for examination of the charges preferred. This legislation has been repealed during the present administration placing the supervision of elections entirely under state control.

Acting on this same principle of representation, Congress proceeds to apportion the representatives among the several states. The statement is usually made that representation in Congress is based upon the census, but this is not strictly true. Congress first decides upon the size of the House and then finds the ratio by dividing this number into the whole population. This ratio is then divided into the population of the states in order to determine the number of representatives for each state. On account of the fractional remainders resulting from division, the actual number of representatives first agreed upon is not thus obtained. In order to approximate the number as nearly as possible, those states having the largest fractional remainder are each given an additional member. In 1842, Congress for the first time passed an act requiring representatives to be elected by districts. The constitutionality of this act was based upon the clause allowing Congress to regulate the times, places, and manner of holding elections for representatives. Nearly all the states, the larger ones especially, adopted and continued the district system of electing representatives from the ratification of the Constitution. Some of the smaller states alternated between the two modes. In 1842, New Jersey, Georgia, Rhode Island,

Alabama, New Hampshire, and Mississippi were using the general ticket system. The debate on this question in Congress in 1842 grew very bitter, some of the congressmen claiming that the law was an infringement upon the rights of the states.

The members of both Houses are uninstructed. The principle is that each senator and each representative represents the whole United States according to his own intelligence and judgment. At first, however, old traditions clung about the Senate. It was a small body, and even in 1810, had but thirty-four members. They regarded themselves as a Congress of ambassadors from their respective states, and often referred for instruction and advice to the state legislatures. For five years the Senate sat with closed doors occupying itself chiefly with the confidential business of appointments and treaties, and conferring with the ministers of the president. At the present time, it has evolved into as powerful a legislative body as the House. The question might be brought up whether it would be proper to instruct the representatives, meaning by instruction the control by the constituents over the vote of the representative. The republican constitution of France in 1795 declared: "The members of the legislative body are not representatives of the departments which have elected them, but of the whole nation, and no specific instruction shall be given them." It may also be of interest to mention that the bill of rights, preceding the constitution of North Carolina, adopted in 1776, says: "The people have a right to assemble together to consult for the common good, and to instruct their representatives." As late as 1838, the legislature of North Carolina passed certain resolutions with reference to the votes to be given by her senators.

The great change of the British deputy into a national representative was consummated in the sixteenth century, when the old law requiring members of Parliament to be resident burgesses to make the elections valid, fell into entire disuse. Hallam, in his "Constitutional History of England," in speaking of this change of 1571, remarks: "This is a remarkable and perhaps the earliest assertion of an important constitutional principle, that each member of the House of Commons is deputed to

serve not only for his constituents, but for the whole kingdom; a principle which marks the distinction between a modern English Parliament and such deputations of the estates as were assembled in several continental kingdoms; a principle to which the House of Commons is indebted for its weight and dignity, as well as its beneficial efficiency, and which none but the servile worshipers of the populace are ever found to gainsay."

The discussion as to the real nature of a representative became earnest in England from the time when John Wilkes was elected by the Westminster constituents, and more especially from Mr. Burke's speeches to the electors at Bristol. In a speech at Bristol in 1780, Mr. Burke said: "I did not obey your instructions. No. I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest, against your opinions, with a constancy which became me. A representative worthy of you ought to be a person of stability. I am to look, indeed, to your opinions; but to such opinions as you and I must have five years hence. I was not to look at the flash of the day. I knew that you chose me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the state, and not a weathercock, on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale." Thus, Mr. Burke maintained that the imperative duty of the representative requires him to attend to all the interests and desires of his constituents to his utmost power, but likewise to vote to the utmost of his conscience as the broad national interest demands, even should he go against the supposed or actually expressed wishes of the majority of his constituent voters.

The war between Great Britain and America led many men to inquire into the real character of a representative. At that time, the House of Commons was under the almost total sway of the aristocracy of the land and did not represent the people at large. In addition to this sway, the powerful influence of the crown, and the long period of seven years for which a member of the House was elected, were causes tending to separate the Commons from the great mass of the people, and when advocates of parliamentary reform first appeared, they were led in their

opposition to the opposite evil of which they complained, and men like Major John Cartwright asserted that the representative is the legislative attorney of his constituents, thus reducing the representative to a mere deputy. It is now definitely settled that the British member of Commons is the representative of the nation.

The confederacy of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was nothing but a league of independent states, and the members of Congress were deputies. This appears from the Articles themselves. The states could appoint the delegates as they thought best, and could recall them to send others. Their number was left to the option of the states, except the minimum was fixed at two and the maximum at seven. Each state maintained its delegation and had but one vote, and if the delegation of any state was divided, it lost its vote. In the Constitution, the members are changed from deputies to representatives. Congress legislates for the people of the United States.

Dr. Lieber claims that the representative represents not only the majority of his voters, but the minority also; otherwise party aristocracy would be at once established. He represents also the non-voters of his district, for they are all component and essential parts of the community. Lieber also claims that he is bound to represent his community, not as a detached part, but as a living limb of his state or nation, and hence bound to allow the public opinion of the whole its due influence in modifying the opinion which he has brought from his particular section. The senators also are representatives and not deputies of their states, although some of the state legislatures have passed resolutions to instruct senators. Virginia persisted in this, especially when the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank was discussed in Congress in 1811, and when the Virginia senators in 1836 were instructed to vote for the expunging resolutions, upon which occasion one of the senators resigned, but the other declined both the vote and the resignation on the ground that the instruction was against the Constitution.

The principle of representation further provides for the organization of the representative body, with its own protection and

liberties. To this end, it is enacted by Parliament "that the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament," and the Constitution of the United States declares that "for any speech or debate in either House, the senators and representatives shall not be questioned in any other place." This right of free discussion was obtained after a hard struggle. Elizabeth frequently warned the House of Commons not to meddle with high matters of state, which they could not understand, and James I. and Charles I. often did the same. A protection is granted to both the members of the English Parliament and the Congress of the United States, in freedom from arrest during the sessions, except for certain specified crimes. The English House of Commons first claimed this right in 1543, when they ordered George Ferrers, a burgess who had been arrested in going to Parliament, to be released, and they carried their point. The first legislative recognition of the privilege was under James I.* This protection is also granted to members of Congress by the Constitution of the United States.

The modern theory of representation assumes the right of each member to propose any bill or measure. The Constitution of the United States prohibits any officer of the United States from being a member of either House, and the law does not allow the members of the administration a seat and the right to speak in the Houses. A few years ago a bill was introduced into Congress granting cabinet members the right to a seat in each House, but no action was taken on it. If the president of the United States desires to have a bill passed, the bill must be proposed by some person who is a member of one or the other House. It is necessary that the representative body shall have sole charge of the internal management and rules of proceeding. To this end, the Constitution of the United States says: "The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers." The speaker of the English House of Commons was formerly very dependent on the crown. Since the resolution of 1688, his election has become practically independent, although

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," vol. I., p. 268.

the form of obtaining the consent of the crown is still gone through. In all the states of the Union, the principle holds that the speakers are within the exclusive appointment of the Houses. The Constitution of the United States also says that "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member." Congress also claims authority over persons not members of either House. "Power is claimed of sending for persons and papers and of examining upon oath," and Congress has also exercised the power of punishing disturbances of their debates by intruders, and libelers of members. But this power is not explicitly conferred by the Constitution.

As I mentioned in the beginning of this paper, only the national policy is adequate to the demands of our civilization. We have outgrown the systems of the city and the little colony, and modern people stand in need of nations in order to develop literature, law, industry, and liberty. The nation implies all that may be found in the broad term humanity, and as the sphere of humanity widens, we desire, more and more, a country to work and live and die for. Dr. Lieber says: "Countries are the orchards and the broad acres where modern civilization gathers her grain and nutritious fruits. The narrow garden-beds of antiquity suffice for our widened humanity no more than the short existence of ancient states." *

Without this national policy with its representative system there would be very little in common to unite the different states and all their varied interests. Thus a bond is formed which civic strife and discord have failed to break. This is suggested in the language of Lincoln: "Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."†

LEWIS R. HARLEY.

* Lieber, "Civil Liberty and Self Government," p. 170.

† Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

WHAT IS ECONOMIC VALUE?

BY ARTHUR KITSON.

THE story is told of Sydney Smith, that, having joined the Political Economy Club of London in order to learn what the term "value" meant, he resigned on discovering that the members of the club knew no more about it than he himself did.

To no branch of economics has more attention been devoted than to this. Notwithstanding all the economic literature that has appeared during the past twenty years, it is doubtful whether the subject is any the less ambiguous, or better understood by the average man, than it was in the time of Sydney Smith. I shall endeavor to show that not only is the popular use of the word "value" incorrect, but that the world's financial systems are based upon a gigantic fallacy, due to ignorance concerning this term.

No subject is of greater importance in commercial life than this, and a century later it will seem inconceivable that nations with so high a degree of civilization, of culture and comfort, with so many discoveries and inventions in the mechanical arts, could be so ignorant regarding the all-important science of economics, as to-day.

The really scientific treatment of value commences with Professor Jevons, whose "Theory of Political Economy," published nearly a quarter of a century ago, is the foundation of everything of great merit that has since appeared upon this subject.

In the preface to the second edition of his work, Professor Jevons remarks as follows: "Imagine the mental state of astronomers if they could not agree among themselves whether right ascension was the name of a heavenly body or a force or an angular magnitude. Yet this would not be worse than failing to

ascertain clearly whether by value we mean a numerical ratio or a mental state or a mass of commodity."

In the new Century dictionary these three definitions are actually given, notwithstanding their extreme dissimilarity. Macleod, in his "Theory of Credit," also gives us these same definitions in various portions of the chapters on value. It will be seen that one of these definitions is subjective, and the other two objective. Now, it is certain that—so far as the science of economics goes—at least one of the above definitions of value as an objective reality cannot be right. If objective value is a numerical ratio, it cannot be a *commodity*—a quantity of some thing, and conversely. Which definition, then, is the correct one?

John Stuart Mill says: "The value of a thing means the quantity of some other thing or of things in general which it exchanges for." Commenting upon this sentence, Jevons writes: "It might of course be explained that Mill did not intend what he said; but as the statement stands it makes value into a thing and is just as philosophic as if we were to say, 'Right ascension means the planet Mars or planets in general.'"

But if value is a ratio, the very expression "value of a thing" is absurd. Ratio is a relation of two quantities, and to apply the term to a single thing is meaningless. On the other hand, those who maintain that "value is a thing" are confronted with an inextricable difficulty. For if value is a thing, how can it increase or decrease, appear and disappear, without the thing itself undergoing similar changes?

To say that the value of one thing is always some other thing does not avoid the difficulty. Suppose a book sells for a dollar. We are told by some that the value of the book is the dollar, *per se*, and the value of the dollar is the book, *per se*. Now, if these things are themselves values, each of the other, how is it possible to destroy their values without destroying the things themselves? Suppose, at the time the above relation existed, we place the dollar and book together in a fire-proof safe, and at the end of a year take them out. Both are in perfect condition. It is impossible to find any defect or deterioration in either. And yet we find the value of the book is probably only half the dollar,

and the value of the dollar is now two books. What has happened to the book to cause it to lose half its value during this period?

We are thus confronted with the gross absurdity of a thing changing, and yet remaining unchanged, at one and the same time. If the book, *per se*, is the value of the dollar, so long as the dollar and book remain physically unchanged one should always be the value of the other. I see no way out of this dilemma.

Let us now take the other definition and see how it agrees with facts. A ratio is a relation of two quantities. Now, if a book sells for a dollar, this definition explains the transaction by saying that the value of the book in dollars is as one to one. Neither the book is value nor is the dollar itself value. The estimation which society places upon books and dollars at this particular time leads men to offer one dollar for one book. Now, suppose at the end of the year the dollar is worth two books. How does this definition explain matters? Easily enough. It says that while the book and dollar remain physically as they were, their exchange relation has altered. Where society estimated one book as worth a dollar, it now estimates a dollar as worth two books. The value of books to dollars is now two to one.

Value refers to a relation just as the term equality does. When we say that one thing is equal to another, we do not say that equality is a thing, or that either of those things is itself equality. Similarly with the term distance. One object is distant from another. But we do not say that distance is a thing.

That this is the true definition appears further from the fact that it is the generally accepted definition among those who have given the subject much thought. Le Trosne says: "Value consists in the ratio of exchange which takes place between such and such a product; between such a quantity of one product and such a quantity of another." Senior also says: "Value denotes a relation reciprocally existing between two objects." So Bailey writes: "Value is the relation between contemporary commodities." "Value," says Macleod, "consists in the ratio of ex-

change which takes place between such and such a product; between such a quantity of one product and such a quantity of another product." "Hence it is clear," he adds, "that value is a ratio or an equation, like distance, and as an equation it necessarily requires two objects." Professor Francis A. Walker, in his work on "Money, Trade, and Industry," says: "Value, economists are pretty much agreed, is a relation, a ratio." Even John Stuart Mill says: "Value is a relative term."

Professor Smart, the translator of Boehm-Bawerk's "Capital and Interest," and the chief exponent of the Austrian school of economy in England, says: "But although it is impossible to use the term without suggesting an inherent property, value always implies a relation." "It is," he says, "at best, a power conferred on goods by the complex machinery of an organized economic community, and it does not exist outside of a system of exchange. It is a power that lies in the connection or relation of two things and not in either of the things. Jevons very well called it a ratio of exchange." Finally, Professor Jevons states that "a student of economics has no hope of ever being clear and correct in his ideas of the science if he thinks of value as at all a thing or an object or even as anything which lies in a thing or object. Persons are thus led to speak of such a nonentity as 'intrinsic value.' " In another place he says: "Value in exchange expresses nothing but a ratio, and the term should not be used in any other sense. To speak simply of the value of an ounce of gold is as absurd as to speak of the ratio of the number 17. What is the ratio of the number 17? The question admits of no answer, for there must be another number named in order to make a ratio; and the ratio will differ according to the number suggested. What is the value of iron compared with gold, is an intelligible question. The answer consists in stating the ratio of the quantities exchanged."

Now, if value is a relation, a ratio, what sense is there in the expressions "standard of value," "inherent or intrinsic value," and a "unit of value"? What are we to understand by such terms as "standard or measure of ratios," "intrinsic ratio," and "unit of ratio"? "But surely," says Professor Walker, "a re-

lation, a ratio, cannot be measured! You do not measure the relation of a mile to a furlong; you express it, as 8 to 1." This is all one can do with values, *express* them. You can no more "measure" values than you can measure thoughts. But how are they expressed? Language expresses thoughts, music expresses emotions; what expresses values? Take a simple exchange transaction, represented as follows:

40 bushels wheat=1 ounce gold.

If we analyze each side of the equation we find it composed of three things. 1st. Substances: wheat and gold. 2d. Units of weight and capacity: bushels and ounces. 3rd. Numbers: 40 and 1. Now if these dissimilar commodities are to express their relation in some language, it must be a language common to both. What is this language? Is it substance? No. Wheat and gold are totally dissimilar. The only thing common to both is number. And this is the sole language of values. The value of wheat in bushels to gold in ounces is 40 : 1. And this corresponds with our previous definition of value as a ratio of exchange.

We may put it in another way. Commodities are definite quantities of definite qualities. Now, fluctuations in values consist in variations in quantities. Hence values have to do with quantities. And since quantities are expressed by numbers, values must necessarily be similarly expressed.

The chief ambiguity that surrounds this subject is the use of the term in the double sense as the ratio of exchange and purchasing power. No substance can possibly express, represent, or measure a ratio. So that it is the climax of absurdity to speak of gold *measuring* values, or becoming a *unit* of value, if the term is to be understood in the sense of a relation. Further, since no single quantity can express a ratio, it follows that no single quantity can express value. Two quantities are necessary, just as two points are essential in order to express distance or length.

On the other hand, if value is to be understood as purchasing power, it is quite possible to suppose a certain commodity to represent a definite amount of purchasing power, *at any given time*. So, also, a *single* quantity can express purchasing power. Hence, I have distinguished in my work, entitled "A Scientific Solution

of the Money Question" * between value and purchasing power; the former being a ratio and expressed by two quantities, the latter a power conferred upon commodities and represented by a single quantity.

While a given quantity of any commodity (such as 25 8-10 grains of gold) may be said to acquire and to have a certain amount of purchasing power, this power necessarily fluctuates from time to time as the supply of or demand for gold fluctuates. Similarly with all other commodities. Hence it is impossible for any definite weight or quantity of any substance to constitute a permanent unit or standard of purchasing power. The only unit that is possible and which is an invariable unit is the purchasing power of a commodity at any particular time. To omit the element of time in this matter is far more unscientific than it would have been had those who furnished the unit of length omitted the temperature at which the metallic bar—which registers the yard—was to be taken. This would be, of course, an ideal unit, but since the object of a unit is merely to register or record fluctuations in values, the ideal is the only possible means we have of expressing such fluctuations.

Given such a unit, and starting with a price list in which the exchange proportions of all commodities are recorded in terms of this unit—as fractions or multiples—at any given time, and variations in values can be registered with mathematical exactness—including gold itself. At present it is impossible to tell how much gold varies, since it is used as a permanent standard. The error here is in confounding the substance, gold, with its purchasing power. The former is material and the latter ideal, and all the world's financial troubles may be traced to this absurd attempt to make the material perform the functions of the ideal. Values are ideal creations, and can only be expressed by the ideal, viz., numbers.

Those who imagine an ideal currency impossible are strangely blind to some of the actualities of life. For to-day money is used in this ideal sense by probably 99 per cent of the civilized world.

* "A Scientific Solution of the Money Question," by Arthur Kitson. Arena Publishing Co., Boston, Mass. (In press.)

There is not one transaction in a thousand where an actual equivalent is given in exchange when currency is employed. Very many of the so-called standards legalized by governments were ideal, *i. e.*, they were never actually materialized. Until 1873 the ideal unit of values in this country was a dollar of $51\frac{3}{4}$ pence, and the ideal dollar of exchange adopted in London was 54 pence. Neither of these dollars was ever coined.

But the fact that inconvertible paper money has played so conspicuous a part in the world's history, and credit has taken the place of a specie to such a degree that the latter is seldom seen in trade, outside of mere token currency—which is itself semi-ideal—it seems strange that any one would attempt to deny the practicability of an ideal currency. The only sure and satisfactory basis—the only scientific basis for any currency—is that in which the unit of purchasing power is ideal; by which wealth can be computed accurately in terms of an invariable quantity.

ARTHUR KITSON.

PATRIOTISM.

BY WILMOT H. GOODALE, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AND CIVICS,
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.

SOMETIME during the Civil War an article appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* which, if we could but condense it into a few brief sentences, would serve as a most appropriate introduction to the following thoughts. It was from the pen of Edward Everett Hale and was entitled "The Man Without a Country."

The story, which we need hardly say was only a story, told in a few words is this :

Among those who were tried for treason at Richmond, as the result of that wild escapade of Aaron Burr down the Mississippi, was this young man, Philip Nolan, "as fine a young officer as there was in the legion of the West," or so, at least, the author says, and he surely ought to know.

Fascinated by that personal magnetism for which Burr was so widely celebrated, Nolan had accompanied him on his trip, had shared in his treasonable plans, had been tried, and conviction was certain when the president of the court, "Old Colonel Morgan," inquired whether he wished to say anything to show that he had always been faithful to the United States. It was then that he cried out in a fit of frenzy (you will pardon the quotation), "D-n the United States ! I wish I may never hear of the United States again."

The court took him at his word and sentenced him never again to see or hear of or from his native land. President Jefferson approved the sentence and it was faithfully executed. He was placed upon a war vessel and passed from one commander to another, never being allowed to approach nearer than one hundred miles to shore. He was allowed the fullest freedom consistent with the faithful execution of his sentence but no one

could converse with him who would not first promise never to speak to him of the United States, and every reference to the home of his birth was carefully clipped from all books and papers which were handed him to read. For the rest of the story we must refer you to the article in question, unless your imagination can supply the deficiency. It has served our purpose as an introduction to our theme.

There is a popular impression, never well founded, and to-day absolutely without any foundation at all, that patriotism, by which is meant love of the whole country, is a plant of northern growth, that it does not thrive well here in the South; but needs the frosts and snows of northern winters for its full, robust development.

No greater mistake could well be made. Even had the South achieved her independence, think you she would have repudiated her past history? Would she have ceased to take pride in the glorious deeds of her sires of the Revolution, and in the heroic acts of self-sacrifice of the first settlers in this country? And if under a separate form of government she would still have clung to her noble heritage, how much more natural is it for her to take pride in the history of the past, having returned to her allegiance to the federal government and accepted in good faith the results of the war. It may seem a strange assertion, but I believe that the Southern States are to-day the most favorable portion of all this country for the development of patriotic feeling. The reason is not difficult to find. The South staked in all honesty certain issues upon the war and lost them, and with that sincerity which I trust may ever remain a chief characteristic of the American people, so fully and heartily were the results of the war accepted that no amendment to the federal Constitution has been deemed necessary in order to secure the main issue, to wit: the right of the states to secede from the federal compact, while many of the states have of their own free will inserted in their own constitution a clause expressly denying it. During the recent Chicago riots the tone of the southern press showed most unmistakably that in no section of the country was there a stronger sentiment of loyalty to the federal Union than in those

states which a generation ago were seeking to withdraw from it.

This feeling of loyalty is not yet fully realized by even the people of the South themselves; but let me whisper something in your ear. If our country should be invaded to-morrow by a foreign foe (which may God forbid!) there would come from all over this Southland such a sound of hurrying feet, such a marching to and fro of hosts marshalling for battle in defense of the stars and stripes, as would forever set at rest any doubts, if such exist, of the loyalty of the southern people to the federal Union. And in those serried ranks would be seen many an old scarred veteran who in his boyhood days had marched against that flag in duty's sacred name.

But even were this not so, thirty years and more have passed since then,

"New occasions teach new duties,"

and we speak to the South as it is to-day, to that manly, young, vigorous New South still loving the old "Dixie" and the "Bonny Blue Flag" with a love which God grant may never grow less, but standing upon the ashes of its buried though unforgotten past with a new light in its eye and a new purpose in its young, strong heart, and to this New South we say, "This grand, this glorious country from the lakes to the gulf, from ocean to ocean, is all yours, yours to love, yours to cherish, yours to honor, yours to take pride in, yours to make illustrious."

One of the most pathetic pictures in the article to which we have referred was when on one occasion at the Cape of Good Hope some one had loaned Nolan a copy of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," thinking that it surely was a "safe book," and he commenced to read aloud to the company the following extract:

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—"

"It seems impossible," says the narrator, "to us that anybody ever heard this for the first time, but all these fellows did then, and poor Nolan himself went on still unconsciously or mechanically—

"'This is my own, my native land?'

"Then they all saw something was to pay ; but he expected to get through, I suppose, turned a little pale, but plunged on—

“Whose heart hath ne’er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
From wanderings on a foreign strand ;
If such there be, go, mark him well’

“By this time the men were all beside themselves, wishing there was any way to make him turn over two pages ; but he had not quite presence of mind for this, he gagged a little, colored crimson, and staggered on—

“For him no minstrel raptures swell,
High though his title, proud his name ;
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,
Despite these titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch concentrated all in self—’

and here the poor fellow choked, could not go on, but started up, swung the book into the sea, vanished into his stateroom, and ‘by Jove,’ said Phillips, ‘we didn’t see him for two months again.’”

No, no. We cannot afford to live without the life-giving stimulus of a patriotism that takes to its heart and cherishes with the pride of a son our country, our whole country.

And let us not make a mistake. Brice, in his great book, the “American Commonwealth,” says the Europeans find it very strange that in this country we have “two loyalties and two patriotisms,” and what is strangest of all is that the lesser patriotism is jealous of the greater.

It is true that in the reaction from kingly misrule our country passed through a stage in which the predominating sentiment was jealousy of centralized power, and the point needs watching yet, but, since the war at least, we may claim to have passed that stage in which this sentiment has power to check the unfolding of those feelings of loyalty and of patriotic pride which are essential to the full, well-rounded development of the character of a citizen prince of this great republic.

Rightly understood, national patriotism and state patriotism both feed upon the love of home. Far from being antagonistic to it, as is so often imagined, they owe to it those qualities which give to their very existence their highest value. Will you tarry

with us a little along the margin of this thought that we may make its meaning clearer?

We do not claim that love of the state and nation are born of the home love, but only that they feed upon it and receive their character from it.

We are aware that a very lofty sentiment of patriotism existed long before the true home life, as we now understand it, was fully realized. This is shown in the poetry and literature especially of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Thus Horace said, "It is sweet to die for one's country," and Ovid, "The love of country is more powerful than reason itself," and Cicero, "Of all human things nothing is more honorable than to deserve well of one's country." Plutarch said that the enthusiasm of the Spartans for the state bordered upon insanity, and they certainly had not the faintest conception of the home idea.

These expressions exhibit a lofty sentiment of patriotism in minds that could not have entertained our own exalted idea of home. The feeling proceeded largely from the fact that man is a fighting animal and will defend whatever place he has chosen for his own.

And there is a home sentiment which amounts to but little more than the homing instinct as of the pigeon, in obedience to which birds return to their old nests year by year and fishes ascend the same rivers to spawn. The feeling illustrated by Goldsmith in "The Traveler" amounts to but little more than this:

"The shuddering tenant of a frigid zone
Boldly proclaims that happiest spot his own,
Extols the treasures of his stormy seas
And his long nights of revelry and ease.
The naked negro, panting at the Line,
Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine,
Basks in the glare or stems the tepid wave
And thanks his gods for all the good they gave."

Such a sentiment grows out of a sense of adaptation rather than out of any intelligent love of country. The Esquimaux likes his frozen country with its icebergs and its food of train oil, of walrus and of seal, because it is suited to his wants, he has grown up there and could not live as comfortably anywhere else, and the

same is true of the negro and the tropics, but neither of these can be said to have any true conception of home love or of the patriotism which feeds upon it.

Artemus Ward once said: "Most any man is willing to die for his home, but whoever heard of a man who hankered after dying for his boarding house." Like most of the utterances of this curious man the statement is as full of philosophy as of wit. It takes more than a "boarding house" to awaken the loftiest sentiments of patriotism, for "Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?" There must be the home life and the home ties, the feeling of proprietorship and of kinship, the blending of loves, the purest and sweetest known to earth, and, it may be, the consecration of sufferings shared, and hence endured, to develop such home love as nourishes the kind of patriotism of which we speak. How beautifully has the poet Montgomery, described such a home as this:

"There is a land, of every land the pride,
Beloved by heaven o'er all the world beside;
Where brighter suns dispense serener light,
And milder moons emparadise the night;
A land of beauty, virtue, valor, truth,
Time-tutored age, and love-exalted youth;
The wandering mariner, whose eye explores
The wealthiest isles, the most enchanting shores,
Views not a realm so bountiful and fair,
Nor breathes the spirit of a purer air.
In every clime the magnet of his soul,
Touched by remembrance, trembles to that pole;
For in this land of heaven's peculiar grace,
The heritage of nature's noblest race,
There is a spot of earth supremely blest,
A dearer, sweeter spot than all the rest,
Where man, creation's tyrant, casts aside
His sword and scepter, pageantry, and pride,
While in his softened looks benignly blend
The sire, the son, the husband, brother, friend;
Here woman reigns; the mother, daughter, wife,
Strew with fresh flowers the narrow way of life;
In the clear heaven of her delightful eye,
An angel guard of loves and graces lie;
Around her knees domestic duties meet,
And fireside pleasures gambol at her feet.
Where shall that land, that spot of earth be found?
Art thou a man? a patriot—look around;
O, thou shalt find, howe'er thy footsteps roam,
That land *thy* country, and that spot thy home."

Such homes as these are altars of perpetual fire, whereon the home love glows and brightens into love for town and state and country, burning as all flames do more intensely at the center, because this is the source of its heat, but brighter and ever brighter toward its circumference.

Or, if we may change the figure, a tree cannot spread aloft its towering top until it has somewhere first driven its roots deep into the soil. The home, the town, the state, these are the soil in which the tree of our affections strikes its roots that it may extend its branches high and far in fraternal love for all who bear the name American.

But while we cannot give too great importance to the influence of the home as the nourisher of patriotic feeling we must remember that this is not its original tendency. Unless enlightened by civilization and hallowed by Christianity the home becomes the birthplace of the most narrow and exclusive provincialism. Whether it be the congressman from Wayback District or the representative from Mossgrown Point, whether in the halls of Congress or in the legislature of the state, whoever he be who cannot rise above the idea that he has to trade his vote for the best advantage of his immediate constituency is only one degree above the man who trades his vote for his own advantage. The one accepts a bribe for his people, the other for himself. Even though the motive be pure and the desire really be to do all that one can for his own immediate constituency, the thought must run higher than this to escape condemnation as provincialism. The statesman is he who has a whole country for his constituency.

We wish to give special emphasis to this thought. True home love is the product of Christian civilization, and true patriotism is nourished by and receives its character from true home love. It follows from this that as civilization advances man needs a broader scope, yes, more acres, if you will, a larger country, an ever expanding scale for his full development. His unfolding aspirations will press beyond the limits of town and state and take into the arms of its patriotic love an entire country. Are not our very natures broadened by our attachments? Other things being equal, is not the broadest man he who loves the

most? Do not broad plains and broad ideas go hand in hand? Is not he who takes a whole country such as ours to his heart, who takes personal pride in its wide extent, its wonderful resources, its glorious history, a broader man in every fiber of his threefold nature than he who cannot see beyond the horizon of his own little town or state?

We plead, therefore, for the cultivation of national patriotism as a means for the development of character. We plead for it also as the strongest bulwark of the state and the most effectual safeguard of free institutions. Upon this point let the Hon. W. H. Jack, recently state superintendent of public education of this state, speak. We quote from his report to the General Assembly, 1890-91, page 23 :

"In a republic such as ours, where every citizen has a voice in its laws, and where the prosperity and perpetuity of free institutions rest solely on the intelligence and patriotism of the people, it is of transcendent importance that the youth of the land should be thoroughly indoctrinated in the principles of government and in the rights and duties of the citizen. Nor should the instruction stop here. The child should be early taught *love of country*, and patriotic pride in its history and institutions should be kindled in his heart. To this end stories, poems, and anecdotes of heroic deeds should be read in the schools at proper stated intervals, and the children should be taught to sing such songs as 'Columbia,' 'America,' and the 'Star Spangled Banner,' on such occasions as might be appointed by the teachers. Furthermore, wherever practicable, the schoolhouse should have its flag, and from that staff on such anniversaries, festival days, and other occasions deemed proper to celebrate, the stars and stripes should be given to the breeze. The children should be taught that this beautiful national emblem represents the freedom, power, and glory of a government, *the grandest and best in all the world*, and that its honor and its safety must in a short time be committed to their hands." Such sentiments as these have not merely their place in our argument at this point, they are also an effectual answer to any suggestion that southern educators are lacking in appreciation of patriotism.

And have we not cause to be proud of the United States? Where in all the world can its like be found in all the important features that enter into our loftiest conceptions of a great and glorious country? In extent it very nearly equals the whole of Europe—the United States embracing about 35 and Europe 38 millions of miles. It stretches from the regions of perpetual ice and snow to the sunny clime where endless summer reigns, and consequently yields in its rich harvests the products of every zone. In minerals of value it compares favorably with any similar portion of the earth as yet explored, its mountain streams furnishing the power, when converted into electricity, with which to explore the ancient depths over which they flow and bring to the surface their exhaustless wealth.

In scenery and wonderful exhibitions of creative power nature seems to have abandoned the scale on which she has elsewhere wrought and to have rioted here in a wild profusion of gorge and cañon, of cataract and cavern. Nature and man seem to conspire to produce the huge, the tremendous, the marvelous. Niagara with its terrific roar and mighty rush of waters, the Yosemite with its giant redwoods, the Rocky Mountains with their awful gulches, Mammoth Cave and the Luray Caverns, rearing or suspending through miles of space weird forms of beauty on which the hand of time has marked the record of his passage—these have set the scale and fixed the pace for man's achievements. Great cities in the West built within the memory of living men now numbering their population by hundreds of thousands; more than 160,000 miles of railroad, about one half of all the world contains, stretching their giant arms from lakes to gulf and from sea to sea, and linking this vast continent with bands of steel, annihilating time and space and bringing the products of every clime to every door; forests leveled, mountains tunneled, rivers bridged, the lightning chained and made to do man's bidding, the human voice in full articulate tones thundering its sovereign behests over mountain tops or under the roaring sea through thousands of miles of space—all these bear witness to the tremendous pace with which the march of progress in this enchanted land is moving on.

And who has so much cause as the American citizen to take pride in the history of his native land? Shall we restrict this pride to the narrow limits of our own state, however illustrious or honorable its record? God forbid. When I look back upon the glorious history of this country; when I think of its sacred soil bathed in the blood of liberty's martyrs; when I think of the strongest nation upon the globe twice conquered, of Lexington, of Concord, of Bunker Hill, of Saratoga, of Valley Forge, and of Yorktown; when I think of those illustrious names borne on fame's eternal role of heroes who dared to live and dared to die in duty's sacred name, of Washington and Putnam and Green and Light Horse Harry, Philip Schuyler and old Dan Morgan, of Paul Jones and Anthony Wayne and Francis Marion, dearly as I love my native state my heart leaps beyond the bounds of mere state pride and I thank God that I was born an American citizen. Where is the boy born on American soil whose blood does not tingle at the sound of names like these? Of men who wrote the sacred name of liberty upon every plain and mountain top in all this free land with their sword points dipped in their own blood. Where is the American boy who does not feel a personal pride in such illustrious statesmen as Hamilton and Jefferson, Webster and Clay, Calhoun and Benton, and glory in the rough but solid philosophy of old Ben Franklin?

Who, in what state soever born, does not share in the glory of Marshall and Kent, of Story and of Choate, or take pride in the world-wide fame of Fulton and Whitney, of Field and Edison? All these and hundreds more whom this broad land has produced have lived not merely for the several states which had the honor to give them birth, but for the whole country, aye, for the entire world.

I speak not of the heroes of the last war, for all its wounds are not yet healed, but the day is not far distant when the true American will seek to forget on which side its heroes fought and remember only their illustrious deeds and that they died for the cause they considered right. When in the chaplets woven in memory of our illustrious dead the blue and the gray will blend in a shade softer and more tender than either, as they bear wit-

ness to the heroic deeds, not of the North nor of the South, but of the American patriot who died in duty's sacred name.

The most difficult thing for Europeans to understand in regard to America is the strong feeling of friendship that exists among the people who were so recently engaged in deadly strife. They have not yet learned the tremendous pace with which things move here in America. They cannot understand that at the rate we go we can get mad, have our quarrel out, get over it, shake hands, join hearts, and be at something else long before the people in other countries find out that there has anything been the matter with us.

Beyond all other men every true American should take pride in the history of his country. Loving his home and his state with a love both strong and tender, there is not a heroic deed recorded in the history of all this land in the glory of which he should not share, and however devoted he may be to the spot of his birth, he should be able to say with the illustrious Webster when swelling with pride in the greatness and glory of his native land, "I was born an American, I live an American, I shall die an American."

But strong as are the reasons for patriotism already urged, a yet stronger reason remains to be presented. It is this: The work which this great American experiment is accomplishing for humanity is a work which could never be accomplished by the states themselves; it could be wrought out only on the larger scale represented by the whole country. This work is twofold. One branch is ethnic, the other political. Shall we consider them briefly in the order indicated.

The savage tribes whose war cries so recently rang through the primeval forests of this New World have given place to a type of manhood which we may, without boasting, say has never been surpassed in the history of man; a type peculiar to itself in that it has drawn into the swift current of its own life all that is pure and elevating in the life blood of most of the nations of the Old World, which were fast becoming, in the literal sense of the word, *effete*, i. e., exhausted by inbreeding. It is a fact, not to be lightly regarded, that the typical American, particularly in the

Central and Western States, toward which the tide of immigration has so long tended, has coursing in his veins the blood of many nations, from whose varied qualities by a well established law of nature, he seems to have selected the good and rejected the evil. It is as though nature had determined upon this virgin soil and under this pure sky to give to man himself a new lease of life by presenting to the world a new type of manhood which should blend the excellencies and reject the defects of all the rest.

Are the English noted for their endurance, the French for their daring, the Germans for their love of home, the Irish for their patriotism? The American, descended from them all, surpasses each in his peculiar quality, and brings to the union that spirit of enterprise, of tolerance, and of almost prodigal liberality which have never in the history of the world been developed in so high a degree as upon American soil.

Have you ever thought how large a proportion of the inventions which in modern times have conferred benefits upon mankind have been the product of American genius? Where in all the world is thought so free, conscience so untrammelled, action so unfettered as here? Where else but in America can the fugitive from oppression and misfortune find a home presented as the gift of the people who welcome him to citizenship among them? And where else has it been so fully demonstrated as here that the spirit of tolerance and liberality pay in the heaven minted coin of a nobler manhood and a purer patriotism.

This is the ethnic question referred to—the political is no less important. The United States is settling for the world the question of the capacity of a man for self-government. The careful observer of current events and the careful student of history alike need not be told that the tendency of mankind on both hemispheres is largely toward self-government. It was no mere accident that made Lafayette the hero of two revolutions. The example of America was contagious. It was not merely the war of the American Revolution that opened at Lexington. It was the war of human liberty. Scarce a century has passed and the roll of republics numbers nineteen in the new and seven in

the Old World. Indeed, we may say with substantial accuracy that the three Americas are to all intents and purposes free, while in the Old World the spirit of liberty, which first recrossed the Atlantic with Lafayette and made the storming of the Bastille the logical sequence of the surrender at Yorktown, has spread and triumphed until more than half the governments monarchical in name are really controlled by the people, and of the rest perhaps there is not even one upon the walls of whose palace the hand of liberty has not written in letters of living flame the "mene, mene, tekel, upharsin" of the people's awakening wrath.

It is the destiny of the United States to lead to the liberty of perfect self-government all the nations of the earth. And how great is the responsibility which this thought imposes. How carefully should we guard those institutions so distinctly American as to have made us what we are, and yet which we hold in sacred trust for all mankind. Perfect liberty of the press, of the ballot, and of conscience, the separate autonomy of the states, this union of elements "distinct as the billows yet one as the sea," our liberal educational systems, our love of home and of country—all these things which have made us what we are, and toward whose bright rays all the nations of the earth are turning, how shall we guard them as the custodians of free government, not for ourselves alone but for all mankind?

And how can we make secure this sacred trust against the hazards of corruption and misrule? We answer, it must be enshrined in the heart of the American citizen with the earliest lessons of his life. He should be indoctrinated in the laws and customs of the land and taught to honor its flag and sing its national songs. Into his mind should be instilled all those principles of courage, fortitude, and patriotism which ever meet in man's loftiest ideals of man. He should be taught the difference between a statesman and a politician, between a patriot and a partisan. He should be schooled in the history of his native town, his native state, and his native land, and taught to love them with an intelligence that takes in all the basal facts in their history and comprehends with what price in blood and treasure of devoted lives they have been purchased. He should be taught to dwell upon

liberty until every letter in the sacred word shall be luminous with a heavenly flame and until the lives of the heroes who have died in its defense shall become to him a resistless inspiration. Aye, he should be lifted up in the arms of a liberal culture given by the state as the free gift of a fond parent above all sordid meanness, above all sectional narrowness, to that lofty plane of exalted citizenship upon which, burning with love for town and state, yet viewing them as but the most valued jewels in the crown which is his birthright as the citizen of the grandest country beneath the sun, he can sing with all the fervor of exalted patriotism—

“ My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing.
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.”

WILMOT H. GOODALE.

AN HISTORIC LEGISLATIVE CRISIS.

BY ALFRED E. LEE, A. M.

ON THE eve of the memorable slavery compromise of 1850, a unique and far-reaching episode, of national import, took place in the legislation of the state of Ohio.

The Republican party was not yet born. The Whig and Democratic parties had become rivals for the favor of the pro-slavery element then predominant in the Southern States. In consequence of that rivalry, and of its implied subserviency to the political power of slavery, each of these great parties had alienated a considerable number of its members from its councils. The voters thus repelled from their wonted partisan affiliations, united in the organization of a new party, which was known in Ohio as "Free Democracy," but took the general name of "Free-soil." In 1848 this party nominated and voted for Martin Van Buren for president, and obtained a considerable support in nearly all the free states, although it carried none of the presidential electors. Its vote was particularly strong in New York and Ohio.

Directly following the presidential election of 1848, the General Assembly of Ohio convened in the Old Statehouse at Columbus. The General Assembly next antecedent to this one had been controlled by the Whig party, and had passed, in the interest of that party, a legislative apportionment law containing the following provisions :

"So much of the county [of Hamilton] as is comprised within the limits of the first eight wards of the city of Cincinnati shall compose the first district, and shall be entitled to one senator and two representatives, the senator to be elected in the years 1849 and 1851; and so much of the county as is not included in the first district shall compose the second district, and be entitled to one senator and three representatives."

The Democrats maintained that, in pursuance of the constitution of 1802, then in force, a county could not be thus divided for election purposes, and put their candidates in the field for the entire county, regardless of the legislative apportionment. One of the active Democrats who stoutly justified this action was Edwin M. Stanton, subsequently distinguished as secretary of war. The Democratic nominees were George E. Pugh, Alexander N. Pierce, Edwin L. Armstrong, Henry Roedter, and Alexander Long, all of whom obtained the highest vote in the county at large. The Whigs, adhering to the legislative apportionment, nominated, in the first district, Oliver M. Spencer and George W. Runyan, who obtained in that district the highest number of votes. The canvassing board comprised two justices of the peace and the county clerk. The justices declared and certified that Spencer and Runyan had been duly elected representatives from the first district; the county clerk, on the other hand, certified that Pugh and Pierce, as well as the three other Democratic nominees, whose election was not disputed, had been duly chosen as representatives from Hamilton County.

This action of the Hamilton County canvassing board, together with the mixed result of the legislative canvass in the state, produced a situation ideally promotive of contention. On the morning of December 4, the day appointed for the new General Assembly to convene, the Democratic representatives assembled at the Old Statehouse "before the Whig members were out of their beds," as it was represented, took possession of the right-hand side of the hall, and of the speaker's chair, swore in forty-two members, including Messrs. Pugh and Pierce, of Hamilton County, and chose Benjamin F. Leiter, of Stark County, to preside. Aroused by this precipitancy on the part of the Democrats, the Whigs hastened to the hall, assembled in the space left vacant on its left-hand side, swore in thirty-two members, and chose Anselm T. Holcomb, of Gallia County, as their presiding officer. Eight Freesoil members were installed with both the Whigs and the Democrats. Forty-eight members—two thirds of all—being necessary to a quorum, and neither of the leading political parties having that number, neither could

control the organization. Thus the House was rendered helpless, and a prolonged deadlock ensued, at once serious and amusing.

The ablest and most conspicuous participant in the proceedings under the deadlock was Dr. Norton S. Townshend, a native of England (born in 1815), whose parents emigrated to this country in 1830, and settled on a farm in Lorain County, Ohio. Here young Townshend soon became actively interested in temperance and antislavery movements, and turned his attention to medicine as the profession of his choice. Gentle and humane, though strong of will and robust in physique, it was perfectly natural that he should deeply sympathize with the bondsmen of the South.

In 1837 young Townshend, with his extra clothing tied in a bundle and slung upon a stick over his shoulder, trudged across the state to Cincinnati to attend lectures on medicine. During the period of his engagement at these lectures he frequently found opportunity to assist escaping slaves, and employed much of his leisure in teaching a class of negro children. He was, at this time, also an observer of an event which engaged his liveliest sympathy and intensified his dislike of the institution of slavery. A southerner visiting Cincinnati brought with him, as a servant in his family, a slave girl named Matilda, who, when her master was about to return to his home in the South, ran away. Matilda was retaken, placed on trial for rendition to bondage, and stood before the court without a defender. Presently a stalwart young man, about thirty years of age, pressed his way through the crowd and offered his gratuitous services as the poor slave's attorney. The defense which this robust young volunteer gave to his client was eloquent and masterly. Townshend inquired who the speaker was. "Salmon P. Chase," was the reply; whereupon the inquirer declared that while he had hitherto refrained from voting because he could not, as he thought, support the candidates of either of the great parties without sanctioning slavery, he had now found a man for whom he could and would vote should he ever have the opportunity.

The opportunity came. In 1848 Mr. Chase's student-admirer, who had by that time become a physician in active practice, was elected to the General Assembly of Ohio by the Freesoilers of Lorain County, and was instructed by them to act, as their representative, "with any party, or against any party, as in his judgment the cause of freedom should require." This instruction referred especially to the election of a national senator, that being the most important duty with which the new General Assembly was charged. When the legislature convened an organization was effected in the Senate—notwithstanding a tie between the Whigs and Democrats—by the election of Senator Randall, a Freesoil Whig, as presiding officer. In the House the Democrats and Whigs—counting with the latter several Freesoilers who had been elected by the aid of Whig votes—each lacked one of having half the members. In addition to and outside of the factions thus antagonized were two Freesoil members—Colonel John F. Morse, of Lake County, and Doctor Norton S. Townshend, of Lorain County—who had gained their seats over the opposition of both the Whigs and the Democrats, and who were therefore independent of both. Without the votes of these two members, as parties were divided, nothing could be accomplished. This being the situation, the Freesoilers—thirteen in all—held a conference at which a resolution was introduced pledging that all their votes should be cast as a majority of their number should direct. Mr. Townshend refused to acquiesce in this pledge for the reason that most of the Freesoilers owed their election to the Whig party, and the action of a majority of them would therefore bind him, probably, to vote with that party, contrary to the instructions of his constituents. Colonel Morse likewise refused to pledge himself, believing that if the Whig party could not be induced to support antislavery men and measures, aid in that behalf might be obtained from the Democrats. Seeing themselves thus in disagreement with their colleagues, Morse and Townshend withdrew from the conference.

About this time Mr. Chase visited the capital of Ohio on professional business, and was consulted by Messrs. Townshend and Morse with respect to the repeal of the so-called "black

laws" of the state. These laws prohibited the settlement of black or mulatto persons in Ohio unless they could each show a certificate of freedom and furnish the bond of two freeholders for good behavior, and for maintenance in the event of the freed person becoming a public charge. It was furthermore made by these laws a penal offense for any white person to give employment to a black or mulatto whose certificate of freedom was not produced and duly recorded. The children of all black and mulatto persons were rigidly excluded from the public schools. As a climax to this cruel legislation, all black and mulatto persons were forbidden to testify in the courts of the state in cases in which white persons were parties. Mr. Chase gave his approval to the bill for the repeal of these laws, and the measure was promptly introduced in the House of Representatives by Colonel Morse.

William Allen was the choice of the Democrats for national senator; Thomas Ewing was the choice of the Whigs. Colonel Morse preferred his friend and neighbor, Joshua R. Giddings, then a representative in Congress; Dr. Townshend preferred Mr. Chase; but both Morse and Townshend were much more ardent in their desire for the election of a reliable antislavery man than they were in their preference for any particular individual. It should be further noted that the judges of the Supreme Court of the state were at that time chosen by the General Assembly; that there were two judges to elect; and that both the Whigs and the Democrats were extremely eager to gain them in order that they might have a majority of their partisans on the bench in the decision of the questions likely to arise from the division of Hamilton County. With reference to these judgeships Townshend and Morse agreed with one another to help elect the candidates nominated by the Whigs, provided the Whig members would, in advance, repeal the black laws and elect Giddings to the Senate; or, alternatively, to vote with the Democrats for their nominees on condition that they would, in like manner, repeal the black laws and elect Chase to the Senate. The proposition to the Whigs was presented by Mr. Morse, that to the Democrats by Mr. Townshend. The Whigs, owing to the

aversion of a few of their number to the stern antislavery dogmas of Mr. Giddings, were unable to agree upon the terms offered them. The Democrats, however, accepted the proposition of Mr. Townshend, but were unable to agree upon candidates for the judgeships. This disagreement on the part of the Democrats being privately made known to Dr. Townshend, he promptly declared that two Democratic candidates had been suggested for whom he could cheerfully vote. These were Messrs. Rufus P. Spaulding and William B. Caldwell, both of whom had already served in a judicial capacity, and had manifested strong antislavery tendencies. Townshend's preference was acquiesced in, and Caldwell and Spaulding became the nominees of their party.

The prolonged deadlock which was practically ended by this adjustment was diversified with many curious and comical episodes. When the General Assembly convened in December the keys to the Old Statehouse were held by State Librarian Greiner, who, being a Whig, refused to surrender them, and thereby obliged the Democratic members to remain in position day and night lest their rivals, the Whigs, might seize their strategical advantages. From Monday morning, December 4, until Saturday, December 23, the watchful guardians of Democratic interests remained continuously at their posts, taking their meals and sleeping at their desks, and resorting, meanwhile, to various odd expedients to sustain and refresh their powers of physical endurance. The Whig newspapers naturally made themselves merry over the situation, and many were their gibes respecting the personal extremities to which the Democratic legislators were brought, and the purposes to which their hats and boots were said to have been applied. The hat of Speaker Leiter was a special subject of jest, and furnished a choice theme for newspaper paragraphers and artists. In the slang of current contention the Whig side of the House was called "Chuckery," and the Democratic side "The Rump." Aside from the rivalry in physical endurance, and spurts of noisy wrangling, the proceedings of the rival factions consisted of little else, from day to day, than monotonous calling of the

roll. On one occasion Dr. Townshend, rising to present propositions of compromise, characterized this legislative farce as "child's play," but immediately corrected himself, saying he would not so slander little children. The *Ohio Statesman*, Democratic organ, thus satirized the daily routine of the Whigs :

" Chuckery, with its thirty men,
Marched into the hall, and then
Chuckery marched out again."

In a communication to the writer Dr. Townshend thus describes some of the turbulent scenes in the proceedings of the dual House of Representatives :

"On the left of the speaker's chair, occupied by Mr. Leiter, were seated the Democrats ; on the right the Whigs. The Free-soil members were seated partly on the right, partly on the left, and usually answered the roll-call of both the other parties. Every foot of the hall not occupied by members was often crowded with visitors, who were not always more orderly than the members themselves. On one occasion, while Mr. George E. Pugh was making an energetic speech, standing on a chair, Mr. Chauncy N. Olds, standing on another chair, was speaking with equal force ; then a third person, not a member, mounted a chair, and apparently commenced a furious though inaudible harangue. So forcible and expressive were the gestures of this third orator that even Pugh and Olds paused for a moment, and it was then perceived that the performance of the interloper consisted wholly of pantomime. He had not uttered a word ; a general and hearty laugh put an end to the uproar for the day."

The *Ohio State Journal* (Whig organ) of Monday morning, December 11, contained these sarcastic observations :

"The House and city were quiet yesterday [Sunday] morning, . . . and all day. The public property is safe ! Thanks to the snoring guardians of the public weal, the chairs, the desks, the inkstands, the sand-boxes, and the wafer-boxes are all in their places, and a full quorum present. On motion, at seven o'clock a. m., the roll was called, the honorable member from Stark [Mr. Leiter] in the chair. . . . The chair de-

clared 'no quorum,' and the 'absent counties' were called, but came not. After sassenagers came stated preaching, which was listened to with becoming reverence. . . . After divine service the honorable chairman refreshed himself with a short walk."

On Saturday, December 23, a proposition was submitted by the Freesoil members, and adopted, by which the House was temporarily organized with Mr. Leiter as speaker and S. W. McLure as clerk. The members then paired and went home for a little holiday rest. On January 1, 1849, the claims of Pugh and Pierce were disallowed by a tie vote of 35 to 35, and those of Spencer and Runyan by a vote of 32 to 38. At this stage of the proceedings an emissary of the Whigs proposed to Dr. Townshend, the Freesoil nominee for the speakership, that they would elect him to that office provided he would resign it as soon as they could seat their Hamilton County members and elect a speaker of their own. This proposition was indignantly spurned, and at the very next opportunity both Townshend and Morse voted for, and turned the scale in favor of, the Democratic nominee for speaker, Mr. John G. Breslin. Stanley Matthews, a young man who had been editor of an antislavery paper in Cincinnati, was then, on motion of Dr. Townshend, elected clerk. A Whig was chosen sergeant-at-arms, and thus, on January 3, 1849, the organization was completed.

But the two independent Freesoilers still held an even balance between the two leading parties, and without their coöperation both factions were impotent. Further tedious contention followed, and a definitive result was not arrived at until January 25, when Dr. Townshend reported from the Committee on Privileges and Elections in favor of the Democratic contestants as the rightful representatives of Hamilton County. In accordance with the arrangements which had been made with the Democrats this report was adopted, and Pugh and Pierce were seated. This took place on January 26. On January 30, the bill repealing the black laws passed the house by a vote of 52 to 10, and on February 22 Mr. Chase was elected, on the fourth ballot, to be United States senator. The choice of R. P. Spaulding and W.

B. Caldwell as judges of the Supreme Court immediately followed, and thus the consummation so much desired by the Free-soilers was completely effected.

In voting, in pursuance of their caucus pledge, for the repeal of the black laws, many of the Democrats consciously buried all their political hopes. The names of some of them had to be called repeatedly before they would give any response to the roll-call. Before pronouncing his vote one of these reluctant martyrs sang out dolefully :

" Here, Lord, I give myself away,
'Tis all that I can do."

The Whig partisans and their organs were of course greatly chagrined at the outcome of the long controversy, and charges of corruption and party treachery were freely made. Messrs. Townshend and Morse were especially singled out for unmeasured abuse, and for months after the affair was over, denunciations of the fiercest character were showered upon them by the Whig press. The state organ of the party printed a long poem, written by State Librarian Greiner, and entitled "*Beelzebub's Cattleshow*," in which Townshend and Morse were represented as premium imps to His Satanic Majesty. But in due time public opinion not only silenced this detraction, but changed it to eulogy.

The accusation of party treachery was entirely baseless. Messrs. Townshend and Morse had been associated in a partisan way with neither the Whigs nor the Democrats, and owed their election to neither. Dr. Townshend had been instructed by his constituents to act "as in his judgment the cause of freedom might require." He so acted, and in the course which he pursued he violated no party obligation. Of his colleague, Colonel Morse, the same is true.

The charge that a corrupt bargain was made likewise proved groundless. Dr. Townshend afterward wrote : "Whatever of praise or blame attached to the agreement, coalition, or bargain by which the black laws were repealed and Mr. Chase elected to the Senate, the entire responsibility rests with Morse and Townshend. Mr. Chase neither suggested nor directed the ar-

rangements." Nor was it ever proven, or even plausibly made out, that the arrangement was made on the part of Messrs. Townshend and Morse with any other motive than the single one of accomplishing the best results possible for the antislavery cause.

Dr. Townshend was subsequently elected to the State Constitutional Convention, and to represent his district in Congress, in which body he distinguished himself for his ability and courage. He is now, at the age of seventy-nine, serving as *emeritus* professor of agriculture in the Ohio State University. Colonel Morse was reelected to the state General Assembly, and was chosen speaker of its Lower House. Mr. Chase, after serving his term in the national Senate, was twice elected governor of Ohio, reelected to the Senate, and successively appointed by President Lincoln to be secretary of the treasury and chief justice of the national Supreme Court. George E. Pugh was reelected to the General Assembly and was subsequently chosen attorney-general of the state and senator of the United States. Stanley Matthews served with distinction in the national army during the Civil War, was elected senator of the United States, and was appointed by President Hayes a justice of the national Supreme Court. Messrs. Spaulding and Caldwell also lived to receive additional tokens of public favor and appreciation. Indeed, few instances of political achievement have been more signally vindicated by popular approval, as manifested in the subsequent distinction conferred upon their leading participants, than the resolute and masterly statecraft which compelled the repeal of the shameful black laws of Ohio and the election of Salmon P. Chase to the national Senate.

ALFRED E. LEE.

‘COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE MOTHER-LAND.’

BY REV. J. H. LONG.

EVENTS succeed one another so rapidly in this age of electricity and world's fairs and record-breaking steamships, that it is almost impossible to follow at all accurately the course of public events or to gauge properly the trend of public opinion. No sooner has there come a lull in the Home Rule debate than we are startled by the report of a South American revolution. No sooner has this died away than we hear the explosion of an anarchistic bomb. The ruin which it has wrought is scarce repaired when our attention is challenged by the heresy trial, to be followed by a new phase of the labor question. And so on indefinitely.

There is one subject, however, of perennial interest—at least to the hundreds of millions who own the sway of our sovereign lady, the queen. This is, the relations of the outlying parts of the empire to the home islands, in a word, the empire's future. For years this question has been discussed—discussed from every point of view, and by the ablest minds; and nowhere has it received greater attention than in the Dominion of Canada.

It will not be denied that the trend of public opinion there and elsewhere is now strongly in favor of the maintenance of imperial unity. It will not be denied that there is an ever-strengthening feeling that the disintegration of this mighty fabric would be a giant calamity; that the best interests of each part and of the world at large will be subserved by the preservation intact of that marvelous structure which has been built up at so immense a cost of blood and treasure. Mr. Lecky, the historian, said, a short time ago, in a lecture before the Imperial Institute: “I believe that the overwhelming majority of the people of these islands is convinced that an England reduced to the limits

which the Manchester school would assign to it would be an England shorn of the chief element of its dignity; and that no greater disgrace could befall them than to have sacrificed, through indifference or negligence or faint-heartedness, an empire that has been built up by so much genius and so much heroism. The figures of illustrious colonial statesmen are becoming familiar to us. The presence in England of a high commissioner from Canada and of agents general from the other colonies constitutes a real, though an informal colonial representation; and on more than one occasion our foreign policy has been swayed by colonial pressure. Those young democracies, with their undeveloped resources, their unwearied energy, their great social and industrial problems, are beginning to loom largely upon the imagination of Europe. They feel, we believe, just pride in being members of a great and ancient empire and heirs to the glories of the past. We, in turn, feel a no less just pride in our union with these coming nations which are still lit with the hues of sunrise and rich with the promise of the future."

I have said, "a lecture before the Imperial Institute." This institute is one of the two outward and visible signs of the growing tendency toward a closer drawing together of imperial ties that have appeared during the last few years. The accounts which were given in the newspapers of the brilliant opening of this institute a year ago are fresh in the minds of all. It is now one of the ornaments of London, and will be a rendezvous for visitors from all parts of the empire, where they will find themselves in touch alike with their old associations and with English political life. It will be, also, the home of a permanent exhibition of imperial resources and products, a center of information upon questions of trade and commerce. It will embrace bureaus of colonization and emigration, museums of historic documents and relics illustrative of the growth of the British domain, and libraries of books upon colonial and home history, geography, and finance. But more than all this: it will be an enduring memorial of the greatness and glory of the queen's world-wide realm, a constant refutation of the theory that the policy of the future lies in disintegration, not in consolidation.

The second of the two signs to which I have referred is the formation at Westminster of "The Colonial Party." It had long been felt by those members of the imperial Parliament who had lived in the colonies that sometimes colonial interests do not receive in Parliament their share of attention. Not that there is a deliberate attempt to ignore such interests; nothing of the kind. But, in the multiplicity of subjects that come before the House, it inevitably happens that home matters—those which affect Britain directly—come in for the larger share of attention.

Then, again, there is at times a lack of knowledge of colonial matters. This must be the case when it is remembered that Parliament has to do, more or less, with all parts of an empire comprising an area of almost fourteen millions of square miles and a population of about four hundred millions. It occurred, then, to those members who had lived abroad, that it would be a good thing to combine themselves into a conference or committee.

The result is that there has been formed "The Colonial Party." Strictly speaking it is not a party, for its members belong, some to the Conservative, some to the Liberal, and some to neither great party. They have no common ground except this: a desire to further colonial interests and to preserve imperial unity. The number of its members was, at the formation of this colonial conference a few months ago, twenty-seven; and others have joined since then. Thus the total is quite sufficient to exert an appreciable power in the House. That there is a valid reason for the existence of such a body is evident when one considers the many questions continually arising in which colonial interests are at stake. For example—not to go back to the past—there is the Bering Sea matter; for this is not yet settled by any means; the indemnity has not been decided upon, and the practical working of the award has not yet been tested. There is the Newfoundland French shore difficulty, said by Sir Charles Dilke to be the most troublous of all difficulties. There is the South African question, involving scores of delicate matters; and there is that of Australian federation. The members of the Colonial Conference will act, of course, in no official capacity. They are

apart from the colonial agents on the one hand (these latter are the representatives of the various colonial governments), and from the colonial secretary on the other. They will no doubt frequently act in conjunction with these, but their action will be entirely unofficial, binding none except themselves. Besides such matters as those just referred to, which are diplomatic in their nature, there will be the consideration of the following and many others: improvement in inter-imperial cable communication, the organization of defense, the legalization of the investment of trust moneys in colonial securities, the appointment of governors, patent and copyright regulations, a uniform postal rate, the recognition of professional and other degrees.

The Colonial Conference will certainly not have to complain of lack of material upon which to exercise its ability. And, although not heralded with much sound of trumpet, this movement is undoubtedly one of the most important in British politics during recent years. This importance has been duly recognized by the most influential papers in Britain and elsewhere. "For," as has said a New Zealand journal, "it is virtually colonial representation in the House at Westminster." Whether there can be actual colonial representation is a problem which has taxed to the utmost the thought of British statesmen from the time of the American Revolution until now—a problem the solution of which must wait at least until there are formed the two confederations, that of Australia and that of South Africa, after the model of the Dominion of Canada. Meanwhile, the nearest approach to such representation is found in the Colonial Party of the House at Westminster.

What has already been said leads naturally to the subject of imperial federation. And, as a good deal has been written about the collapse of this so-called "fad," a few words may be in place as to the Imperial Federation League. In the year 1884 there was held in London a conference of well-known men from various parts of the empire (along with others the prominent Canadian statesmen, Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir Charles Tupper) for the purpose of considering the relations of the colonies to Great Britain, and of strengthening the sentiment in favor of British

unity. The result of the deliberations was the Imperial Federation League, with these among its fundamental principles: "That the object of the league be to secure by federation the permanent unity of the empire; that no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs; that any scheme of imperial federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defense of common rights." Branch leagues were formed in all parts; an excellent newspaper, *Imperial Federation*, was (and still is) published; lecturers were appointed; and an active propaganda was set on foot. Among the many prominent men who warmly espoused the cause may be mentioned: Sir John Lubbock, Earl Dunraven, Professor Bryce, Earl Rosebery, Lord Brassey, Professor Seeley, the late Professor Freeman, Sir Charles Russell, Lord Wolseley, Lord Tennyson, the Marquis of Lorne, Sir Edward Stanhope, the late Hon. W. E. Forster, Sir Michael Hicksbeach.

Unfortunately—according to the opinion of many persons—the league made a bad choice of name, "Imperial Federation League," as such name suggested the formation of a confederation after the manner of the German, the American, or the Canadian Confederation. It would have been better to have chosen instead some such name as "The League of Imperial Unity." After an existence of nine years, the Central Council disbanded in London a short time ago. The branches, however, are still maintained; and when the burning question of Home Rule shall have been disposed of in one way or another, the Central Council will no doubt again be organized. At any rate, the league has done yeoman's service in the cause for which it came into being. It has distributed vast quantities of literature, fostered discussion, and opened the eyes of the people of Great Britain to the greatness of their outlying possessions. Above all else it has ceaselessly inculcated this great principle, that the unity of the empire must be preserved. Indeed, to its efforts may be traced, directly or indirectly, the introduction of patriotic reading lessons into the English schools, the insistence upon the study of

colonial geography and history in these schools, the extension of ocean cable communication, the growth of the federal idea in Australia, the settlement of the New Hebrides difficulty, the celebration in Canada of patriotic anniversaries, the foundation of the Imperial Institute, the support of Canada's contention in the Bering Sea.

For a long time the league deemed it advisable to carry on an educational crusade as to the objects in view. This having been done, there naturally arose a demand for a detailed scheme. It was found that such details grouped themselves in three divisions: (1) Common defense; (2) A greater share by the colonies in the determination of foreign policy; (3) The trade question. Upon the first and second of these points there was practical unanimity. Upon the third, however, there was a division of opinion. It was acknowledged by all that the empire must be protected and the seas kept free from pirates and revolutionists, toward the expenses of which protection the colonies ought to contribute their share. It was acknowledged that the colonies ought to have a larger part in the determination of foreign policy. But upon the third question there was a divergence of views. The one school of federationists were in favor of an imperial trade policy, whereby the empire as a whole should be distinguished from the rest of the world, to which it would offer a solid trade front. This result could be attained by the adoption either of free trade or of a system of preferential tariffs. The other school believed that the trade question should be let severely alone, each part of the empire arranging its policy as it saw fit. But, at any rate, imperial federation is not dead by any means, even if the Council of the league is temporarily dissolved. Sir John Lubbock, president of the city of London branch, has very lately advised the reorganization of the league on a free trade basis; and Mr. Howard Vincent, M. P., on the other hand, is pushing his theory of a preferential tariff.

But apart from this trade question, the two great principles of common defense and participation by the colonies in foreign policy are being acted upon more and more year by year. Australia now maintains a naval squadron of her own in her waters,

to act in conjunction with the royal navy. Canada shares in the cost of the Esquimaux fortifications on Vancouver Island, while the Canadian Pacific Railway will more and more become the military highway to the East. Then, again, a few years ago the colonies had nothing to say in regard to Britain's foreign policy. Now all this is changed. Canadian representatives sit side by side with English representatives. In the Bering Sea arbitration Sir John Thompson and his Canadian colleagues were on an absolute equality with Lord Hannen and his English colleagues. The words of the late Robert Lowe, uttered fifty years ago when he was a Sydney barrister, are, then, coming true. "I hope and believe," he said, "that the time is not remote when Great Britain will give up the idea of treating her dependencies as children, who are to be cut adrift by the parent as soon as they arrive at manhood, and will substitute for it the far wiser and nobler policy of knitting herself and her colonies into one mighty confederation, girdling the earth in its whole circumference, and confident against the world in arts and arms."

This is the sentiment which more and more is animating both the mother-land and the dependencies. In Canada the annexation tendency—at no time strong—is now virtually non-existent, while the only extant representative of the Manchester school of "Little England" is that unhappy historical romancer, Mrs. Goldwin Smith.

The future will, then, as far as can be judged, bring about the following developments in colonial relationships :

I. A fair apportionment of contributions to imperial defenses. And defense is just as necessary now as ever. Never did the world echo with louder alarms of war than it does to-day. What is it that guarantees the freedom of the seas from piracy ; what is it that protects the life and property of foreigners in South and Central America at this moment ? Not missionaries, not consuls, but the guns and the blue jackets of men-of-war. When imperial defense shall have been put upon a fair and permanent basis, then the colonies shall be able to demand rights, not ask for privileges.

II. The formation of a permanent council—not necessarily a parliament—composed of members from all the self-governing parts of the empire, whose office it shall be to discuss all truly imperial questions.

III. Improved cable and other communication throughout all parts of the queen's dominions. (Already there is a line of steamships running from Victoria, British Columbia, to China and Japan, in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. This will be shortly followed by a fast Atlantic line from Quebec and Halifax to Britain, by a cable from Canada to Australia, and, in all probability, by a fast steamship line from Canada to Australia.)

IV. The full acknowledgment of the right of colonial representation upon all treaty commissions affecting the colonies.

V. The confederation of the Australian and the South African colonies.

VI. Probably the inauguration of a common trade policy for the empire.

These results are being reached year by year. Our people are seeing that colonies do not of necessity fall away from the parent state as fruit drops from the tree. (Are there any instances in history where, except as the result of war, colonies in the true sense have left the side of their mother-country?) They are seeing that it is to the benefit alike of England and the colonies that they shall remain forever united. Aye—more than this: that it is in the truest interest of the civilization and peace of the world.

J. H. LONG.

REVISION OF CONSTITUTIONS.

BY WILLIAM W. PHELPS, ESQ.

THE constitution of a very few states of the Union require periodical submission of the question as to whether a convention shall be held to amend and revise their constitutions. The last constitutional convention in accordance with such a provision has recently been held in New York. The wisdom of some device whereby peaceful modifications can be engrafted in the fundamental law, as the experience of changing and advancing civilization dictates, is so apparent that a resolution providing for future amendments of the United States Constitution was passed without debate.

The members of the first national convention, richly qualified for their work by having engaged in the Revolution, which made it possible, fully appreciating how dearly they paid for the blessings they wished now to perpetuate, recognized that the establishment of a government destined to endure indefinitely must make provisions for alterations and improvements in the fabric of government. How admirably has the federal Constitution filled its mission. Established more than a hundred years ago as the basis for the government of thirteen states, it has proved to be broad enough and strong enough to support the mighty structure of the present republic; it has repelled the bayonet of foreign enemy and erring children, and has extended its protecting arms from ocean to ocean, enfolding immense increase in area, wealth, and population, and skilfully regulates the delicate relations between forty-four states and the national government.

"We needed," says Dicey, "the thunder of the Civil War to break his repose, and it may be doubted whether anything short of impending revolution will ever again arouse him to activity." We may not say the thunder of another social storm will not

again break this repose, but we do with warrantable pride believe that any perils which may hereafter threaten the constitution will be met with equal success. We must profit by, as well as take pleasure from, the facts of national constitutional history. One of the most conspicuous facts in this history is the contented manner in which the American people have retained unchanged their original organic law. The first ten amendments ratified by the states in 1791 are to all intents and purposes a part of the instrument itself. Experience suggested two more in 1798 and 1804, respectively, and since then no change has occurred except to make permanent the results of the Civil War. Without believing that we are exaggerating the importance of the amendment clause of a constitution if we compare that instrument to a ship, the clause may well be likened to the rudder which guides the ship of state. With a view to steering clear of the perils which had shipwrecked confederated republics in the past, the framers of our Constitution provided a wise means by which the course could be changed as dangers appeared.

But when "all is well" it is absurd to periodically consult the whims and caprices of a people for the purpose of changing a safe, tried, and satisfactory course for an experimental and possibly fatal one, should the paper ballots happen to blow in that direction. And yet in a few of the states the question must be asked, each ten or twenty years, "Shall there be a convention to revise and amend the Constitution?" regardless of the efficiency of a constitution under which a contented people live. "Though a constitution," observes Mr. Bryce, "is no exception to the rule that everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past, and the more slowly every institution has grown, so much more enduring is it likely to prove." And while this is not construed to mean that a musty old parchment commands more respect than a document bearing the date of 1895, at least in America, nevertheless it does suggest the folly of tearing up by the roots a constitution sanctified by time, for the purpose of transplanting those roots in a soil which has not been demonstrated to yield so bountifully the fruits of liberty. The two principles upon which amend-

ments should proceed is stated briefly by Story (on the Constitution) "to make the changes practical, but not too easy; to secure due deliberation and caution, and to follow experience rather than open a way for experiments suggested by mere speculation or theory."

Each of the six constitutions which open the way for amendment at stated intervals, unless New Hampshire is here included, have other provisions on the same subject complying with the political philosophy of Story, and resembling the rest of the American constitutions. These provisions almost universally combine the two following modes. First: The legislature originates the proposed amendment as occasion demands. Generally the wisdom and necessity of the same must be referred to the next succeeding legislature, and frequently more than a majority of these successive legislatures is required. In all cases the people must ratify the amendment by a majority vote before it becomes constitutional law. Second: It is also provided that the legislature, when it deems expedient, call a convention for the purpose of revising or amending the constitution, and may refer to the people the question for or against such convention, and if a majority of the vote favors a convention, the propositions agreed to by such body are accepted or rejected by a majority of the voters. These provisions are in sympathy with the fifth article of the United States Constitution, and have been found adequate to meet the needs of some thirty-five rather progressive states. To add to them the further section indicated, contained in the constitutions of Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Virginia, is to unnecessarily invite close conflict and useless struggles.

The purposeless character of a convention, so called, without rhyme or reason, renders it a fine target for all kinds of interested persons, with as many different policies, and this must result in compromise measures which break forth upon an unprepared people like thunder from a blue sky. It offers facilities for changes too frequent and too numerous, thus too radical when the way is not paved by public sentiment, an evil which eleven of the state constitutions have endeavored to evade. It furnishes

a stage and large audience for the performances of new schools of political thought. It takes even from constitutional law that reliance which is essential to aid confidence in any law. It opens the door to theory and speculation. Ill-timed reforms are pressed forward to meet a coming convention, and ripe reforms suppressed until a convention. Constitutional developments to meet the requirements of a progressive people have some relation to time, but lapse of time alone is too artificial a consideration to inaugurate decisive action. The merit of a proposed amendment should alone introduce it to public attention. To offer conveniences for the majority of each seven, ten, or even twenty years to record them will in constitutional form degrade the supreme law of a state to statutory law.

It becomes a sort of political diary. The slightest perusal of the American Constitution now in force illustrates beyond question an increasing tendency to disregard proper limits in constitution making and mending. As a result, a code of laws has become intertwined with the frame of government. This interdicts to the proper legislative body the exercise of its legitimate functions, and the people lose the benefit of punctual modifications and additions by the more pliable method of mere legislation. Not much that is fundamental law, properly understood, has resulted from the numerous constitutional conventions of late, though it takes a great deal more printers' ink to produce the constitutions. And perhaps, if the truth of this observation is not questionable, when the people begin to pay the fiddler for these masquerades in which legislators have feigned to be real constitution framers, there will be fewer periodical invitations. It is desired that this should not be considered a reflection upon any convention; indeed, though the purpose of this article is to advance a few thoughts unfavorable to the continuance of periodical conventions, it is solely for the reason that they tend to change the organic law too often, too much, and on too little provocation.

But for *revising* a constitution when an urgent and dignified necessity exists within the scope of constitutional law, that alternative in state constitutions seems best adapted to insure the

stability and liberty of the people which provides for a constitutional convention in case the people so vote, after the question has been put to them by the legislature. And then the proposals of this convention should be placed before the people for their ratification. But for the removal of single blemishes, the legislature has not yet displayed incompetency in proposing to the people effective *amendments*, and this has the advantage of promptness. A convention, when it becomes necessary to *revise* the Constitution, may be called a necessary convention, or distinguished from a periodical convention, and it is better qualified to *materially* alter the Constitution than the legislature, inasmuch as the class of men usually chosen for that purpose are selected with reference to the special commission given them. Its debates are followed by the people, and its character as a constitution, rather than a statute-making body, is kept in mind by many of the better lawyers who compose it. To refer again to the periodical convention, it is at most a good way to do a bad thing. Of course the improbable may happen and eminent need for constitutional alteration arise just at the time fixed for resubmission, in which case the convention becomes a necessary one, and in the six states mentioned could be called as such unless the coincidence of time and necessity should occur instantaneously. But while an unnecessary convention to change a constitution is an actual curse to a state, a necessary convention is not a blessing. The people learn to revere that constitution which has its roots deep in the past and bears the ripe fruits of time. To borrow the metaphor from one of our most loyal citizens, it is only in the roaring loom of time that the stuff is woven for such a vesture of thought and expression as may properly compose a constitution.

WILLIAM W. PHELPS.

WHAT TRUE PATRIOTISM DEMANDS OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.

BY ROGER SHERMAN, ESQ.

THE birthday of Washington, the one man of all recorded time to whom all civilized nations have, with one voice, awarded the crown of true greatness, brings memories of heroic times and heroic deeds, and inspires one dominant thought and one most appropriate theme upon which we may dwell with pride and with profit.

The thought is that we are Americans: yea, Americans of all Americans, standing in the midst of our heritage of this great land, with its unlimited wealth of resources and its boundless possibilities, with hearts swelling with noble yearning of patriotism born of the traditions and the memories we are so fortunate as to have had handed down to us.

The theme is Americanism. What is it? What have we which we should distinguish by that name? What are the typical ideas, principles, and ideals of which we, so far as in each of us lies, should be the special custodians, and which, as they have come to us illustrated with many a tradition of wisdom under difficulty, of endurance, self-sacrifice, and of valor, we should guard, cherish, inculcate, and, in our turn, pass on to the ages yet to come? *Noblesse oblige*. With fortune's favors come responsibilities; traditions and opportunities, such as those of the descendants of revolutionary sires, carry with them grave duties to their country and to themselves.

Foremost among American typical ideas, we may place the ever present love of liberty, and with it its correlative obligation of obedience to law. The Anglo-Saxon, first among the peoples of the earth, has attempted to solve the problem of liberty subjected to law, and of law subjected to liberty. As there can be with us no law without liberty of the individual, so there can be

no desirable liberty which is not restrained by law. The liberty to do right is for the individual, in all directions of growth and development, so long as he trespasses not upon the equal right of his fellow ; the function of law is to lay its restraining hand upon liberty that dares to do wrong to the equal ; for a wrong done to one is a wrong to all, and a wrong to the state. Growing lawlessness is one of our great national dangers—lawlessness in high places ; lawless business methods ; lawlessness of public men ; a standard of obedience which results only in evasion ; a rule of conduct restrained only by a view of the opening doors of a penitentiary. Lawlessness begets lawlessness. The constant spectacle of legislators faithless to their obligations, to their constituents, and to the state ; of corrupt politicians escaping punishment, and holding places once considered honorable, by grace of a dollar ; of great corporations and combinations of capital, lifting themselves beyond the reach of the individual citizen, and, in some instances, beyond that of the commonwealth itself, can but breed other lawlessness, and tend to reduce society to its original condition—that of savage warfare, intensified and made more destructive to the innocent by the instrumentalities which modern science has made available.

The American, true to his country and its traditions, must therefore necessarily hold all citizens to obedience to law, and demand that all shall be alike amenable to it and equal before it. The lawlessness of power is most dangerous. The eternal vigilance that guards our liberties cannot avail without that constant watchfulness of the encroachments of power, which, history teaches us, precede the downfall of freedom ; insidious and specious claims ; usurpation masked behind false pretense or accepted truths, or public danger, real or imagined—usurpation, not always by the government or the throne, but by those greater forces behind the throne. Stability of the law and certainty of its equal enforcement are the sure safeguards against anarchy, which is but the ultimate development of all lawlessness. The support of law and order should be required of those in places of power with equal firmness as from the weak.

Not least among the traits of our ancestors were sturdy inde-

pendence and self-reliance. Necessities of their existence—these entered into their daily lives and found expression in many of the provisions of the governments which they formed. These were among the earliest developments of that democratic spirit which recognizes the man for what he is and has done, rather than for his pretensions, his wealth, or his ancestry. As Daniel Webster pointed out in his oration delivered at the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, the strength of our government depends greatly upon the system adopted by the first settlers of New England, by which the frequent division of estates was made certain, and the accumulation of great landed properties was declared to be against public policy. The equal distribution of wealth was aimed at, and the independence and mutual respect that grew up from small holdings of farms did much to build up and preserve our national character. When the soil is owned by great numbers of independent freemen, no foreign foe is to be feared. The American at his best does not need to be nursed or coddled. An open field and a fair fight are all the demands he makes of fortune or of his fellow-man.

Simplicity of manners, and the secondary place accorded to mere wealth, were characteristics of the men and women who gave life to colonial independence and molded our commonwealths into a national Union. In those days wealth brought culture, refinement, and comfort; but history of that era fails to record a single instance where it purchased a senatorship, a cabinet position, or a judgeship; or yet, where these were purchased for a subservient tool who was needed as an advocate of some great wrong. Our heritage is not one of luxury, nor are our lives to be devoted to the aping of foreign manners, with their attendants of foreign vices.

But, while we dwell with pardonable pride upon the early history of our country, recall with admiration the stern and simple virtues of those who made that history, and revere in silent thought the great patriot who led in that epoch-making struggle, we ought not to forget the demands of the present hour upon our citizenship, nor close our eyes to the impending dangers beneath which we are drifting. The American Republic has

passed its hundredth year of organized existence. Are our people walking in a fool's paradise of mutual admiration, cheered on their way by constantly recurring pyrotechnic displays of adulation and choruses of self-glorification? Are we in danger of mistaking our self-satisfaction for patriotism? Do we even now realize the dangers of the sectional spirit, against which Washington warned his countrymen? Are there not too many excellent people who believe that, by reason of our soil, or climate, or race, or atmosphere, or form of government, the people of the United States are to be exempted from the calamities which history tells us have befallen other nations? Is there not a feeling that, on this continent and in this age, men are in some unknown way to be freed from the consequences of vices and imperfections which destroyed mankind in the past, and that, for us, nature may have made special arrangements, and suspended the usual operations of cause and effect for the exceptional care of her favorite children of the West? No matter what happens, that the United States will be, in that purely American and most comprehensive phrase, "all right," is the inward belief which enables the average citizen to go on from year to year, oblivious of the growth of dangerous evils, and complacently leaving them to the nursing care of his very particular friend, the professional politician. Yet, it is apparent that there are great numbers of people, increasing year by year, who are coming to realize that even republics may not always be perfect, and that the American Republic can be in some things improved, even if the form of government cannot be. The very patriotism which animates us, like the love of the parent for the child, leads us to see that there are diseases in the body politic which are not mere eruptions upon the surface, but are deadly in their character; and, though the infant is strong and its constitution perfect, it may not, nevertheless, be able to throw off sickness without a little care on the part of its natural guardians.

In a republic, as has been so often said as to be now a platitude, the government will be good or bad in exact ratio to the goodness or badness of the citizens who create it, for it rests upon their intelligence and political virtue. Above all, therefore,

should we guard from all attacks our system of public education. Our public schools should be the nurseries of pure Americanism. Here should be taught—aye, to the exclusion, if need be, of other studies now occupying attention—American history, the principles of our form of government as laid down in our constitutions and bills of rights, the practical duties of citizenship, and the need of their active performance. Needed reforms should not be left to the practical politician, for he moves to their accomplishment with lagging and reluctant step, accelerated only by the prodding bayonets of outraged citizenship. What he wants is votes, and he never “panders to the moral sense” of the community if he can avoid it.

And this brings us to the consideration of another characteristic of the early days—the moral sentiment which prevailed in the formative era, and entered into the struggle for independence, and the religious force always present in its inception and throughout its progress. In that epoch, the Ten Commandments had a place in politics, as well as in daily life. Call the early New England system a “theocracy” if you will; yet, in the discussions of public affairs, in the choosing of officials, in the deliberations of the town-meeting, morals and religion were in their politics, and they heeded not the sneer that they were infusing politics into their religion. What, though seeing less clearly by the dim lights of their age, they sometimes became fanatics and persecutors, were they not right in teaching and practicing that the principles of religion and morality should govern men in the discharge of their duties as citizens, as well as otherwise?

Can we, in our day, hope long to maintain our system upon the plane of good government, if we sanction the methods now everywhere around us, permitting all the vile passions of barbarous—yea, of savage—man to be let loose in all manner of evil-doing every year, and call these elections?

Shall we turn over our public schools—aye, our very homes—to the rule of law-breakers, and they who bear false witness?

Those who stand on the watch-towers of human progress are warning us that we are upon the border-line beyond which lie

great political and social changes, and that the hour is close upon us when once again the American who loves his country must choose the ground upon which he will stand to fight again a battle for the race. The great pendulum of time has swung once again to the point of transition, and the hour-hand points to the day—yea, to the very moment—when old ideas and formulas and time-worn methods no longer serve to still the beatings of the great heart of humanity, and man, with uplifted brow and tingling nerve and bounding pulse, is about to march forward to another stage of his unknowable destiny.

What this change will be we know not. That it will be of the nature of a revolution cannot well be doubted. That there will be a more perfect Union is probable. That money will be less a god of our people we may sincerely hope. We hear the distant tread of myriad feet; the sound of strange cries is wafted to us from the distance, and, like the dumb beasts in the atmosphere of a coming storm, we stand silent and appalled at what we cannot avert. But we need not fear, for, whatever the coming change may bring forth, it will be in the interest and advancement of the cause of humanity and popular government; and they will come forth upon a still higher plane for the progress of the race. Law and order will be maintained, for the Anglo-Saxon is their guardian and protector, but they will be the law and order of a self-governed people, freed from industrial tyranny and the domination of the golden calf.

God grant that, when this hour strikes, we and each of us may be found anchored to the ideas and principles which America has given to the world, and that we shall remember that names are nothing; the achievements or rank of ancestors or kindred are nothing; long descent is nothing; but the culture and growth of each individual in strength of mind and body is everything; fixed principles of citizenship, of morals, and of business conduct are everything; courage to assert and maintain conscientious and well-considered convictions, and to do what we believe, is everything. A feeble race of men, drifting down the stream of time, the sport of shifting currents, and wrecked ever and anon upon the same shoals and rocks of error and folly,

cannot too soon perish. But a strong, conscientious, courageous, self-respecting people, standing firm for the right, for human progress, for human liberty, whether rich or poor, high among the rulers of the nations or walking in humble estate, commands and receives respect, and bears with it the seed and promise of continued life. Nor should we forget that sublime saying of the early Puritan republican, who, having condemned his king to death, was equally as firm in resisting the usurpations of his successor, that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

In the veins of all the races that make up the manhood of America, there flows no drop of blood which has not been purified and made strong by rebellion against wrong. Whether Teuton, Celt or Saxon, Frank or Scot, in all ages and in all lands, on the plains and mountains of Europe, at Runnimede and Bosworth Field, from Blackwater to Bannockburn, from Lexington to Yorktown, these have wrung from the hands of overbearing power civil and religious liberty and the crowns of honor. Sad will be the day when the American people forget their traditions and their history, and no longer remember that the country they love, the institutions they cherish, and the freedom they hope to preserve, were born from the throes of armed resistance to tyranny, and nursed in the rugged arms of fearless men.

ROGER SHERMAN.

REFORM FROM THE FARMER'S POINT OF VIEW.

BY WILBUR ALDRICH.

FARMERS are getting interested in reform. Democratic statesmen appeal to them in favor of tariff reform. Political reformers of all sorts confidently appeal to the honest yeomen. The farmers themselves are uniting in some sections of the country politically to promote reform, as they have very generally united in non-partisan organizations to promote their general welfare.

Reform in politics usually means some improvement which secures greater liberty or greater immunity from oppression, with some incidental reference to promoting the general material welfare. But to the laborer, reform now means reaping the full product of his labor. To the farmer, who is a capitalist as well as a laborer, it means also getting the full market value of the use of his capital, at least as long as capital has a value, and also fair remuneration for his labor. To the farmer, the mischief to be remedied is that he makes neither wages nor interest nor profits from his labor and capital, but ekes out a bare subsistence, while mechanics make good wages, capitalists big interest, and middlemen immense profits.

Now let us see what there is in the various reforms for the farmer.

Ballot reform we have in several states, and as a result there is a little less bribery at elections ; but independent voting is impeded by cumbrous machinery which it takes strong party machinery to operate. Politicians are given additional power. The caucus is made more supreme. The political party, formerly the loosest kind of voluntary corporation, is given functions which amount to a franchise. To be sure, the reform parties also obtain virtual incorporation by the exercise of the new

functions; but the farmer is threatened with two six-mile drives, one to register and one to vote, for the privilege of exercising his suffrage, in the interest of the sanctity of the ballot in towns where people have only to go six hundred feet for the same purposes.

Minority representation, a system by which legislatures would be chosen in large districts so as to give the minority a chance to elect members according to the size of its vote, and by which the quality of representatives would be improved, would add considerable complexity to the electoral system.

Direct legislation, a system now much advocated by reformers, would give the people a chance, through the referendum, to reject laws passed by the legislature, and by the initiative to propose laws not introduced in the legislature. It is a measure of the best kind. If it were obligatory, so that all laws should be submitted to the people, it would cut off the multiplicity of laws which are now mostly used for oppression or to give special privileges. It would, however, entail many additional elections and an immense amount of political labor that experience shows can only be done by politicians living by politics, or by attorneys of those interested in the laws proposed. This increase of political labor, the people generally will not assume, and least of all can the farmer, whose business requires his unceasing attention, easily find time to do his part in the management of this increasingly cumbersome machinery, which is, in fact, but the formal part of reform. After we have a perfect ballot, a good system of minority representation, and direct legislation, we have but entered the field of substantial reform. Yet, on the whole, the farmers should favor these reforms as worth all they cost. They must assume the labor and organize themselves to control the politicians from among themselves, if they would make politics pure and properly guard their interests.

Civil service reform, which the parties alternately in power talk so favorably about, but find it so difficult to practice, is a necessary preliminary reform if we mean to attempt any of the reforms which tend to increase the functions of the government. It is necessary, however, as are all the other improvements in

political forms, to the best development of the government as it is, and to the safeguarding of the republic itself.

Of the substantial reforms, tariff reform has been the longest advocated. The farmers have about come to the conclusion that the manufacturers are getting rich so much faster than themselves that, as a fact, tariff is not needed for the protection of the manufacturers. The advocates of tariff reform believe in a tariff for revenue which will take just as much money out of the farmers' pockets.

The farmers' party out West does not believe in any tariff at all, and they would place taxation upon incomes to make the capitalist bear his part of the burden of government, and upon land values so as to take back from the landlord part of that which the community donates to him in large cities.

So far as the farmer can benefit himself by avoiding unjust taxation, he should insist upon a commission to determine just how much or how little protection manufacturers require to equalize the labor cost here with that in competing countries, and impose that much tariff, abolishing the excess. The rest of the burden should be placed upon property, the farmer manfully bearing his part of the taxation upon his land values and upon his income, if he is so fortunate as to have one.

Under the name of the single tax, land taxation is regarded by some as a great reform, which in its effect upon industry would have as a result the reward of labor by its full product. But that hardly follows. Effect is limited by the extent of its cause and cannot be greater. A purely fiscal measure of taxation, taking money away from people, cannot result in giving money to the people and making them wealthy. Well-directed work, and no financial sleight of hand, will make the people prosperous.

And right here is the fallacy in the contention of the farmers in the West and South, that silver legislation will make them prosper again or even repay them for the losses accruing from the past financial folly of contraction. The contraction of the currency after the war was probably injurious to the farmer, but an expansion now would not pay back those losses nor materially benefit anybody. Inflation is itself, in general, a curse. The

free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 would temporarily contract the volume of the currency by driving gold out of the country; but it would give us a silver standard of values under which commodities would instantly rise, while labor would remain comparatively stationary, thus giving the farmer a temporary advantage over the mechanic. After the adjustments had been made to the silver standard, the farmer would be in the same position as before, only he would be using a dollar of different value. It would be just as though he had changed from the present system of weights and measures to the metric system. Relatively and absolutely he would be just as poor, except he had been able to profit by his temporary advantage and pay a debt, or could in the future pay past debts in a smaller dollar. This is a small and ignoble object which cannot be dignified by the name of reform.

Currency reform is, however, necessary in the direction of freedom of coinage of both money metals at the market ratio of their values, and of a multiple standard of deferred payments by which the fluctuations in the value of the money metals should not be allowed to increase or diminish the amounts of debt after they are once contracted.

The first of the serious reform measures is government ownership of the telegraphs and telephones. It is advocated as a conservative and necessary extension of the Post-Office Department. All the postmaster-generals since the invention of the telegraph have been in favor of its ownership by the government. Without it, an adequate service in the transmission of intelligence cannot be rendered. The business cannot be economically conducted without the letter carrier and the telegraph messenger are made the same. He should also be the bearer of calls to the public telephones. All post-offices should be telegraph and telephone offices, and all telegraph offices and telephone stations should be branches of the post-office. By this means the services in the cities would each be made trebly effective. In the country it would enable the department to immediately provide free delivery at farm houses at least once a day at a profit. If the farmer does not insist upon free letter delivery, such as the cities

get, I shall be mistaken in his pluck. If he does not insist on the only means whereby the telegraph and telephone can be made useful to him, I shall know he is indeed reduced to a condition of peasantry.

The consolidated service could be rendered very much more cheaply than now. Telegraph and telephone messages for any distance should not cost over five cents delivered. They are intrinsically no more expensive than the delivery of letters. Telegraph and telephone messages should, indeed, largely take the place of letters even in the country, if the country men have not got permanently slow-going.

Now is the time for the consummation of this reform. The plant of the Western Union Telegraph Company is almost worthless. It breaks down with every severe storm, frequently leaving New York isolated from the rest of the country. Poor iron wires are strung on wooden poles, whereas good large copper wires should be run in trenches in the ground in and between all the large cities. The instruments used are not of the latest and most improved invention. An entirely new telegraph plant is necessary and it must be provided by the government.

The telephone patents are expiring. The companies have no adequate plant. They do not need one separate from the telegraph plant. The same wires will serve both and are necessary for both. With an adequate consolidated copper line plant, one could telephone across the continent on the telegraph wires and the cost in wear and tear of material would be almost nothing. The telephone should be the cheapest and most satisfactory of all means of communication between individuals separated by any space however wide or narrow.

The cost of this improvement would be comparatively trivial. A sum equal to one half the yearly expenses of the United States government would carry the electricity over copper wires practically to every farm in the country. This is something upon which the farmers should be unanimous in organizing to accomplish. It is a reform which goes to the root of rural civilization itself.

Government ownership of the railways is now popular with

farmers. The increasing consolidation of lines, like the late acquisition of the Lackawanna road by the Vanderbilt interest, makes even *The Times* remark that increasing stringency of government control must follow. But there is not the same conclusiveness of reason in favor of government railways as of government telegraphs and telephones. And in point of fact, control would be first tried by any reform party. A party pledged to the purpose would make the laws prescribing maximum rates, and interstate commerce laws, much more effective than is now the case.

Furthermore, ownership of the railways is a very large undertaking. The risk of failure by bad management would be very great. And even with transportation upon government railways at cost the farmer would profit little. An eminent English authority calculates that lower railway rates only benefit the middleman. In point of fact the farmers ship but little. They mostly sell to local speculators. If they consign in small lots and broken car loads and at infrequent periods, they cannot expect the most favorable rates. If they go into large business as others do, so as to become large and regular shippers, they will, as it is, have no difficulty in getting fair rates; and what is of ten times more importance, they will have the ability to ship and sell independently of middlemen.

It is plain to be seen that all these reforms do not go far toward securing to every one the product of his labor and capital. They all are but steps in that direction or aids to its accomplishment by other methods or further reform measures. Therefore the nationalists and socialists would have the government undertake all industry and secure this result. The justice of such a complete reform cannot be questioned. Its desirability and practicability are only in discussion.

Many would not desire full recompense for their labor at the expense of having that labor directed by political machinery anything like the present.

The real objection to the advocacy of immediate nationalization of industry is its impracticability. Even if the people were united upon the subject no one could draw up the plans for the

conduct of all industry ; and no executive could grasp the work of its administration. Any farmer can see that the farmer general of the United States in Washington could do nothing except as he adopted the very methods that would be just as effective, and more, without his management. He could not improve farming by general orders so much as to insure any better returns to the individual farmers. And the least mistakes on his part would make it probable that even a fair division of the product would not improve the condition of the majority.

But, furthermore, a majority for such a thoroughgoing change cannot be obtained within such a time as to make the subject interesting to the present generation. Political bodies move slowly, decades and centuries elapsing while single minor reforms are perfecting.

But industrial changes are taking place rapidly. Fifty years has witnessed a complete industrial revolution. In that time the railways, telegraphs, large manufactories, and the corporations which own and manage them, have been created. It should not take another fifty years to accomplish another revolution which should simply change the present distribution of the products of labor to a just system. The interests of a vast majority are in a just system. To inaugurate a just system as to those interested, it is only necessary that enough to manage one plant in one industry should combine to distribute earnings, not unjustly, but justly among themselves. Not a majority of 65,000,000 are to be convinced and induced to act, but a thousand in any part of the country.

The principal industry of all is, however, not organized in the present system. It has not participated in the industrial revolution. It must. The farmers have not industrially progressed, and they are now forced to join either as soldiers or captives in the progress. The agricultural industry must be organized upon a large scale to compete with the others. If its organization is not allowed to be taken away from the farmers, they can organize it upon a just basis which will also be to the selfish interest of every farmer. As farming is not organized into large competing concerns, new farming corporations, even if not at first as

large as they should be, can receive no harm from competition.

The conclusion is, therefore, that although there are political reforms so necessary to the farmer as to compel his political activity, the greatest reform is to be attained by voluntary combination in his own industry. In this way the requisite farming corporation can be organized anywhere in a month and accomplish for its members complete industrial reform in half a decade.

Take, for an example of this general idea, the sub-treasury plan for the benefit of the farmers exclusively. If the farmer is not in a business which pays any interest at all on the money invested, he cannot afford in any general way to borrow money at even two per cent. If he were in business he would build his own warehouses, store his crop, carefully classified, and sell his warehouse certificates, for not only wheat, corn, oats, cotton, and tobacco, but for all other crops capable of storage, or cold storage, pocket his hundred per cent, instead of eighty per cent, and have no interest to pay on the amount. His warehouse certificates would be collateral for loans, when he needed them, at the market rates of interest below which he cannot expect to borrow money. Comparatively small farming corporations can do this, besides raising four times as large crops to store and selling them for double present prices without raising the cost to the consumer.

The farmers should unite politically to save the five dollars a year apiece the tariff unjustly filches from them, and the ten dollars in other unjust taxation. How much more, then, should they unite industrially to save the hundred dollars a year lost in dealing with middlemen, and the thousand dollars a year obtainable but not obtained, through scientific business management.

The idea put forward by the editorial writer in the *New York Sun*, that the farmer is bound soon to enter a season of business prosperity without going into business, is foolish. The machinery the farmer uses in raising increasing crops only forces their price down while his methods of business and his standard of living remain unchanged. The capacity of the ground to produce has not been seriously tried in any part of the country, and the exhaustion of the public lands will not benefit the estab-

lished farmer without a revolution in his business methods. If he remains a smelt among the pickerel of the industrial fishpond, he will be eaten.

No law or laws can enact prosperity to the farmer as long as he refuses to take the business means of prosperity adopted by his rivals in business, except, indeed, it be a law to compel him to accept and practice those business principles. No law can protect the small storekeeper against the large one, the small manufacturer against the large one, except the law of self-preservation that compels him to sell out his small business and invest in the stock of the big concern. Sometimes the small concerns, profiting by the experience of others, directly combine. If all go into such combinations and the capitalization is honest, there can be no objection to such coöperation for competition. There is no objection to the farmers so combining their farms, for they could not amount to a trust in the sense of taking all the farms of the country. If all industries were in the form of trusts they would be equals treating with equals, without power of oppression anywhere.

If I am asked how justice shall be performed by a corporation even of farmers, I answer: first, and above all, by a management which will produce something to divide; then the payment of fair wages; then the payment, as dividends, of the market rate of interest on capital, that is, what it is worth in the market; and, lastly, the division of the surplus profits among the workers and operators of the company.

The farmers can reform themselves if they will exercise a little of the intelligence for which they are generally given credit, and the honesty which has given them the name, now almost always satirically applied, of honest yeomen. By the reform of the industrial condition of the farmers by themselves, all industry will be eventually equally benefited, for agriculture is the basic industry and all others are subsidiary thereto. Advanced principles prevailing in agriculture must permeate all industries, while backward agriculture is a drag on industry, retards the march of progress, and hinders the development of our civilization.

WILBUR ALDRICH.

THE CRY OF "ANARCHIST."

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

A SUBSIDIZED press, professedly patriotic and devoted to American constitutions and institutions, but in fact the enemy of justice, equality, and every essential guarantee of equality which the fathers of the republic established, deems it prudent when wrongs are denounced, when unjust laws are criticised and corrupt legislatures and courts are held up to the contempt and scorn of the world, to denounce the reformers who agitate for remedies as "anarchists." The cry is "mad dog," or "wolf," when there is no wolf nor mad dog. But the ruse usually succeeds for a time, at least, and while the craze is on and before reason and truth can assert their sway, the victims of malice and persistent lying suffer.

It is said that the American people like "fair play," and there is much more in the phrase than appears at a glance. Fair play means that the struggle for existence shall not be subjected to obstacles artificially created and designed to reduce opportunities to achieve success in the interest of those whose greed disqualifies them to either act justly or exhibit any regard for those who are the victims of injustice, and when such unfortunates complain, protest, or resist, they are speedily denounced as "anarchists," enemies of capital, blatant agitators, breeders of riots and sedition, conspirators, criminals, who should be fined and imprisoned for the public good.

It is noticeable, however, that the epithet "anarchist" is being largely overworked. It no longer frightens. The purpose of those who use it on all occasions is daily becoming more transparent. This, I think, will be fully established as I proceed.

But there are certain anarchists, everywhere adjudged to be dangerous persons, who have no particular grievance. Their

discontent is equally great and their vengeance equally fierce under all conditions. They are not the enemy of any particular government, but of all governments. They would annihilate government. They are the advocates of chaos, and their method is murder. They are monomaniacs of the worst description, human beasts of prey, ready, as opportunities offer, to kill, always some representative of government and law. Their plans are concocted in secret in the dark, their movements are always stealthy. Recognizing no government, it has been suggested that such anarchists should not have the protection of government; that they should be denied all consideration as human beings and should be driven to the wilderness, to the jungle, to take their chances with beasts and reptiles.

The picture of the destructive anarchist is not overdrawn, the coloring is not too dark; indeed, it would bear a few plutonian touches to make it acceptable to some disciples of the torch and bomb; but, as it is, it serves to bring into bold outline the venom of a subsidized press, which, to make a point against workingmen who resist oppression to the extent of striking for their rights, denounces them as "anarchists." This is done for considerations large and small, as those in whose interests the disreputable work is performed may determine. The country press, the little sheets forever on the ragged edge of starvation, gladly accept a railroad pass, but for which their outings would be about as extensive as those of a tree-toad, or a mud-turtle. The more pretentious papers, which may be regarded as belonging to the capitalistic class, not only demand passes for denouncing workingmen who refuse to be degraded without resistance, but demand and receive such other emoluments as their base subservience to corporate dictation can command. They are all in the market, all have their price, and as workingmen are too poor to respond to their demands, the corporation buys them, and disbursements to secure their services, more or less, are hidden away in "miscellaneous expenses," "betterments," "ballasting," or some other account equally mysterious, and for such considerations the corporations are able to manufacture "*public opinion*" to order and give it the regulation coloring and odor,

the best service being to ring in all the charges that the term "anarchist" is capable of sustaining. This mode of attack is found to be of immense advantage definitely, in two ways. It exposes the workingmen to ever increasing odium and infamy, and constitutes, at the same time, a covert from behind which the corporations in true Indian style can, unobserved, maintain their warfare upon labor.

Nor are such things all the advantages plutocratic corporations derive from a fawning, degenerate, mercenary press. In manufacturing a vicious public sentiment, it debauches the courts of the country, blinds them to justice, and incites them to vengeance.

In the *Forum* for August, 1894, there appeared an article by John Brooks Leavitt on the "Criminal Degradation of New York Citizenship," but which has a wider range than the boundaries of that metropolis, in which it is shown that legislation and the administration of the laws is largely in the hands of criminals. In this connection Mr. Leavitt says:

We are confronted by the fact, if the situation in New York is any criterion, that the administration of our political affairs is *largely in the hands of the criminal classes*. By "criminal classes" is meant the classes which habitually break the law; not merely thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, and rogues of every hue, but men who buy or sell office, legislation, official action, or protection. The police official who sells police protection to a thief, a prostitute, or a gambler is a criminal. Will any one dare to maintain that the "reputable citizen" who purchases a United States senatorship is not a criminal?

Such are Mr. Leavitt's arraignments in which he associates "reputable citizens who purchase United States senatorships" with "thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, and rogues of every hue," and proceeds as follows:

Into such hands as these has the control of our country mainly passed. The making of our laws is *mainly the business of a partnership between the men in office who sell and the men out of office who buy legislation*. The execution of our laws, or rather their non-execution, is also to a great extent a partnership business between the men in office who sell and the men out of office who buy indulgences.

Such charges, made public by a citizen of high character in one of the most prominent publications of the country, would be startling were it not for the fact that the infamy which the charges set forth is known from the center to the circumference of the country ; that legislation, the laws, and the administration of the laws is a mass of corruption and pollution defying exaggeration ; that crime of every description is interwoven in the woof and warp of everything pertaining to government, rising, by fixed gradations, from the dens of prostitutes, thieves, and gamblers to legislatures, courts, and Congress, everywhere exhibiting the trail of the serpent until honest men, crying for reform and protesting against the enslaving methods of thieves, gamblers, courts, legislatures, and Congress, are met by a subsidized press, working in the interest of these Sodomites with the denunciation of "anarchists" or some other vile epithet. But, says Mr. Leavitt :

Is proof needed for so sweeping an assertion ? Read the testimony of the head of the sugar trust before the investigating committee of the United States Senate. In the face of that evidence can any man say that there are no *criminal copartnerships in the very highest of political and social circles* ? . . . Are we blind to the coincidence of two concurrent Senate investigating committees, one of the nation, the other of its most populous state, the one probing for crime among the upper classes, the other for official crime among the lower classes, and each finding the same in both ? . . . We have been aware that judgeships in our high courts have been bought and sold for years. We have known that our great corporations, guarding large interests, have bought legislative favors. . . . Our national Congress, our state legislatures, no longer produce statesmen, the latter, indeed, are nurseries for criminals.

Such in part is the picture Mr. Leavitt paints of present conditions. He shows that in every department of the government, legislative, judicial, and administrative, crime and corruption exist and it is not surprising that workingmen are made the chief victims of this unexaggerated abomination, this combination of thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, legislatures, congresses, and courts, and when workingmen resist oppressions too grievous to be borne, the press of the country with rare exceptions, in defense of corruption and to crush the right, like hounds on the

track of the fleeing hare, bellow "anarchist," and insist that for the preservation of our boasted civilization and the protection of our institutions these robbed and impoverished workingmen shall be imprisoned or shot down by the military machine.

The cry of "anarchist" has about had its day. The defense of criminals in high places, the black-tongue literature of the times, like an epidemic of smallpox, has about run its course and now, as Mr. Leavitt says, the issue is Reform *vs.* Crime. If crime in courts, legislatures, and in Congress cannot be suppressed, the end of the republic draweth nigh.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

BIMETALLISM VS. THE SINGLE STANDARD.

BY HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

THE subject of a single or double standard for money value—of monometallism or bimetallism—is attracting more attention the world over, to-day, than any other. It affects every human being living in “civilized countries,” because it necessarily controls all values; of land, of products, of industry, and of labor on the one hand; of money, and hence of capital, interest, and fixed incomes on the other. In the language of the great European authority on coinage, “It is THE question of the age.”

The chief difficulty in its discussion in the United States has been that it has taken a sectional turn, and that the people of the two sections so misunderstand each other on the subject, that any fair discussion is about impossible. That the West, which is the producer of the great staples, with its wealth in the form of commodities, and owing large debts, payable in dollars, should desire the money basis to retain the double standard existing through all history; and that English and German bankers, the great creditors of the world, receiving their interest in money, should desire a contracted financial basis, is perfectly natural. It was to be expected that those of our people in the East who are under foreign control, and others of the creditor class selfishly interested in the increase of the value of money, would unite with the foreign bankers in their single-standard method of contraction; but the misfortune is that the great body of Americans east of the Mississippi, really patriotic at heart and anxious for national prosperity, should have given so little attention to the subject as to imagine their interests also to be different from those of their western brethren. Hence has arisen the misunderstanding to which I have referred.

Having served seven years in either branch of the legislature of the Empire State, twice honored by votes of thanks of the N. Y. Chamber of Commerce, and still holding an honorary membership in the N. Y. Board of Trade, I am not unfamiliar with eastern sentiments; while a still larger service as chief justice and governor of a western territory, and connections with various other bodies, commercial, scientific, and literary, including the past presidency of the important representative body, the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, has given some experience of feeling in the West, so that I can, at any rate, speak without favor or prejudice. In the first place, then, let us clean away some of the rubbish of vituperation.

There is no doubt that many western people look upon those of the East as their enemies; that such terms as "gold bug," "plutocrat," and "Shylock" are not only used but believed to be deserved, and that the sole idea of eastern capitalists is thought to be a wicked desire to ruin their poorer brethren of the West. On the other hand, it is not unusual to hear eastern men speak of those of the West as inflationists, as "cheap money men," as absolutely dishonest, and as "wanting to get a dollar for fifty cents." A fair-minded man, traveling from one section to another, has constantly to defend his fellow-citizens from these reciprocal slanders.

As matter of fact, the western man is as jealous of his good name and as proud of his business integrity as any one living. As a rule, he is a bimetallist, because he hears the subject constantly discussed, has given it careful study, understands the necessary results of demonetizing half the money metal of the world, and sees these results in actual existence, in the constant shrinkage of values, the prevalence of "hard times," and the destitution of the people.

On the other hand, the eastern monometallist, as a rule, is not the depraved creature he is thought to be, filled with a satanic desire to ruin his fellow-citizens; he has simply been so situated that he has given no attention to the financial questions involved in demonetization, he has seen nothing but gold views in the journals he reads, and takes it for granted that they are correct.

In the hurry of business life comparatively few Americans find time to read anything but the newspapers, and if in some locality these all concur in one opinion, it is apt to be adopted without inquiry. In short, the great majority of eastern people are not wicked in their opposition to bimetallism, but simply uninformed.

This word is not used in any offensive sense, but merely to state the exact fact, and to repel the idea of conscious wrongdoing. There are dozens of subjects with which the people of the East are far better acquainted than those of the West, but it happens that, for various reasons, on this particular topic the reverse is the case. In fact, the ignorance of it by the generally intelligent eastern community is phenomenal; as an illustration of which I may mention that among hundreds of the best citizens of New York whom I have met during the last two years, I have found but one who had ever read the report of the Brussels Conference, though that is published gratuitously by Congress and is the most convenient and satisfactory of impartial statements.

If the matter were studied and discussed in the East as it is in the West, except among anglomaniacs who have no love for their own country in their hearts, and money lenders who know no principle but selfishness, there would not be a monometallist in the East any more than in the West.

What we should lay special stress upon, then, is the educational idea. We can never expect justice to the producer and a restoration of national prosperity until we have the aid of our eastern brethren in undoing the pernicious legislation of 1873 and giving us again the bimetallism which is the only safeguard of stability in property values and protector of the rights of labor; and we cannot have that coöperation until they have become informed as to the questions at issue so as to act intelligently.

The great plea of the West to the East, then, should be to educate itself on this subject, to read, to learn, to think, to *know*, of its principles and its effects. From the president down, it has been too much the habit to accept the conclusion of some news-

paper, without thought, though the subject directly affects the happiness of more human beings in America than all others combined. In the language of Senator Dumas, of the French Legislative Chamber, "Those who approach these questions for the first time, decide them at once. Those who study them with care, hesitate. Those obliged to decide them are overwhelmed with the weight of enormous responsibility."

In the first place, let us remind our eastern friends that bi-metallists are not asking for anything new or unusual or untried. On the contrary, the joint use of gold and silver as measures of value and mediums of exchange—in other words, as money—has been the universal custom of the world since the birth of civilization. Iron may have been used in Sparta and wampum among American Indians, platina was for a time coined in Russia, but all these were exceptional and never entered into commercial transactions. Gold and silver by unanimous consent have constituted the money of the world ever since money was used.

Coming down to our own times, the free and unlimited coinage of these two metals was the heritage of the American people in colonial days, as it was enacted in England in 1666 in the reign of Charles II. and again under George III. in 1768, and continued until long after the Revolution.

When the Constitution was framed, it especially recognized gold and silver equally as the only proper measure of value, prohibiting the states from making anything but them a tender in payment of debts.

One of the first acts of Congress, under the presidency of Washington, provided for the free coinage of both metals at the national mints. Any one possessed of either gold or silver could present it and receive its weight in coin of the same metal. This condition of things continued uninterruptedly until the act which demonetized silver in 1873; the right of the people to free and unlimited coinage never having been interfered with in any way till then. So the history of the world and the laws and traditions of the American people were all on the side of bimetallism till that date.

When demonetization took place it was by stealth, absolutely

without the knowledge of the American people, and, as appears, without the knowledge of any members of Congress, with the possible exception of three. No newspaper uttered a word on the subject. The title of the act gave no suggestion of any such object. It was understood by all that the bill which passed was simply a revision of the mint laws, and very little attention was given to it. When it was discovered, some time afterward, that by the omission of the standard silver dollar from the act, silver had been demonetized, the country was amazed. Senators and representatives all over the land rose to disavow any knowledge of the change. It is not necessary to quote many of them, but a few statements may be desirable to show the facts.

Senator Beck said (Jan. 10, 1878): "It never was understood by either house of Congress. I say this with full knowledge of the facts."

Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, long the "Father of the House," said (March 9, 1878):

"Though Chairman of the Committee on Coinage I was ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar."

And again (May 10, 1879):

"In all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard silver dollar."

Senator Thurman said (Feb. 15, 1878):

"When the bill was pending in the Senate, we thought it was simply a bill to reform the mint, etc., and there is not a single man in the Senate, I think, unless a member of the committee from which the bill came, who had the slightest idea that it was even a squint toward demonetization."

Mr. Holman, of Indiana, said (Aug. 5, 1876):

"The original bill was simply to organize a bureau of mines and coinage. The bill which finally passed was certainly not read in this House."

Similar statements of eminent congressmen, including General Garfield, Senator Allison, and others, could be multiplied indefinitely. In the colloquy between Senator Blaine and Senator Voorhees, Feb. 15, 1878, each in turn emphatically denied any knowledge of the demonetization.

Senator Hereford (Feb. 13, 1878) said :

"Beyond the possibility of a doubt, that bill, as it passed, never was read, never was discussed."

Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, said (July 13, 1876):

"It was not discussed, as shown by the *Record*, and neither members of Congress nor the people understood the scope of the legislation."

And even Senator Sherman, in his Marietta speech in 1876, said :

"Both Houses were in favor of issuing the old dollar, the dollar in legal existence since 1792, containing 412 $\frac{1}{10}$ grains, and only demonetized in 1873, when it was worth 2 per cent more than the gold dollar."

No one has ever dared acknowledge the paternity of this secret and injurious act. Not a single member of either house of Congress has ever confessed that he knowingly voted for it. Perhaps there is no other example in history of any act so unjustifiable that no one would admit any connection with it.

Yet all that bimetallists contend for is that this act, thus secretly and fraudulently passed, without knowledge by legislators or people, and which no one will even yet defend, should be repealed. It never represented the will of the people, and hence should not be on the statute book. In the words of Mr. Holman (July 13, 1876), "The measure never had the sanction of the House and it does not possess the moral force of law."

There was no excuse for its passage. At that very moment our silver coin was actually worth three per cent more than our gold coin, and brought at least one and one half per cent more for exportation. There was no trouble arising from an over-supply. The act could not have received a score of votes if Congress and the people had understood what it was. It was the child of stealth and fraud.

While Mr. Kelly said in 1879, "I have never found a man who could tell just how it came about," yet every one knows that it was the work of the British money lenders, aided by their agents in our great cities.

Their interest in it was enormous. England is a creditor

nation to the extent of about ten billion dollars. She holds the securities of other lands to that extent, and draws from them each year \$500,000,000 in interest.

The best computations show that we alone are paying her \$200,000,000 a year in interest; more than half a million a day! Every increase in the value of a dollar, therefore, enormously enlarged her income. By demonetizing one of the two money metals, the remaining money in the world—reduced one half in volume—would rapidly increase in purchasing power. This was perfectly easy to foresee. Her money lenders wished contraction in order to increase the value of their investments, principal, and interest. The demonetization of one of the two precious metals was the easiest way to accomplish this. They did not care which metal it was; the result would be the same. For some years they favored the plan to demonetize gold, and Chevalier and others earnestly advocated that course. But that did not succeed and then they attacked silver. Here they achieved success by the secret passage of the Act of 1873.

Bimetallists simply ask that this act be repealed and the law of free coinage be restored as it had always been before. Monometallists resist this. That is the whole issue. Yet the press of the East has caused thousands to believe that bimetallists are asking some new privileges for silver. I submit that it is the monometallists, who are insisting on a change from the universal custom, and asking it through a perpetuation of an acknowledged fraud, who should be on the defensive, and that the burden of proof of good results is on them.

Prominent among the misrepresentations so constantly reiterated that it has quite permeated the eastern mind, is that the bimetallists of the West are "a lot of silver miners who want to get a dollar for fifty cents worth of silver." This is not an exaggerated statement of much current eastern opinion. And yet we all know that nothing could be more absurd. Of course the silver mining interest is much affected, and most silver miners are bimetallists, but their number is so small compared with the vast body of the people affected by the lists of contraction, and the silver product so insignificant, compared with the immense

volume of commodities reduced to little more than half their proper value, that they need scarcely be considered as a factor.

It may clear the air of misconceptions, if it is distinctly understood that if there were not a single silver miner in the United States, nor an ounce of that metal produced within our borders, the question of bimetallism would be unchanged, and the injury to our people and destruction of the property consequent on the demonetization of 1873, would be exactly as it is to-day. The countries which have given the most careful attention to the subject, like France and Belgium, do not produce a single ounce of silver.

The total annual product of silver has never reached 60 million ounces; in 1892 it was 58,000,000; last year it was considerably less; while the product of wheat averages about 500,000,000 bushels. The average price of wheat in 1873 was \$1.29; while to-day it is selling at 50 cents. The loss to the producer of silver, through demonetization, was never in any year over \$32,000,000, while the loss, for the same cause, to the producer of wheat, was over \$250,000,000. In the same way every producer has suffered.

Taking some of the great staples of our country, we find, for example, that the cotton crop for last year was 6,600,000 bales, of about 470 pounds each. In 1873 it was worth 16 cents a pound. The crop of last year will not bring the planter 6 cents, showing a net loss through demonetization of ten cents a pound or over \$310,000,000. Looking at it by acreage, the fall of cotton in the 20 years has been from \$28.01 to \$10.65 per acre, being a loss of 62 per cent.

On wheat the fall has been from \$13.16 to \$6.00 per acre, or over 54 per cent. Or, if we take the average of the five great staples, wheat, corn, oats, hay, and cotton, the average acre value in 1873 was \$15.65, in 1893 \$8.15, showing a fall of nearly 48 per cent.

When these facts are presented to the monometallist he immediately answers that the loss in value is the result of overproduction or of improved machinery. But the improved machinery with scarcely an exception was in operation before 1873,

and the constant fall in prices continues just the same from year to year as at the beginning of the 20 years' period. Wheat and cotton have never within the century been as low as they are to-day. And if we examine as to the production, we shall find that the facts are against the theory. The cotton crop was 9,000,000 bales in 1891, 6,717,000 in 1892, and but 6,600,000 in 1893, showing a large reduction, at the same time that the price decreased.

The wheat crop for a number of years has been about 500 million bushels; in 1892 it was 516,000,000, in 1893 it fell to less than 400 millions (396,000,000).

If the production of wheat in the whole world is taken, in 1891 it was 2,432 millions, in 1892 it fell to 2,403 millions, and in 1893 to 1,904 millions. So the overproduction theory only betrays ignorance.

Altogether it is calculated that if the aggregate of agricultural products raised in 1893 could be sold for the bimetallic price of 1873, the gain to the farming community would be nearly or quite 1,500,000,000 of dollars. In other words, they have lost that vast amount on the crops of a single year through the demonetization of silver and consequent rise in the value of the remaining money.

This simple statement is sufficiently startling, surely, to arrest the attention of the nation; but the point I wish to suggest now is that, compared with this enormous loss on agricultural products, the loss of \$32,000,000 by the silver producers is too small to call for special consideration, although it entailed on the mining community a grievous amount of suffering and destitution.

The fall in prices when measured by money is not at all confined to the products of the soil, which have been referred to principally because we have more accurate statistics regarding these great staples than other commodities. Every kind of tangible property has suffered the same comparative diminution in value. The selling prices of real estate, except in growing cities and localities where there is a natural increase, have fallen to a similar extent, as is abundantly shown by country property in the Eastern States. While often ascribed to various local causes,

the actual reason is simply the increase in the value of the money for which the sale is to be made.

And so it is of every kind of property possessed by man.

Thus it will be seen that the interest of the silver producer in the restoration of bimetallism is very insignificant in comparison with the vast interests of the farmer, the planter, and, indeed, of the owner of commodities of any kind.

President Andrews of Brown University, at the Brussels Conference stated that the silver constituted but $\frac{1}{100}$ of one per cent, or $\frac{1}{10000}$ of the whole, of the total national product of the United States, in 1890.

The importance of silver comes from its being a money metal, a measure of value. The idea current at the East that silver miners only are interested in the remonetization of the white metal, is about as sensible as it would be, in case Congress should pass an act lengthening the yard to fifty inches or enlarging a bushel to fifty quarts, to insist that the only persons opposing the change were the manufacturers of yardsticks and bushel baskets, because of the increased amount of material required for their construction. In such a case, those who would bear the real loss, of course, would be the persons who had to supply their products by the new and enlarged measures, not those who simply furnish the measures themselves.

It is worthy of remark that although its principal use from time immemorial has been destroyed by legislation, yet silver has not decreased in money value more than other products of industry. It has, of course, felt the general effect of the rise in the value of gold money, but has kept on a par with other staple articles. An ounce of silver will buy as much wheat or corn, or hay or oats, or wool or cotton, as it would before the Act of 1873. The tables showing this are too well known to be repeated here. Every commodity has been reduced in its money value since the single gold standard was established and money began to increase in value. To-day, according to best authorities, money has risen to about 147, calling it par in 1873. Of course, this correspondingly reduces the price of everything else when compared with it.

It is true that one sometimes meets people who think that some certain commodity, as silver or wheat, has gone down in value instead of money having gone up. They are like the ignorant man who supposes that the sun revolves around the earth each day, because it appears to do so ; or like a child in a railroad car, who thinks that the people on the platform are moving backward when the train begins to move forward. But when the man sees that all the heavenly bodies are apparently revolving as well as the sun, he will gradually realize that it is the earth which turns and not the myriads of bodies that surround it ; and when the child sees that the houses and the trees and all other objects are apparently moving backward, as well as the bystanders, he learns that the train in which he sits is that which is really in motion, and not all surrounding things. So if a single commodity alone had decreased in price, it might be thought that for some special reason it had lost value, but when it is found that the whole range of tangible things, including every product of home industry, is worth less than it was ten years ago, it becomes evident that it is the money which has increased in purchasing power and not the commodities that have decreased in worth.

Speaking of those who thus reverse the facts, Sir Guilford R. Molesworth said at the Brussels Conference : " It is gold who is the sick man, not silver. They have mistaken the bloated condition of gold for a symptom of health, whereas it is the symptom of a dangerous disease that now threatens a fearful crisis."

Mr. Allard, honorary director of the Belgian mint, also stated the facts forcibly and tersely at the Brussels Conference : " The evil is not to be found in the fall of silver, but consists solely in the appreciation of gold. It is not silver which has fallen but gold which has risen." And again : " Silver has nothing to do with the result. It is gold which you have made scarce and which has, therefore, risen in value."

These matters have been more scientifically considered in Europe than in this country, but even here they did not escape prompt observation by experts. As early as 1877, four years after demonetization, the condition had become sufficiently plain

for the United States Monetary Commission to declare "Gold has risen in all countries, while silver has fallen in none."

In 1879 Disraeli said in a public speech: "Gold is every day appreciating in value, and as it appreciates in value the lower become prices." The article on "Silver" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (and I quote that because it is English and certainly not biased in favor of bimetallism) says: "The closure of the mint to silver has enhanced the purchasing power of gold, compared with either silver or other commodities, about one fourth." This was written about 1882—say nine years after demonetization.

Some time later Mr. Balfour stated the increase in the value of money in Great Britain in 15 or 16 years, as no less than 30 to 35 per cent.

Sir Wm. Houldsworth, one of the British commissioners at Brussels, said: "A general fall of gold money prices has taken place. This can only be called an appreciation of gold."

The three leading authorities of the world on the relative values of money and commodities have been the tables of the London *Economist* in England, and of Mr. Sauerbeck and Professor Soetbeer in Germany.

The London *Economist* tables are based on the average value of 22 leading articles in the London market; Mr. Sauerbeck's were founded more broadly on the prices of 45 principal commodities in Germany; and Professor Soetbeer took 100 different articles in the Hamburg market and added 14 others imported from England, so as to cover the whole range of commercial products. Averages such as these—including such a variety of articles—avoid the influences of temporary fluctuations in individual items by reason of short crops or overproduction or exceptional demand, and give as correct a view of the purchasing power of money, compared with commodities in general, as it is possible to obtain.

While these tables have been prepared entirely independently by their learned authors, year by year, it is interesting to see how nearly they agree in their general results. The London *Economist* shows a decline in average prices from 134 of its "index numbers" in 1873 to 95 in 1894, being $\frac{1}{4}$, or over 29 per

cent. The Soetbeer tables make the decline a little less, and the Sauerbeck tables somewhat more (32 per cent). Taking an average of these, would make the present value of single standard money in Europe about 145 compared with what it was in 1873, when the demonetization of silver started the upward tendency of money, and the apparent depreciation of commodities. But in this country the change has been even greater, as is obvious to all from a comparison of the prices of the great staples which are most familiar, such as wheat and cotton, on which the average reduction has exceeded 50 per cent. That there is no present diminution in this reduction of values appears from the recent reports of the London *Economist*. Its midsummer report in 1892, to July 1 of that year, showed that the average apparent fall in values of 26 leading articles of consumption had been $7\frac{1}{2}$ in two years, or about 4 per cent per year; and the fall in the last preceding six months had been $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year; and the second six months of 1892 showed no improvement.

The only apparent exception to this reduction in price is in wages, and they have been kept up through the efforts of organizations of great power, acting through strikes and other methods. Meanwhile, however, the number of the unemployed has greatly increased, so that the average wages paid to the whole working population, including those who are idle and not earning anything at all, are very considerably below the same average in 1873.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

BY HENRY O. WARD.

IN THE growth of a progressive society some abuses will naturally fasten their hold on the social organism and thrive for a longer or shorter time. In an organism of strong vitality, such evils are usually transient, and indicate no functional disorder; but at times, they accumulate and grow so great as to threaten the well-being of the society in which they arise. Among the social abuses which have so strongly enlisted the activities of our philanthropic age, perhaps none receives a greater share of public attention than the drink evil. For some years past there has been an exceptionally vigorous agitation of this question in the pulpit, the lecture hall, the political platform, and even the school-room. Nor does the agitation show any sign of diminution, but is rather increasing in strength and efficacy, and as the agitation against slavery was most vigorous immediately previous to its abolition, so there may be reason to believe that we are on the eve of some radical and widespread reform in the temperance problem.

On the whole, there seems reason for believing that the evil of intemperance is relatively diminishing, and that society in our day does not suffer as much from it as it did in former days. This, however, is not an inference which one would draw from the statements of those who regard temperance reform as the greatest and most pressing of social problems. Those who confine their studies and activities to one question are liable to error of perspective in judgment of others. The annual drink bill is sometimes instanced as a proof of the degeneracy of our age. Taken at its lowest estimate this bill is indeed enormous, but when we consider the growth of population, that the sales of both wholesaler and retailer often appear in the total much the same

as in estimates of public wealth, we have included the value of land and the mortgages on it, and, what is of far more moment than all this, that more than half of this liquor bill is a tax for the support of the government. We shall see that the inferences drawn from this source are greatly exaggerated. That the evil may be diminishing does not argue, however, that there should be any cessation of the agitation against it, but if true it is rather an indication of how efficacious this agitation has been.

A wholesome enthusiasm is necessary to insure success in any good cause but it ought not to lead us to overlook the relative importance of other reforms and the necessity of eradicating other great evils. There is often a lack of perspective in temperance literature which detracts from its value. It is frequently asserted that the drink evil is the cause of poverty and crime, and by far the most baneful of all social evils. Many good people are convinced that if this evil were swept away it would carry with it a whole brood of other evils. A person, however, who has devoted time to the study of human affairs and then concluded that the evils of society are reducible to the one great cause, intemperance, has not studied to good advantage. A superficial knowledge of social phenomena will afford evidence that the evil of intemperance is more frequently the result of other conditions than individual perverseness. It was the fashion in the early part of the century to attribute all social evils to overpopulation, whereas all are now agreed that relative overpopulation only occurs among those whose condition is otherwise hopeless.

The opinion that intemperance is the source of all social evils is fostered by those whose philanthropy is not always above suspicion. The middle classes may be said to be the sponsors of the temperance reform movement. Capitalists, railway presidents, and other employers of labor, will assert that any evils the laborer may have worth complaining about, are attributable to intemperance and that the most beneficial thing for the cause of labor would be temperance reform. The laborer, however, asserts that intemperance results from conditions other than individual depravity, and that when these conditions are remedied

the liquor problem will solve itself, and in the meantime temperance reform is good for all classes of men.

The best way to estimate the relative importance of this great reform is to study the causes of the evil ; and this leads us to remark that a prominent characteristic of temperance literature is the lack of attention paid to the etiology of the subject. If we wish to reform an evil we should become acquainted with the sources of it. When an evil is so widespread as that of intemperance it must have deep causes. Those who devote themselves to temperance reform occupy themselves mainly with the pathology of the subject. Temperance literature deals with the distress and misery caused by the drink evil, and its disastrous results to society. We often hear of exhortation to personal amendment, and, occasionally, other suggestions of a practical nature looking to the cure of the evil, but there is not much inquiry into the causes by which the evil is brought about, it being no doubt assumed that it is an individual evil for which individuals as such are responsible and which individuals as such can remedy. The evil effects of this vice are at once apparent and baneful. It is an evil which especially arouses the feelings and emotions, and this is, no doubt, the reason why temperance reform has been mainly a woman's movement and the treatment of the subject has been emotional rather than intellectual.

Women may be said to be the prime movers or strongest supporters of the temperance movement, and were it not for her influence so ably exerted the agitation would probably greatly languish or become ineffectual. The liquor evil is one that above others threatens and menaces the home, and it is fitting that woman, to whom home is the world, should be foremost in guarding the home against the evils that would disrupt or blight it. It has been said that individualism or egoism is the characteristic of man, while altruism is the characteristic of woman,* and woman's interest in temperance reform is a proof of the truth of this statement. Intemperance is a vice of men and one from which women only secondarily suffer. The philanthropy of the ladies, however, is not always taken at its face value. Occasion-

* Prof. Drummond, "Ascent of Man."

ally the *tu quoque* argument is heard. Bishop Spalding, the Catholic bishop of Peoria, for instance, in a late work * tells us that "the land is filled with clamorous denouncers of drunkenness and poisonous liquors, but gluttony and badly prepared food are the causes of more sickness and misery than alcoholic drink, and the army of reformers might well reserve part of the abuse they heap upon distillers and saloon-keepers for cooks and confectioners. My argument against women is that they have made us a nation of dyspeptics, having from time immemorial held sway in the kitchen." The implication of all this being that there is a necessary connection between drunkenness, for which men are responsible, and bad cooking, for which women are responsible, and that temperance reform should embrace the kitchen as well as the saloon, and might profitably begin in the former locality. The liquor problem, however, is one of the gravest of our social problems, and it demands the united efforts of all friends of humanity for the mitigation or suppression of the evil.

In discussing the plans for the cure of this evil, one of the obvious features we find in many that are proposed is their impracticability. Impracticability is the great sin of good people, and an incalculable amount of harm has been done in the world by people who were animated by the best of intentions. The best and only way to effectually cope with an evil of this nature and of such proportions is to supplant it. It will be of small utility to destroy an evil unless we have some good to take its place. The total and immediate abolition of the drink evil would leave a large vacuum in our national life. Men now spend a large portion of their earnings for liquor. If they were compelled to abstain it is not certain that they would at once acquire better habits. The wisest way to abolish intemperance is to offer men inducements to abstain, and to make it easier for them to keep sober than to get drunk and quite as pleasant.

The liquor problem deals not with a single evil but with an aggregate of evils. It is to be combated in a variety of modes and panaceas are utterly illusory. The efforts of practical tem-

* "Things of the Mind."

perance reformers must first be directed to the vice of intemperance, which is a personal sin, and is to be met chiefly by the influences of religion. It is a mistake to suppose that intemperance is a distinctive vice of the lower classes. Taken proportionately it is quite as conspicuous in the upper classes as in the "great unknown." The moral nature of men must be appealed to, and unless they are prepared by the influence of religion no reform can be permanent in its effects.

But the drink evil in its essence is an evil for which society is responsible, and every true remedy must approach the problem on this side. Individual effort will accomplish little unless the conditions from which the evil arises are remedied. And this phase of the subject would bring us into the domain of property rights and the discussion of vested interests and other interesting questions. There is always a great deal of abuse of the liquor dealer. Society must have a target for its moral indignation, and the saloon-keeper discharges this office in the modern economy. But the saloon-keeper only makes use of opportunities which good people neglect. While other people are intent on their individual gain the saloon-keeper is providing for the comfort of his patrons. Gain is, indeed, his object, but he takes care that this shall not be apparent. Why is it that our municipalities are so wretchedly governed? It is because those who should be the leaders refuse to lead. And the saloon-keeper flourishes because society, which alone can remedy the evil, neglects to do so.

There is a very large amount of capital in the liquor business which has been invested with the tacit consent of society. This is often a graver difficulty in the way of temperance reform than is commonly supposed. How to deal with this phase of the subject constitutes one of the perplexing difficulties of the wise and conscientious statesman.

But when once society is thoroughly aroused and recognizes that relief can come only from united effort and that it has the remedy in its own hands the end will soon come. Hence it is that of all the plans for dealing with this evil the one which has accomplished the most good is the so-called Gothenburg system,

to which so much attention has been directed by the able report of Dr. E. R. L. Gould to the Commissioner of Labor. The feature of this system is the regulation and carrying on of the traffic by the municipality, and it unites the strictest control of the business with the absence of any undue interference with individual liberty. It is the national system in Sweden and Norway, and has been in operation over twenty years, and the strongest argument in its favor is that no municipality which once adopted it ever gave it up. The liquor business is carried on by some local capitalists, according to certain established regulations, for the benefit of the community. After the ordinary interest on capital is paid, the excess of profits goes to public uses. We in our country have many excellent laws for the regulation of the liquor traffic and could they be rigidly enforced the evil would not be so pronounced. The great detriment with us is that it is always the interest of the liquor dealer to break the law if he can avoid detection. Under the Gothenburg system the element of individual interest and profit is entirely eliminated, and the one who sells liquor has no motive for breaking the laws.

This is meeting the intemperance evil on its own ground; it is attacking the strongholds. No guerrilla warfare or tin-pan agitation can accomplish much against interests that are so rich, so powerful, so aggressive, and so united, as the liquor interests. They can afford to make light of "tambourine tactics." But not even the liquor interests can withstand the might and power of society. This plan is destined to spread, and it deserves the attention and study of every thoughtful temperance reformer. Some of our best laws in relation to the liquor traffic are modeled after it. It may not be ideal justice but it is an approximation.* It may not affect a radical cure of the evil, but it will bring about a great mitigation of it. It may not be the best thing, but at present it is the next best thing.

HENRY O. WARD.

* "Justice never attains its ideal, but in the best cases approximates to it."—*Theory of the State*, Bluntschli, p. 54.

THE SABBATH AS A CIVIL INSTITUTION.

BY REV. B. W. WILLIAMS.

THE Sabbath, as a day of rest, is an important factor in our civilization. It should be guarded and protected by legal enactment, within the limits of sound discretion and the good of society. We do not of course believe that the government should deal with the religious aspects of the Sabbath question; that is wisely left to the churches. We would not compel men by law to attend church, hear sermons, read the Bible, sing gospel hymns, nor practice any form of religious worship on the Sabbath day; but we earnestly contend that the grasping greed of this avaricious age should not be allowed to deprive our people of the needed day of rest; and that those who wish to observe it as a day of religious worship should have an opportunity of doing so. We would seek to guard the Sabbath only *as a civil institution*, without oppressing any one religiously.

The constitution of man requires that each six days of labor should be followed by one of rest and relaxation.

1. The Sabbath rest is necessary to physical health and vigor. It is a well-known physiological truth that the body needs a periodical rest from labor. Incessant toil would result in great injury, and sooner or later in total prostration and premature death. Man soon becomes exhausted under continual labor. His body must be recuperated. This can only be done by observing a period of rest and relaxation. Nor is the usual nightly repose sufficient for this purpose. Man needs to abstain from labor one day in seven, in order to recruit his powers and replenish his vital force.

2. The observance of the Sabbath is essential to intellectual strength and progress. The same periodicity which is found in man's physical nature also characterizes his mental faculties.

When the mind is continually occupied with the corroding cares of life and business, it becomes exhausted. It must have rest as well as the body. This is found not in total cessation of all mental activity, but in a change of employment.

3. The recurrence and due observance of the Sabbath is conducive to social refinement. When men are daily engaged in manual labor, which soils the clothing and begrimes the person, they are apt to become careless and indifferent as to their personal appearance. They take no pains to be neat and clean, knowing that they must soon return to their work. But when people attend divine service, going out to meet each other clean and well-dressed, greater self-respect is promoted. Manners and morals are improved. Religious instruction is received. Good impressions and habits are formed.

4. The observance of the Sabbath, as a day of rest and religious worship, tends to promote morality. It is on that sacred day that our people assemble, with devout reverence, in the Sunday-school and in the public sanctuary, to learn and imbibe the best moral principles. The inculcation of such principles must have a salutary effect upon the conduct of the people. It makes them know the right, and renders them more capable of doing it. It restrains men from crime and lawlessness. It prompts them to enterprises of public utility. It corrects and elevates public sentiment.

5. The proper observance of the Lord's day has a salutary influence upon industrial life. During the week the laborer feels his weariness gradually increasing. At its close he is often well-nigh exhausted, and feels as if he could not bear another day of toil. The Sunday rest affords a respite from toil just when he needs it. The intermission of one day enables the workingman to begin the labors of the week with renewed strength, and in a happier and better frame of mind. Men will do their work better, and accomplish more in the end, by working six days in the week, than by working seven.

Blackstone, in his Commentaries, assures us that the Sabbath is "of undoubted value as a civil institution"; and perhaps no jurist or statesman of ability would dissent from this statement.

Adam Smith, the distinguished political economist, said: "The Sabbath, as a political institution, is of inestimable value, independently of its claims to divine authority." Justice McLean, of the United States Supreme Court, expressed the opinion that "where there is no Christian Sabbath there is no Christian morality; and without this, free government cannot long exist."

The late Dr. Philip Schaff, the well-known church historian and theologian, makes the following observations on this subject: "Take away the Sabbath, and you destroy the most humane and democratic institution which in every respect was made for man, but more particularly for the man of labor and toil, of poverty and sorrow. Take away the Sabbath, and you destroy a mighty conservative force, and dry up a fountain from which the family, the church, and the state receive constant nourishment and support. Take away the Sabbath, and you shake the moral foundation of our national power and prosperity; our churches will be forsaken, our Sunday-schools emptied, our domestic devotions will languish, the fountains of public and private virtue will dry up; a flood of profanity, licentiousness, and vice will inundate the land; labor will lose its reward, liberty be deprived of its pillar, self-government will prove a failure, and our republican institutions end in anarchy and confusion, to give way, in due time, to the most oppressive and degrading military despotism known in the annals of history. Yea, the end of the Sabbath would be for America the beginning of the unlimited reign of the infernal idol trinity, of Mammon, Bacchus, and Venus, and overwhelm us at last in temporal and eternal ruin."*

If the foregoing observations are correct, the importance of duly observing the weekly day of rest cannot be too strongly emphasized. Let us, as Christian patriots, use all available means for its preservation and defense. If we succeed at this point, our moral and political salvation is assured; but if we fail here, our future prospects are beset with grave doubts.

B. W. WILLIAMS.

* *Princeton Review*, vol. 35, p. 570.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

POLITICAL AND VOTE BUYERS.—Vote buyers sink the suffrages of **SOCIAL PROBLEMS.** freemen, won and bestowed here by the blood and heart-break of generations, below the meanest lust that blackens human history, that damning lust for gold. The costliest thing possessed by mortal man is the freeman's vote. From Calvary to Appomattox men died to win it. To the Old World, that "waste of grave dust stamped with crown and crest," it was the happiest dream. God gave mankind this New World and its heroes to make that dream come true. And, early in our history, he gave us, for a warning, a traitor then unrivaled since Judas. Arnold's line has not failed. His soul survives in the men who corrupt the sources of political power. They are traitors to the Old World and the New, to liberty, and to every hero that liberty ever had. They belie the hearts of their countrymen, betray posterity, and defile the memory of the mothers who bore them. False to their city, their town, their state; false to manhood, to womanhood, to childhood; false to the dictates of both private and public morality; defiant of the laws of their country and of the commandments of their God, they sink the average honor of mankind, profane the religion which they profess, and smirch the bread of their sacrament. Whatever they touch they taint. Some of them are devoid of even that bastard honor said to prevail among thieves. They carry their methods from the ballot-box to the statehouse, and there join a lobby, which, for the variety and magnitude of its private and public scandals, is the Sodom of the state. But it is the "Sinker's" heaven. He shares its predatory joys and its criminal conferences. He hears and makes confessions that would blister the lips of a jackal. He rejoices in companionships to be found in their perfection only in the state prison and the state capitol. He affiliates with the man who is a stickler for a white shirt and a black heart; with that pariah of an honorable profession, the lobby lawyer; with the party committeeman who seeks in every bargain the double reward and the double pleasure of selling himself and as many of his party as possible; with that kind of man who is true to no party and to no principle, but who is a deep ditch in any party.—*Hartford Courant.*

FREE EMPLOYMENT SOCIETIES.—No more practical method has been devised for extending needed aid to worthy seekers for employment, than that illustrated by the New York Employment Society, 25 Clinton Place, whose work is directed by some of New York's best-known citizens, and includes

among its officers the following members of the Institute of Civics: Rev. John B. Devins, president; W. S. Rainsford, D. D., and William Ives Washburn, committee on finance. We quote from its address to the public as follows:

"The society furnishes applicants for positions of any kind, without expense to employer or employee. Capable men with good records, who are out of work through no fault of their own, can be furnished at the shortest possible notice. We can supply bookkeepers, clerks, mechanics, watchmen, porters, butlers, and representatives of more than one hundred trades and occupations whose business ability and moral character have been thoroughly investigated. A call at our office, a postal card, or a telephone message will receive prompt attention. We bespeak for the one thousand workmen now on our books your personal consideration, and, if possible, your patronage."

Similar organizations in all large cities will help to establish better relations between the well-to-do and those who are struggling for an honest livelihood.

A NEW ERA IN POLITICS.—The new era is dawning, great political upheavals are rocking the ship of state. Voters rush to the one side and back to the other, giving so-called representative parties of the people yet another chance, and with the new century we shall see the people themselves rise above partisanship and legislate in the interest of humanity. The epoch of competition and the wage system is dying, coöperative effort, in some form or other, is pressing forward to supersede them, despite all opposition. manifold signs of world-wide change are palpable on every hand; a change in what Virgil calls "the order of the ages." Profound unrest permeates the entire civilized world. Men feel the presence of a new and mighty force heaving and swaying the ocean of humanity. Tories and Bourbons, as their prototypes of old, stand ready to resist any change which abridges their privileges, crying out that all is well with the world. They point to the blessings which their wealth confers on it, and preach patriotism in purple and fine linen, and with well-fed stomachs. But the agitation increases among the working masses. They fail to see the blessings of monopoly. A sense of bitter injury has taken possession of them. The forces of a conflict at the ballot-box or elsewhere are being rapidly mobilized. Men are taking sides. The exploiters and the exploited stand face to face.—*Engineering Journal*.

WORKINGMEN WRONGED BY WORKINGMEN.—Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, an able Unitarian minister of Brooklyn, comes to the defense of the so-called "scab" with these words: "I have no quarrel with organized labor, but I cannot forget that, while a certain band of laborers is receiving all the sympathy of the public and all the countenance of courts and legislators, there is a great body of workingmen, more needy and far more friendless, whom these privileged 'knights of labor' treat only with abuse, and toward whose welfare the community at large seems absolutely indifferent. I cannot forget that there are hundreds of destitute workingmen in our city who are hooted and stoned for the crime of being willing to work. The epithet 'scab' has become in my ears a title of honor, synonymous with pluck and patience. What American heart, unless dulled by long submission to such outrages, can help throbbing with indignation that hundreds of industrious workmen are subjected to violence and peril of their lives simply because a

privileged class of laborers do not choose to have any competitors? For the good name of Brooklyn let one protest be heard, for this ignoble tyranny cannot but work degradation to the community which submits to it."

GOOD VINELAND, N. J.—The secretary of the Citizens' Organization, formed for coöperation with the A. I. C., announced that on recent Sabbaths it has secured "good citizenship" Sunday addresses by the pastors of six churches in that city.

CHICAGO CIVICS FROM THE PULPIT.—Last Sunday (Feb. 24th) it thundered all along the line. At the request of the Civic Federation a large number of our pulpits trained their guns on the wrongs from which the city is suffering. If voters do not cast their ballots as they should this year it will not be the fault of ministers. Those who did not lift up a warning voice against municipal corruption Sunday have either recently done so or will soon embrace an opportunity to do so. There seems to be but one opinion among thinking men about city government. The city must be treated as a business corporation and its affairs administered by men who are both capable and honest.—*Letter to Congregationalist.*

GREATER BOSTON is the title of a monthly magazine which "is a champion of the civic interests of the million inhabitants in the score and more of municipalities clustered about Boston Harbor. With a view to a better social order, it favors some form of city and town federation for metropolitan Boston. It favors metropolitan systems of docks, water works, sewerage, parks, and pleasure grounds, technical and art instruction in the public schools, a rapid transit that will best facilitate transportation; and in general appeals to the stalwart public spirit and civic pride and wisdom which, voiced by the community as a whole, works out the highest good of every member in it." The cause which it represents has the sympathy of Hon. S. B. Capen, A. I. C., president of the Boston Municipal League.

CHATTANOOGA has a bright and valuable monthly devoted to "Tax Reform and Good Government." Its first four issues contain excellent matter relating to the tax system of Tennessee; the limits of party obligation (copied from this magazine); county and municipal affairs; financial legislation; criminal costs in Tennessee; new issues in the South; tax experience in other states; decadence of state governments, and similar questions. A journal which devotes so much intelligent attention to affairs of interest to the good citizens of Tennessee ought to have their generous support.

LOS ANGELES sustains a weekly journal, *The Investor*, which devotes much space to the intelligent consideration of problems in municipal government, as well as to matters of finance and trade in southern California, on which it is an authority.

BAY CITY, MICH., has a federation of clergymen, Protestant and Roman Catholic, for combating civic evils.

SALT LAKE CITY.—Nineteen ministers have united for the purpose of opposing vice and political corruption, as evidenced by attempts to thwart the will of the people.

PROFESSOR E. W. BEMIS, Ph.D., University of Chicago, and of the A. I. C. lecture corps, has recently discussed the new charter proposed for Chicago by the Civic Federation, in an able public address.

* * *

NEW YORK SOCIETY OF MECHANICS AND TRADESMEN.—The annual bulletin of this model institution is worthy the study of all interested in wisely directed benevolent activities. Established in 1785, the society has made for itself a most worthy record, and has come to have costly buildings; a free library with 98,000 volumes; a finely equipped, free reading room, open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m., with more than 55,000 annual visitors; free evening schools for instruction of young men and women in useful branches of knowledge; free winter lecture courses; and free scholarships in trade schools. The able and faithful secretary, who is charged with the immediate direction of all this important work, is Stephen M. Wright, A. I. C.

* * *

CITIZEN AND CATHOLIC.—Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, A. I. C., the distinguished Catholic lawyer of Baltimore, told the Roman Catholic students of Harvard last winter "that they could not be bad citizens and still be good Catholics. The good citizen votes in his town or city, not for friendship or for policy, or to curry favor or to make money. He votes according to his conscience for the men and the measures that will be best for the public. If he votes any other way he is not a good citizen or a good Catholic."

* * *

TRAINING POLITICAL OPINION.—One of the hopeful features of modern working politics has been the introduction of clubs and other like organizations for the purpose of diffusing knowledge on subjects of public policy or of current legislation. The object of these agencies is eminently wholesome. They gather for informal coöperation men of public spirit and intelligence, who sift the larger questions of current interest, collect information bearing thereon, formulate measures of legislation, and directly and indirectly exercise an important influence upon candidates for office and upon members of Congress or of the state legislatures. The result of such work is to establish a closer connection between legislation and public opinion. Also, as a means of diffusing information, these agencies perform an invaluable function; for they not only enable the masses to vote more intelligently, but also promote a quicker and more definite maturity of opinion, and so lessen the evils of uncertainty arising from prolonged vacillations of sentiment on questions of public policy.—*New York Journal of Commerce*.

* * *

ACTIVITIES OF REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D., is trenchantly discussing in A. I. C. *The Outlook*, of which he is editor, the serious civic problems of the day, from the point of view of a progressive and catholic Christian. Extracts from *The Outlook*, presented elsewhere, will command attention.

* * *

ELTWEED POMEROY, as secretary of the Direct Legislative League of New Jersey, is ably urging upon public attention the advantages of the referendum, concerning which he writes forcibly in *The Outlook* (New York), issue of February 16.

* * *

MARY LOWE DICKINSON, editor of *The Silver Cross*, organ of the order of King's Daughters, and whose literary and philanthropic labors have made

her name favorably known throughout the country, has been deservedly honored by her election to the presidency of the National Council of Women's Organizations. In her new position it is safe to assume that her earnest efforts for the promotion of high ideals in citizenship will be increased rather than abated.

ACTIVITIES OF EDWARD CHANNING, Ph.D., associate member of the A. I. C. faculty of the A. I. C., in Harvard University, in association with Albert Bushnell, Ph.D., also of Harvard, is rendering signal public service in the editing of the "American History Leaflets," the latest of which is noticed elsewhere.

FRED DE LAND, publisher of the able Chicago magazine, *Electrical Engineering*, gives frequent evidence in this publication, by his own excellent articles, of the fact that affairs of good citizenship may be profitably considered in even a technical business journal.

HON. STEWART L. WOODFORD, A. I. C., has been elected president of the Union League Club of Brooklyn, as successor to Hon. Abel E. Blackmar, A. I. C., who has filled that office with conspicuous ability.

WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., Princeton University, of the A. I. C. faculty and lecture corps, will deliver the opening address at the University Extension summer meeting in Philadelphia, June 29. Subject, "Democracy."

Dr. Wilson has also, as the result of a recent visit to Baltimore, incited the Johns Hopkins University men to undertake the organization of clubs in different parts of the city for the promotion of better municipal government. At the meeting to start the movement addresses were made by Professor Wilson, Professor H. B. Adams, A. I. C., and Dr. James Carey Thomas.

J. W. JENKS, Ph. D., Cornell University, of the A. I. C. lecture corps, has been delivering a course of lectures on political methods in Albany, N. Y. A writer in the Albany *Argus* says, with justice, that Professor Jenks "is recognized throughout the country as a leader among university authorities in these matters. His treatment is at once so interesting as to hold the constant attention of large audiences and so thoroughly scientific and non-partisan as to command entire confidence and respect."

A. B. WOODFORD, Ph. D., New York School of Social Economics, and A. I. C. lecture corps, has been conducting with great success evening classes in civics at Cooper Union, and similar classes, with lectures, in connection with the popular work carried on by the Marble Collegiate (People's) Church, of which Rev. Charles L. Thompson, DD., A. I. C., is pastor. Concerning the class last named, Rev. A. E. Myers (A. I. C.), associate pastor, says in *The City Vigilant*:

"The text-book used is the Hon. Alfred R. Conklin's recently published book, 'City Government in the United States.' Professor Woodford usually gives an informal lecture on the subject of the evening, and then gives opportunity for questions and asks questions on specific points. The class is entirely free to the public without charge. The purchase of a book is optional. According to the usage of the Young Men's Christian Association, each member of the class is required to deposit one dollar. Those who attend

seventy per cent of the sessions of the class receive their deposit again at the end of the course. Those who attend less than seventy per cent of the sessions forfeit the deposit, which is used for the incidental expenses of postage and printing. The attendance is registered on membership cards. The instructor is paid by the Collegiate Church."

.
ELISHA BENJAMIN ANDREWS, DD., LL.D.—The readers of this magazine, and especially the members of the Institute of Civics, of which Dr. Andrews has for many years been an officer, will welcome his excellent portrait presented as the frontispiece of this issue. Dr. Andrews was born in Hinsdale, N. H., Jan. 10, 1844, graduated from Brown University in 1870, and from Newton Theological School in 1874. He was president of Denison University from 1875 to 1879, professor in Newton Theological School from 1879 to 1882, professor of History and Politics in Brown University from 1883 to 1888, and of Political Economy and Finance in Cornell University 1888-1889, and since that time has been president of Brown University, which has entered upon a career of greater prosperity under his vigorous administration. He served in the Civil War as Second Lieutenant in the First Connecticut Artillery. He has gained wide and high reputation as a writer upon history, economics, and finance, and especially by his standard works, "Institutes of History," and "Institutes of Economics," published by Silver Burdett & Co., Philadelphia, to whose courtesy we are indebted for Dr. Andrews' portrait. His "Institutes of Economics," which is a succinct text-book of political economy, is justly regarded as one of the most authoritative and satisfactory guides to a knowledge of affairs in the field of economics which has been presented in this or any other country. Dr. Andrews' recognized eminence among political economists led to his appointment by the president of the United States as a member of the last International Monetary Commission, and it is understood that he will also represent the United States in the similar commission soon to be held by invitation of the German Empire. Many teachers and advanced students in civics have been under obligation to him for his Institute of Civics publication on "A Course of Reading in Ethics." He has also rendered valuable service to the Institute as a member of its advisory faculty, and its corps of lecturers.

.
AMERICAN READING MATTER FOR PRISONERS.—What do the occupants of our jails do with their time? To some extent it is CIVICS. occupied in routine work, exercise, etc. But what of the hours when they have literally nothing to do? The very thought of such hours spent in a prison, is fearfully suggestive. To think, and only to think; and no food for thought but that supplied by a perverted mind out of its own ugly visions and morbid imaginings—surely this is not a condition for a human being out of which can come anything but evil. Spiritual ministration, religious publications, these often help to furnish material for uplifting thoughts in these empty hours, but they can fill them only in part and sometimes not at all. Why may there not be an ample supply of wholesome and interesting reading matter, books of travel, clean romance, and popular magazines for these worse than idle hours? Some humane jailers have asked this question. The Institute of Civics repeats it, and offers itself as a medium for giving the question a practical answer. It asks any one who has a collection of books and magazines containing matter of interest to the ordinary mind, to make it into a bundle, and send a description of the material to the Institute (38 Park Row, New York). The In-

stitute will promptly forward the address of an officer in some prison, jail, or penitentiary, who will receive and give to these now useless stores of literature a new and noble use. If those who read and applaud this practical plan for benefiting "those in prison," have no literature to bestow, they may aid in giving the plan success by sending a contribution, however small, toward the cost of carrying it into execution. With the help of such contributions the Institute of Civics will conduct inquiries as to the needs of prisoners, in the way of proper reading matter, in all American prisons. Every contribution of reading matter or money will be acknowledged in *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS*, with information as to prisons receiving literature.

WORDS OF APPROVAL.—Rev. J. A. Lippincott, D.D., former chancellor of the Kansas State University and now of Philadelphia, says: "The work is of very serious interest to the republic. I shall be glad at every success achieved by the A. I. C." Hon. Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, writes: "Deeply appreciating the necessity of just such work I have from time to time endeavored to do some little in the line you suggest. This I shall hope to do as long as my active life is spared."

W. H. Bartlett, principal of the Chandler St. School, Worcester, Mass.: "I am in full sympathy with all of the aims and purposes of the Institute and will do all I can to advance its interests."

Hon. A. B. Wilcox, mayor, Yankton, S. D.: "I am in hearty sympathy with the worthy and patriotic aims which this Institute, through its most commendable activities, seeks to so efficiently promote."

George W. Macon, East Lake, Alabama: "I believe the Institute to be indispensable, and that the cause which it seeks to promote is dear to every true, patriotic American's heart. I am ready to do all I can to help you."

Referring to the Institute of Civics, the National Municipal League, and local good government organizations like the Municipal League in Boston, and the Vigilance League and Good Government Clubs in New York, the *Christian at Work* says "as a moving cause" these have been closely connected with the recent uplift in municipal, state, and national politics. They have, it remarks, "been specially active and aggressive during the year past, and the reform sentiment which has manifested itself so strongly in various quarters is largely attributable to their work and influence. The increasing strength and popularity of these organizations devoted to political and civic reforms constitute, in fact, one of the most encouraging and notable signs of the times."

CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS A. I. C.—Hon. Marion Butler, who will go from the work of a schoolmaster and journalist to the United States Senate from the state of North Carolina, will carry with him an unimpeachable record as an honest, patriotic, and useful citizen. His study of present day problems has led him to take a deep interest in efforts for the improvement of agricultural conditions, and has won for him the friendship of the farmers whose united votes assured his election on the Republican and Farmers' Alliance coalition ticket. Mr. Butler has long been a councilor of the Institute of Civics, and member of its corps of lecturers. Some idea as to the spirit which will animate him as a senator may be obtained from these words, quoted from one of his letters: "I most heartily approve of the excellent work which the American Institute of Civics is doing in behalf of good government and good citizenship; and it will give me great pleasure to contribute whatever I am able toward the end for which you are striving." Mr.

Butler will be one of the youngest members of the Senate, being only 31 years of age.

In the Fifty-third Congress were members of the Institute of Civics as follows: Senate—Justin S. Morrill, Maine; Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, Connecticut; James T. Wilson, Iowa; Gen. John B. Gordon, Georgia; Watson C. Squire, Washington; Randall L. Gibson, Louisiana, and Alfred H. Colquitt, Georgia, of whom the last two named died and were succeeded by others in the midst of their terms. In the House of Representatives: William H. Denson, Gadsen, Ala.; Joseph H. Walker, Worcester, Mass.; Moses T. Stevens, Andover, Mass.; Marriott Brosius, Lancaster, Pa.; Charles W. Stone, Warren, Pa.; H. Henry Powers, Morrisville, Vt.; Henry W. Blair, Manchester, New Hampshire; Hernando D. Money, Carrollton, Miss.; Newton C. Blanchard, Shreveport, Miss.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS. AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM.—The signs multiply indicating that during the remainder of this decade, at least, the great international problem is to be the adjustment and settlement of the world's monetary standards. Mr. Reed, Senator Lodge, and Senator Chandler of New Hampshire, have indicated by recent utterances that the Republican party is by no means wholly committed to preserve the present superior position of gold. The vote in the British House of Commons last week, while it showed that British legislators still stand as three to one in favor of present economic and monetary standards, also revealed considerable bimetallic strength and a willingness, on the part of Liberals representing rural and manufacturing districts, especially those of the latter selling to silver-using countries, to forsake party, if by so doing they could further personal and class interests; and should Mr. Balfour and the Conservatives gain power it is believed that the bimetallic theory will have a much better hearing than it gets now. The German Reichstag favors the calling of an international conference to discuss the future standards. Germany has discussed the action with intense interest during the past week and there have been some remarkable expressions in its favor by distinguished publicists. The world faces a vital, complex, international problem, which threatens to disrupt parties at home and abroad and compel a realignment of men according as they represent the creditor or the debtor classes, the producing or the consuming multitudes.—*Congregationalist*.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.—This party, which has lately been so much in evidence in the United States Senate, has among its organs a very creditably conducted illustrated journal—*Vox Populi*. In the last issue of this organ, Uncle Sam is made to appear, on one page, as a sort of Gulliver, who is being propelled by a host of malevolent Lilliputians down the sloping side of a black and awful chasm; on another page, as floating inanimate and helpless, through funereal darkness, "down the river of debt." The cartoon last referred to is "dedicated to the professional politicians of the two old parties," but this sad mortuary disposal of Uncle Sam in two separate catastrophic experiences is not explained. Concerning an article in the December number of THE MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, treating of "The People's Party," *Vox Populi* says:

"In effect Mr. Wiley puts on a generous-sized pair of highly-colored old party spectacles, gets a focus upon Populism and proceeds to tell a waiting world what he thinks he sees. In fact, Mr. Wiley, metaphorically speaking, undresses himself and then draws up the blind, opens the window, and begins

his public appearance as a pure type of those who have eyes and ears, but neither see, hear, nor understand.

"At the risk of incurring the charge that we have changed our paper from a political publication to a humorous one," it proceeds to reproduce the greater part of the article referred to.

.

TRIUMPH OF THE SUGAR TRUST.—The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is inapplicable to the Sugar Trust. The case was originally brought on behalf of the government, in the circuit court of the eastern district of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of annulling the contracts by which four Pennsylvania refineries became members of the Sugar Trust. The contention of the government was that these transactions violated the Anti-Trust Law and effected a combination in restraint of interstate commerce. The circuit court, and later the court of appeals, decided against the government, and the case was carried up to the federal Supreme Court. The decision now rendered sustains the rulings of the lower courts and finally disposes of the case. Justice Harlan, in a dissenting opinion, endeavors to show that the Sugar Trust is unlawful because it is a combination in restraint of interstate commerce, and that no individual state can successfully cope with such a vast and powerful combination.—*Literary Digest*.

.

MONOPOLY ALWAYS VICTORIOUS.—The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Sugar Trust case is only a repetition of the experience that no matter how carefully a law be drafted, no matter how creditable and public-spirited was the motive which prompted its introduction, or how clearly defined the force of public opinion in obedience to which the law was enacted, the people, in their fight against monopolistic exactions and capitalistic greed, nearly always draw the short straw.

It is not contended in the present instance that the Supreme Court willfully strained the meaning of purely technical legal points or erred in its ruling. The point to be made is that the decision shows the impotency of the federal government, under the restrictions of power placed upon it, to protect the public against plutocratic aggression and the arbitrary raising of prices on articles, which enter into daily consumption, by vast combinations of those engaged in their production. The United States government may regulate all matters which cannot be limited by state boundaries. In affairs affecting the interchange of traffic and commodities between states it can interpose to prevent over-charges and discrimination. But, as long as a combine confines itself to one state in manufacture and complies with the requirements of the local laws, it is secure against all government interference, although the effects of combination are perceptible all over the country.—*The Herald (Ind.)*, Baltimore.

.

AN UNPATRIOTIC CONGRESS.—The behavior of the House of Representatives in rejecting a proposition to authorize the issue of three per cent gold bonds must, in the present circumstances, be set down as an act of such uncommon and unpatriotic madness as to call for the severest censure the people can pronounce. There would be a savage satisfaction in seeing these false servants put out—always by some safe constitutional process—if only their successors would be any better. But what are we to infer from the conduct of the Republicans in the House? Mr. Reed professed to support the sound-money resolution, and through partisanship or a worse motive did it what

harm he could. This is not of good augury for the Republican Congress to come.—*The Times (Dem.), New York.*

* * *

POLICE OFFICERS OUT OF POLITICS.—The National Organization, composed of chiefs of police, have framed the following resolution:

Resolved, By the convention of the National Chiefs of Police Union, that this convention earnestly request the state, municipal, and all appointive boards of cities of the United States, where the police of cities are appointed by state, municipal, or other board, not to remove from their police department efficient, honest, and capable officers, without cause. It has become the custom in many of the smaller cities of the country to change the police force every time there is a municipal election. We regard these constant removals without cause as unfortunate, and as having a tendency to the non-enforcement of law, from the fact that about the time a police officer in the smaller cities of the country learns his duties, he is discharged in order to make a place for some friend of the new administration.—*Municipality and County.*

* * *

NATIONAL HONESTY.—The worst feature about the present currency situation is one for which the press of the country is responsible. In both East and West charges of gross dishonesty against the opposing side are made and believed. In the East it is charged that western repudiationists are determined to coin fifty-cent dollars and cut down all obligations one half. In the West it is charged that eastern extortioners are determined to prevent additions to the currency until every dollar is worth two and all obligations are doubled. What is worst about the situation is that each side is sincerely convinced that the other is deliberately pursuing a policy of obvious dishonesty and dishonor.

For these accusations there is not the least basis in fact. The difference between the East and West is entirely one of economic belief, and not one of moral principle. People in the East do not believe that the prevention of the coinage of silver will reduce to one half the value of property and double the burdens of obligations. People in the West do not believe that the free coinage of silver will result in a fifty-cent dollar, and cut in two existing obligations. There is not one man in twenty in the East who would oppose the free coinage of silver if he were convinced that the silver dollars would continue to have the same value as gold dollars, and that the supply of currency would not increase more rapidly than was necessary to preserve substantial uniformity of values, and justice between debtors and creditors. There is not one man in twenty in the West who would urge the free coinage of silver if he did not believe that the silver dollars would continue to have the same value as gold dollars, and that the supply of the currency could not be increased more rapidly than was necessary to preserve substantial uniformity of values, and justice between debtors and creditors.

This being true—and no one who has talked with the earnest advocates of both policies can doubt it—it is the duty of the nation, and especially of the newspapers of the nation, to stop the declamations about dishonesty that are developing such bitterness between sections and classes, and permit each side to present wholly and fairly argument that its belief respecting the economic effects of free coinage is the true one. The great mass of American citizens are neither debtors nor creditors to an extent which would even affect their judgment, to say nothing of determining it. If both sides are given a fair hearing, the people of the country will settle the question in accordance with

the public sense of justice and honor. Where each side believes that it is making a fight for honesty, it is a dishonor to the nation that heated denunciation should take the place of enlightened discussion. The great body of the nation is disinterested. Even were patriotism dead and religion dead, it would not settle this question immorally unless forced to settle it ignorantly. The need of the hour is that the public press and the public speakers on this question should receive from their constituencies the order, "Turn off the heat; turn on the light."—*The Outlook*.

THE WHIPPING-POST BILL.—It is said that the bill to reestablish the whipping-post in New York is likely to pass. The *World* refuses to believe it. It is not possible that civilization should be thus shamed in one of the leading states of the civilized world.

It is said that some men are so brutal that only through flogging can they be elevated and humanized. That has been the plea of the Tory philanthropist in all ages. In Persia now the educated Tory sometimes feels his own superiority so strongly that, despairing of elevating the criminal to his own level by gentler means, he causes a pit to be dug by the side of the highway, in which the person to be elevated is buried alive up to the neck. Some call this detestable cruelty. To the Asiatic Tory it is the height of humanitarianism, for it shows his supreme abhorrence of detestable crime.

When, through a like process of reasoning, it is argued that we must set up the whipping-post in New York out of humanity, the answer civilization makes is that it is better to kill a criminal for his detestable crime than to flog him and let him go more debased and dangerous than ever. If there are criminals who cannot be dealt with in a civilized way send them to the electric chair, and so settle all question of their future relations to society.—*N. Y. World*.

VARIOUS MILITARISM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—The paragraph on this AFFAIRS. subject which appeared in this department last month, should have been credited to the *Salt Lake City Daily Tribune*, and is not, as some of our readers have supposed, an expression of the opinions held by the editors of this magazine.

SPECIALISTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.—The Political Association of the Central States is a new organization intended to bring together specialists in history, politics, sociology, and economics, for the advantage of its members as investigators and teachers. Special attention will be given to problems of direct interest to the Central States, and the society will aim to bring together men who do not all meet in connection with any existing society. The organization has about fifty charter members. Its officers are: Jesse Macy, A. M. (A. I. C.), Iowa College, president; George W. Knight, Ph.D. (A. I. C.), Ohio State University, secretary; and Frank W. Blackmar, Ph.D. (A. I. C.), University of Kansas, treasurer. The vice-presidents in charge of departments are: Albion W. Small, Ph.D., University of Chicago, Sociology; Chas. H. Haskins, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, History; H. C. Adams, Ph.D. (A. I. C.), University of Michigan, Economics; J. A. Woodburn, Ph.D., University of Indiana, Political Science.

CHRISTIANS AND SOCIALISTS.—*The Commonwealth* is the title of a New York publication whose motto is "The Common Good or Happiness," and which is issued as the "official organ of the Society of Humanity." With

such a name and motto, truth and justice would seem to be among the things which this journal would strive to represent. What, then, is to be thought of these statements in its last issue: "Socialists advocate a government administered in the interests of all the people. Most Christians believe in a government in the interest of one tenth of the people. Socialists urge the reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production. Most Christians uphold a system that reduces men to poverty, from no fault of their own, by robbing them in proportion to the progress of production. Socialists protest against a system that perpetuates ignorance and misery and keeps the people in bondage. Most Christians excuse or ignore injustice here and tell the victims to be content in the conditions in which God has placed them, in the hope of a blissful repose hereafter!" The publisher of such statements may believe that they are true. They are certainly successful in persuading thousands of their unthinking fellow citizens to entertain this belief. The representatives of Christianity have a duty to do in the way of proving to these misguided thinkers that they have been led to believe a lie. Christianity has its faults, and among the worst of them is its failure to make itself rightly appreciated by the so-called socialistic element in our population. But this is a fault of those who represent it, and not a fault of Christianity itself. Possibly the circulation of such papers as *The Commonwealth* among ministers and church members would serve as a tonic and arouse wholesome activities.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND'S APPEAL TO PATRIOTS.—"The one menace to republican institutions is political corruption, which covets for self or awards to others positions of trust in the nation with a view to private gain, and subordinates public to personal interest. True patriots should be the watchmen on the battlements to observe the enemy and arouse the people, teaching these to consider the right of suffrage as a sacred trust, to use it only for the public weal, to vote for party if party means pure and good politics, but to put country above party, and to vote for country against party when the latter is not synonymous with the country's good."

IN WOMAN'S FIELD. THE CHURCH AND WOMAN'S ELEVATION.—A writer in *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS*, in all earnestness maintains that from the very beginning the church was in favor of the emancipation and elevation of woman, and that Paul meant that woman should enjoy equality in the presence of all men. Many theories without rhyme or reason are advanced by reckless writers, but we certainly did not expect that any man would pervert history and misrepresent facts to such an extent. In truth, it is Paul to whom Christianity is indebted for the dogma of original sin and woman as the original sinner. He says: "Woman not first created was first in sin." Blackstone says, the general preference given by the laws of England to males over females is because they are worthier of blood. This is nascent and medieval Christianity condensed into law, a combination of Paul and Aristotle running down to the nineteenth century. Aristotle, whose philosophy was accepted by the church as authoritative, maintained that nature did not form woman except when by some imperfection of material he could not attain the sex which is perfect. Under authority of Paul and Aristotle, the Christian religion suppressed woman's spiritual and physical claims of equality until even her very humanity was put in doubt, grave councils debating this important question. The Council of Macon, 585 A. D., is celebrated in history for such discussion. The Ital-

ians long maintained that women had no souls, and it was a general belief throughout Christendom for centuries that women, like the more intelligent animals, had inferior souls and minds. Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Protestants alike, are to be found imbued with the same contemptuous opinion. Until the time of Peter the Great, woman was not counted in the census of the Russian empire. It is due to science, modern science, that woman's emancipation is one of the achievements of our civilization; science, which ignores prejudices and the authority of custom and of religious superstition, which sets aside the opinions of church fathers and church councils, and proclaims the divine truth as it is found in the revelation of God's law and in the spiritual life of both sexes.—*Jewish Spectator*.

EDUCATION IN CIVICS FOR WOMEN.—One of the oldest of womens' organizations for the study of civics, is the New York City Society for Political Study, now in its ninth year, with club rooms at 114 Madison Avenue. . . . Tuft's College, Medford, Mass., has just received from a woman a bequest of \$70,000 for the erection of a "college for women, in which it is provided that special instruction shall be given to women in the duties and privileges of American citizenship, and in the theory of the United States government, in addition to the regular course."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—The Chicago *Herald* (Dem.) advises that the bills for the extension of woman suffrage introduced in the Illinois legislature be seriously considered, but says: "The result of the voting for school officers at the November election shows that municipal suffrage, if extended to women in this state, will be a dead letter."

It is intimated that the Michigan Senate is in favor of giving women the right to vote, and will soon adopt a resolution submitting the question, in the shape of a constitutional amendment, to the people. It is believed that the resolution will fail of passage in the House. As to public opinion on the subject in Michigan, the Detroit *Free Press* (Dem.) says: "If some assurance could be given the people that women generally, and especially the more intelligent women, will vote if admitted to the franchise, we believe the amendment could be carried."

BIBLIOGRAPHY NEW GOSPEL OF LABOR.—An attempt to indicate a OF CIVICS. "peaceable and practical solution of the labor question, and a remedy against hard times." By A. Roadmaker. Paper. S. Wegener, Seattle, Wash.

THE CHURCH AND SECULAR LIFE.—A series of able lectures presenting practical and thoughtful views regarding the relations and duties of Christians in affairs of business, labor, politics, reforms, and society generally. Especially worthy the attention of ministers and church members, who will find in the author's opinions little that is commonplace, and much that is original, inspiring, and altogether helpful. By Rev. Frederick William Hamilton, A. I. C., winner *Public Opinion* prize essay on good citizenship. Cloth, 225 pp. Universalist Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.

SILVER AND GOLD.—Historical treatise by Alfred E. Lee, containing valuable information for students of the money question. Paper, 25 cents. Nitschke Brothers, Printers, Columbus, O.

INSTRUCTION IN SOCIOLOGY, in higher institutions of learning. A compendium of information, with statistical tables. By Daniel Fulcomer, Ph. D. (A. I. C.), University of Chicago. Paper.

HOWARD ASSOCIATION.—Annual report as to its work in connection with treatment and prevention of crime. Paper. 5 Bishopsgates St., Without, London, E. C.

AMERICAN HISTORY LEAFLETS.—Issue No. 18 contains President Lincoln's inaugural address and first message to Congress. Price, 10 cents. A. Lovell & Co., New York. These leaflets will be found of substantial value in studying the development of American history. Each has relation to the outcome of some important crisis, or theory underlying our form of government.

THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION has issued, in paper covers, valuable articles on "The Causes of Poverty," by Amos G. Warner, and "The Congress of Hygiene and Demography" by R. P. F. Price, 50 cents. Address the association, Boston, Mass.

STATISTICS OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.—Under this title the trustees of the John F. Slater Fund have published most interesting matter, carefully prepared, upon their invitation, by the well-known statistician, Mr. Henry Gannett, of Washington. The study of this paper will contribute to the better understanding of many problems in education, morals, and politics. Price, 25 cents. Address Hon. J. L. M. Curry, secretary Slater Fund, Washington, D. C.

THE JUDGE AND THE JURYMAN.—Hon. Robert E. Frazer contributes an article bearing this title to the February number of the *Michigan Law Journal*, which is worthy of wide attention. He suggests a legislative committee in each county which shall examine and determine the fitness of jurors, and reject those not qualified for proper service.

A USEFUL INDEX.—An index of recent articles upon almost every conceivable subject, civics included, is published semi-monthly, at 50 cents a year, by W. M. Griswold, Cambridge, Mass.

THE CITIZEN is the title of an attractive new 24-page monthly periodical, which succeeds to *University Extension* and *The Bulletin*, as the organ of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. "The proper function of this teaching," says *The Citizen*, "is to extend to the whole community, as far as possible, such knowledge as is the fruit of the highest educational life; to give to every one opportunities to cultivate habits of useful reading, careful thinking, and right conduct; to awaken and stimulate intellectual life and a sense of responsibility; all for the purpose of making better men and women; that is to say, better citizens, conscious of mutual interests and obligations and of their true relations to that organized society which is the product of civilization."

Professor Edmund J. James, Ph.D., the president, and Edward T. De Vine, Ph.D., secretary of the University Extension Society, are co-workers in the A. I. C.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

MAY, 1895.

THE SOCIAL PRESSURE IN POLITICS.

BY WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

IT HAS been often said that there is no sentiment in politics. In order to be a good partisan a man should vote against his own father or brother if either should have the bad taste to run for office on a ticket which he is opposing. He should vote for a stranger in whose personality he feels little or no interest, against his bosom friend who may pose as the opposition candidate for a state or national office. Perhaps I am stating extremes not likely to occur in the ordinary experience of men. But at the same time they are not entirely unlikely to occur, and I firmly believe that if the aggregate of such embarrassments and delicate situations in the country at large could be summed up after every election it would be found that a great number have voted for men whom at heart they disliked, against men toward whom they felt entirely friendly, and have not voted from a strict sense of the survival of the fittest, but because they looked upon bolting as next to high treason against the state, since it was treason to the party of their choice.

The political lessons and warnings of the nineteenth century will have been lost upon us if we do not recognize the high moral questions involved in the elective franchise. Not merely of the nineteenth century, but still eminently connected with it. For this is the century in which all of us have had our start upon the scene, and with its closing shades many of us now strong and hopeful will have stepped back from the stage into the wings, lagging as superfluous veterans, while the young, the untried,

the buoyant, will have slipped into our places. Those lessons point preëminently to the fact of the sacredness of the franchise as a moral means of regeneration. The franchise in peace should be to each man of us what the musket is in war—our means of testifying our fidelity and exalted patriotism. The fleecy piles of ballots may seem a very simple, harmless thing beside the zip of the bullet and the hoarse scream of shot and shell from belching mortars; but they are capable of inflicting deeper, bloodier wounds upon the republic itself, if wrongly directed. All this is recognized, of course, in the daily speech of orators on the hustings, and in the political editorial; but the question still remains as to the obligations of party fealty *versus* individual preference and individual conscience.

This, too, is a question which ought to possess as lively interest for us in the breathing spells of political agitation as in the very storm and stress of campaigns. In fact, our elections are already very frequent. Their frequency is increased in this imperial state of New York by the recent legislation of the constitutional convention with reference to the terms of the highest state officers, making elections hereafter for governor and lieutenant governor take place every two years; and we shall also vote for a larger number of senators and assemblymen. Both these changes are of great importance and greatly enhance the ever present meaning of politics even at what we usually term dull times. As a matter of fact, from now on we shall have no off years—every autumn that comes shall have its serious meaning for us. The limits of our assembly and senatorial districts being narrowed, we shall be called upon now more pointedly, if anything, than ever before, to choose between friends and neighbors as representatives in the state councils, and if the question of fidelity to machine or partisan nominations has ever been one of moment to us, such increased frequency of choice and such narrowing of the territorial range of selection will enhance that interest.

There is, there must be, a social side to politics—a recognition of the obligations which friendship, the knowledge of personal fitness, must have. It is human nature—at least it is American

nature—to value election to high political office as a supreme compliment and as an evidence of great confidence. A good many of us have a half feeling that official lightning is very coy—that there is no apparent reason why it should not sometimes strike our way too, while ostensibly we are entirely indifferent to it—in fact, would decline such overtures without a thought. The average indifference of the average American citizen to office—or at least to the suggestion of his name for office—is one of the most hazy and doubtful phenomena in the political sky.

But even if the lightning is not destined to interfere with our peace and quiet, and if we individually shall never be called upon, like Cincinnatus, to leave our quiet surroundings for our country's good, our interest in the selection is unabated and the social side of politics is pretty sure to obtrude itself in every election. I call it social—I might call it the moral or emotional side—anything that will serve as a catchword to distinguish the principle of untrammelled voting from that which as partisans we may be expected to give at our party's dictation. Theoretically, the partisan vote is obligatory. If you go into a caucus you are supposed to be bound by the decision of that caucus. Suppose the lightning had struck you—your fellow partisans would have felt under obligations to see you safely through either to victory or defeat. The decision of one hundred against ninety-nine would have been sufficient to bind the ninety and nine to your support, although among that ninety and nine might have been some of your most bitter personal and inter-partisan enemies. To assume that the ninety and nine in question get their rights is to assume that the one hundred have not been gathered in by unfair and disreputable means; but it is the sad experience of caucuses in general that heartburnings and rivalries mark every step of the way, and that in a large number of instances the choice of the caucus is by no means the untrammelled choice of the majority of its members.

In fact, all that keeps the modern caucus in its present position of authority is the fact that only a limited number of nominations can be made. Men do not want to throw away their votes. They would rather vote for a man person-

ally very objectionable to them than help the opposite party positively by voting or negatively by desisting from a vote. If the caucus were frequented regularly by the most thoughtful, conservative, and disinterested partisans in every community, and if these took the leading part in its deliberations, the choice would be most truly representative. But good men are notoriously negligent in such matters. They do not like the odor of cheap whisky, the sounds of profanity, and possibly ruffianism, and they leave the caucus, like a bark without a rudder, to the mercies of a distinctly lower class of politicians. This negligence not infrequently compels them to become bolters or else lose their self-respect. I do not excuse these worthy citizens for neglecting the caucus, but I greatly fear that many of them will continue to neglect it in the future as they have notoriously done in the past. It would be all right if new nominations could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. But the state of New York, at least, lays down certain restrictions as to the number of nominees for the higher offices at least, so that if the better element voter is dissatisfied with his own party nominees he has frequently no other consolation, unless perchance the opposite party has been more fortunate and selected better men whom he may support in spite of the ill-repressed reproaches of his more hide-bound fellow partisans who resent his present wavering as a sort of personal disloyalty.

This last also suggests a feature of the social side of politics and emphasizes the value of the secret ballot. No man should ever deposit a ballot of which he is ashamed, and I may go further and say that no man should ever deposit a ballot which he is afraid to have known as his. But we are not all equally brave, equally indifferent to the opinion of others, and it is a lamentable fact that there are still too many places in our free and happy republic where the *viva voce* system if in operation would lead to endless personal turmoil. The man who truly appreciates the majesty of the ballot, who wants it to be recognized for what it really is and not for what it appears to the sodden, selfish ward-heeler—this man, I say, resents the foul slavery in which too many men are compelled, or feel themselves compelled,

to live—voting like a dark-lantern brigade—afraid to discuss politics with their nearest neighbors, and enjoying in secret only the luxury of exercising their sovereign power. Of course the vote of the coward and skulk is as majestic in its practical meaning as that of the man who openly proclaims his stand, but the moral effect of being afraid to avow one's sentiments must be very debasing.

We are nearing the time, I believe, in our national politics when good men and true will take hold together and demand that any known form of political intimidation anywhere in the length and breadth of this country shall cease—that is, that the weakest and most easily overawed voter shall be assured of adequate and immediate protection—nay, further, that good men of every party, disagreeing as much as they may on the points involved, will combine if necessary in law and order leagues to fight down—and out—any known attempts to overawe any man, or set of men, who may be the target for that class which regards politics as their pet property. It is pleasant, however, to feel that this state of affairs does not exist as a rule but as an exception—yet that it exists at all—that it can exist anywhere—is a subject for lively concern. It is impossible to secure an absolutely untrammelled ballot. If men acted as they felt in each and every instance, if the social influence was not at all times intruding itself and diverting votes if not sympathies by its too powerful pressure, we might get a much more accurate idea of the true political complexion of our common country. This would be most desirable, for while it may be said that the man who sells his vote or is overawed in the matter is not worth the vote he wields, still we would like to know on which side such voters preponderate, for these are they which might at some time most seriously menace our free institutions. We cannot tabulate them for the whole country, or for a state, but in each and every neighborhood there are some men who are regarded as wavering, perhaps venal. It may be a hard task to teach a venal man to be strictly honest; but it ought not to be very hard to teach a weak, easily intimidated voter to stand up and show himself a man when you assure him protection.

In the average American, hesitation as to his political preferences, and especially hesitation as to the direction of his vote itself, seems doubly inexcusable, because here political information is so widely diffused. The very air is full of it. There are men who will hardly recognize the most familiar quotations from Shakespeare or the Bible and yet who in a general way comprehend the leading features of the tariff and silver agitation. These men vote either honestly or dishonestly—they cannot err from ignorance. They vote dishonestly if they vote even against their impressions and prejudices because of some social influence brought to bear on them. I do not say that these social or personal influences are as strong as in some European countries, where the elective franchise is nominally conferred. But the power of wealth, and especially of great business corporations, is steadily growing. The sentiments of the men at the head of these great organizations is well known. Their influence is felt in politics and it is useless to disguise it. They are prohibited under the sternest penalties from overtly seeking to influence their workingmen, and I will go further and say that I believe with many of these there is no such direct attempt. With some there is, and the result is the loss of political manhood among more or less of a large number of men. The proof of such a state of affairs is very evasive, and even when presented is accepted only by those of the opposite political party.

Therefore, where there is no physical violence hinted at I submit that the only reliable way of promoting the purity and sincerity of the ballot everywhere must be by a constant moral propaganda. I believe firmly that out of a hundred ordinary men there are not ten who would rather please a patron or confer a personal obligation than express their opinion at the polls. So strenuous are the American people in this respect that men do not cease to take interest in politics even after they as felons have lost the glorious right of suffrage and are instead the denizens of gloomy cells. It is rare to find a man who has not some distinct bias—though it is not as rare as it should be to hear a man say that he takes very little interest in politics, that he has no time for it, etc.

In speaking of the social side of politics I might also allude to what might be called the hereditary side. Here the most amusing and absurd fixity in politics is too often noticeable. One hears of "old Republican," or "old Democratic," families—which is all right and good if one was not certain that among these there are, there must be, some who if untrammelled would be found voting against the sentiments of their fathers and mothers. It is indeed suspicious if there are not some thus apart. For while the average family differs in its various parts by an infinitude of characteristics, it is almost impossible that those who so widely diverge in everything else—even frequently in religion—should be voted solidly, so to say, on the principle of *noblesse oblige*, or that a vote for the grand old family party, whichever it may be, is expected and required within family limits.

I hope there is nothing merely Utopian in this desire for more sincerity, directness, and fearlessness in politics. Recent events have emphasized as never before the majesty of the independent vote. Why should not good men of all parties resolve to frown down the foolish idea that politics is necessarily corrupt? It is not. If politics is necessarily corrupt, then so is religion, so is the education of the young, so are our institutions generally. Politics is corrupt largely in so far as good citizens neglect it and leave it to the tender mercies of corrupt professionals. Politics is the science of government and the study of the ways and means of administering that government, as well as the selection of those who shall representatively administer it. It is the government that is charged with the honor of our flag on the sea and land, with the conservation of finance, with the defenses of trade and commerce. If politics is corrupt what can be said of these great institutions which it guards? Are these unsmirched? Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit? Yet in the very words with which we seek to exalt our national greatness and our civic nobility as Americans we deny that the cesspool is as wide, deep, and noxious as in our moments of pessimism we are fain to insist. And even if they are as corrupt as we insist upon, who is it that allows them to be so?

WILLIAM B. CHISHOLM.

CIVILIZATION AND THE STATE.

BY PRES. A. A. JOHNSON, D.D., UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING.

THE popular use of the word "civilization," the one which concerns us in this article, conveys the idea of progress, advancement—a state or evolution of society. This use of the word carries with it two grand ideas, which focus in the one word progress, the moral and intellectual improvement of the individual, and the melioration of the social life and social system. These two elements make up the great fact which we call civilization. These two circumstances are necessary to its existence: it lives upon these two conditions—the progress of individuals and the progress of society.

The use of the word civilization awakens within us at once the notion of an increase of national prosperity, of a greater activity, and a better organization of the social relations. On the one hand, there is a manifest increase in the permanent well-being of society at large, and on the other a more equitable distribution of this power and this well-being among the individuals of which society is composed. In this twofold progress we find the march of civilization, with its history, full of conflicts and social evolutions.

The modern state has its origin in constitutionalism, which began to be appreciated about the sixteenth century and in the days of the Reformation, and may be defined as follows: The state is that consolidated form of a nation in which lies its power and greatness. The ruling idea in the sense and application of the state is that of government in its most abstract form, and is not synonymous with nation, realm, or commonwealth. In this paper we desire to use the term, state, as synonymous with government, the most exalted product of modern society. All constitutional lawyers agree to the definition of Judge Cooley in his "Constitutional Law": "A state may be defined to be a body

politic, or society of men united together under common laws, for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage by the joint efforts of their combined strength."

A state is sovereign when there resides within itself a supreme and absolute power, acknowledging no superior. This sovereignty is the essence and essential factor in a stable government. In this day of constitutionalism we claim that sovereignty resides in the people. And it is true that in the march of civilization the people have experimented with, and consented to, various forms of government, ranging from theocracy, plutocracy, and monarchy, to democracy. No matter about the form of government, the legitimate sovereignty of each has derived its force from the consent of the people, who have accepted such government as embodying their sense of justice necessary for the protection of society. When this consent failed and was withdrawn, revolution necessarily followed, and this right of revolution, for a just cause, the people have never relinquished, and more than once they have put an end to tyrannical governments.

Civilization, by centuries of evolution, produced the state. Government is the product of the intelligence and innate justice of the people; and is sustained by the consensus of the people who in their collective capacity make up society. Between civilization and the state there is an acting and reacting influence. These two factors of human society march through the ages parallel to each other. Civilization produced the state, which has become the accepted instrument of society to protect its own interests, as well as those of the individual; the state, in turn, has obligations to civilization, and becomes the chosen means by which society contributes its power and influence to aid an advancing civilization.

In this day and age the question is not what can civilization do to foster a better government, but what can the state do to foster a better civilization, and minister to the intellectual and moral progress of the individual, and aid in the melioration of society. This duty of the state is its reacting influence on civilization, its logical and positive method of advancing the science of government.

As already intimated, the state is the child of progress, and has grown to be the great factor in civilization, so that future civilization, both as regards the individual and society, will be largely what the state makes it by wise and just legislation. How far can the state go in this work? Before answering this question we must note the growth and product of constitutionalism in order to discover the true ends and functions of the state.

The birth of modern constitutional government was in the year 1215, when the English barons at the Parliament of Runnymede forced King John to sign the Magna Charta, the great fundamental document of civil liberty and individual rights. But this century plant of liberty was slow in blooming, and it took two and a half centuries for the actual power of the state to pass from the aristocracy to the people, which date, 1485, marks the birth of the English House of Commons. But it took the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, in the revolt against the old philosophical doctrines of the church and state, to fully establish the principle of constitutionalism in government. Since 1787, the date of the birth of our American Constitution, the growth of this principle has been rapid and vigorous, and its fruits—individual rights and civil liberty—have come to be regarded as the first object and duty of the state in its guarantee to society. Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France, now stand as the exponents of constitutionalism, each nation modifying this principle of government to suit the conditions and customs of their people.

"Constitutional law, as the term is commonly used, would include," says Professor Woodrow Wilson in his book entitled "The State," "all laws dealing with the sovereign body in the exercise of its various functions, and all rules of government, not being laws, properly so called, relating to the same subject." This definition provides for the written and the unwritten constitution, both of which have their force in the consensus of the public will and opinion. The English government, under its largely unwritten constitution, possesses great mobility, which in itself would be dangerous were it not for the strong conservatism

of the English people. Such a government, under such a constitution, among the people of South America, would be subject to violent revolutions. There is a fixity in the American Constitution which prevents revolution, and amendments can only come by a due process of law and by the consent of the people in the various states, as expressed in the will of a large majority.

A constitution, then, is a document intended to control the sovereign body; the governor, in the interests of the governed—the people.

It has been said that "mankind acquires liberty through civilization." This is, perhaps, indirectly true. But government, or the state, is the product of civilization, and the state is the source of individual liberty, guaranteeing to society as well as the individual civil rights; and should protect the people against injustice and all kinds of oppression. It has also been said: "Society is vastly greater and more important than its instrument, government. Government should serve society, and by no means rule or dominate it. Government should not be made an end in itself; it is a means only—a means to be freely adapted to advance the best interests of the social organism." When government performs this duty of service, it not only guarantees civil liberty to the people, and individual rights, but fosters and encourages the principles which make a higher civilization possible. Nothing, therefore, has more intensely encouraged the marvelous growth of civilization during the last century than constitutionalism; and the products of constitutionalism, civil and religious liberty, are now the birthright of every man in the United States, and a guarantee of individual rights necessary to his highest development.

The state, then, being an agent of society, and adhering to its legitimate functions, may do a great deal to foster a better civilization than we now enjoy. What it can and may do is a disputed question, and in this age of social unrest and danger from unscientific socialism we must approach such a discussion with caution.

Enjoying as we do the effects of a constitutional government,

and in the light of this marvelous nineteenth century, we may well inquire for the true ends of the state. I like the German idea as stated by Dr. Burgess in his book entitled, "Political Science and Constitutionalism." "First, the state must constitute itself in sufficient power to preserve its existence and proper advantage against other states, and to give itself a universally commanding position over against its own subjects, either as individuals or associations of individuals. The second is individual liberty (*der individuelle Rechtszweck*). The state must lay out a realm of free action for the individual, and not only defend it against violation from every quarter, but hold it sacred against encroachment by itself. And the third is the general welfare (*der gesellschaftliche Culturzweck*). The state must stand over against the private associations and combinations of its subjects as an independent power, preventing any one, or more of them, from seizing and exercising the power of the state against the others. It must prevent the rivalries between different associations from coming to a breach of the peace. It must protect the rights of the individual member of any association against the tyranny of the association. It must hold all associations to their primary public purpose, if such they have, and aid them, if strictly necessary, in its accomplishments. Finally, it must direct the education of its subjects." Dr. Burgess thinks this German statement is incomplete, and suggests that the true ends of the state are: first, government and liberty; second, nationality; and, third, perfection of humanity. This is a very broad generalization and scheme for the melioration of society. It is quite clear that this statement of the ends of the state is a rising climax, and that nationality and perfection of humanity are quite dependent on the first proposition—government and liberty.

We agree that first of all "the state must establish the reign of peace and law; that is, it must establish government and vest it with sufficient power to defend the state against external attack or internal disorder," and guarantee individual liberty. But such power ought not to be made the defender of selfish individualism and the "laissez faire" (let alone) theory of competition in our industrial affairs, whereby is fostered unlimited

power in the great units of wealth. The individualism which springs from liberty guaranteed by government should be that of self-development, with a fair field of opportunity. Prof. Woodrow Wilson very truly says: "The hope of society lies in an infinite individual variety, in the freest possible play of individual forces: only in that can it find that wealth of resource which constitutes civilization, with all its appliances for satisfying human wants and mitigating human sufferings, all its incitements to thought and spurs to action. It should be the end of government to *accomplish the objects of organized society*: there must be constant adjustments of governmental assistance to the needs of a changing social and industrial organization. Not license of interference on the part of the government, only strength and adaptation of regulation. The regulation that I mean is not interference; it is the equalization of conditions, so far as possible, in all branches of endeavor; and the equalization of conditions is the very opposite of interference."

Such, then, is the first end of the state—a strong, stable government, protecting itself and regulating society, so as to give all an equal chance for individual development.

The second end of the state needs no discussion. The development of a national spirit and genius is an essential factor in civilization. No people or race has made any great advancement without this national spirit. It was the power of Greece in her days of great achievements, and was the power of the conquering Roman. Europe never emerged from her barbarism, discord, and feudalism, till the fifteenth century developed, through various agencies, a national spirit resulting in unity of action and centralization of governments.

As a nation, we are enjoying in a fair degree the first ends of the state, but we are lacking in a national spirit, and our genius is to make money. We are optimistic and boastful of our resources to a degree of egotism, but we are lacking in the national spirit we enjoyed thirty years ago, in 1865, at the close of the Civil War. We have drifted away from this spirit in our chase after gold and silver dollars. We must come back to it, build the Nicaraguan Canal, and annex the Hawaiian Islands, before

we shall reach our greatest achievements. We must think more of the stars and stripes.

That the ultimate end of the state is the perfection of humanity I doubt, except as it ministers to this end indirectly. The state can never make men intellectual or moral by legislation. It can only afford men the opportunity to become intellectual and moral, and protect society in its efforts to attain a higher standard of life. The inspiration for perfection must come from other forces quite beyond the state's control.

From the preceding discussion it is quite clear that the functions of the state may be reduced to two: first, those that are constitutional in their nature; and, secondly, those that are ministerial in their nature and relate to matters of expediency to promote society's interests. The first, constitutional functions, exists for the promotion of peace, harmony in social interests, stability of government, and the protection of individual rights. The second, ministerial functions, is more difficult to classify, and relates to all matters of expediency in government which are constitutional, and intended to foster and encourage the people's interests in their individual and social developments. All ministerial legislation should be such as to aid in attaining a higher and better civilization.

We have now arrived at a definite conclusion, which is generally recognized, except by a few mercenary individuals who make self-interest the center of their tyrannical mercantilism. Within the last century the discussions which have waxed warm over the objects of the state have developed two extreme views. The first has its origin in the Adam Smith school of political economists, who at all times have been vigorous advocates of individualism and absolute free trade. This view is one of the chief characteristics of the English school of economists, who have, more or less, influenced and dominated the industrial life of England and America during this century. It is known as the "*laissez faire*," or "let alone," theory, and is based on competition as the regulator of all industrial and social evils. Adam Smith, the father of this school of economists, set forth three industrial axioms which were readily accepted in the lib-

erty-loving age of the eighteenth century, and have largely influenced legislation. These axioms may be briefly stated as follows :

(1) "All men are by nature free and equal." This sounds well, but is only a half-truth. Men are and should be free and equal in the sight of the law, and this is the basal fact in constitutionalism, but otherwise it is false. Diversity of talents and natural endowments, such as shrewdness and executive ability, make men very unequal in their industrial relations. We shall always have with us the wise and the ignorant, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, and society's duty through government is to protect the ignorant, the weak and poor, to the extent of equal opportunities under the law, and against all kinds of oppression, by wholesome regulations of industrial affairs.

(2) "Non-interference on the part of the state." This meant in Adam Smith's day destruction of the English guild system of trades. It means to-day "Hands off"; turn everybody loose in the industrial world. Let men prey on each other in the race for wealth, and the "Devil take the hindmost." This introduced individualism with all of its abuses and tyranny. Society has long struggled against this evil, as is evidenced by the attempts of certain kinds of legislation, much of which has failed because of its extreme and unjust nature.

(3) The third axiom, "Competition will regulate all industrial evils," is the natural outgrowth of the former. Competition is beneficial in stimulating inventions, quickening commerce, and in reducing prices to the cost of production, after providing for a legitimate profit. But competition opens the way for mercenary humanity to introduce abuses and serious evils. Adam Smith did not see, as has been practically demonstrated ten thousand times, that competition among one hundred men enables one mean man to force ninety-nine other men, disposed to do right, to be mean also, in self-protection; and what may be said of men may be said of corporations under the law of competition.

It seems to me that what society demands through government,

in the interests of a better civilization, is, all the benefits of competition with the abuses abolished and removed by wise and just legal regulations.

Now the abuses and oppressions that have grown up during the last fifty years under these false economic and industrial axioms of Adam Smith's have produced the second extreme view as to the object of the state, known as *socialism*. Be it said now that this is a somewhat ambiguous term. Popular socialism as advocated by labor papers and organizations, and championed somewhat by a political party, is quite a different thing from the scientific socialism as defended by Rodbertus and Karl Marx, of Germany. Popular socialism is revolutionary; scientific socialism is more of an evolution, and pleads for regulations on the part of the state which will foster a better civilization, and thus improve the social relations of mankind.

It is not now my purpose to discuss scientific socialism as advocated by the German school under the leadership of Rodbertus, but rather to call attention to the impending evils of popular socialism in this country, and which is urged upon us as one of the objects of the state. There is no doubt but that some incidental benefits have been derived from the discussions of socialists, *first*, in calling attention to abuses that have grown up under our industrial system, and, *secondly*, in urging upon us a study of the true functions of the state. Beyond this no benefits are to be derived by the adoption of the program of socialism. It is not a question of economic production that concerns modern society; it is rather a question of economic distribution of the annual products of society, and on this subject popular socialism holds radical and revolutionary views.

Dr. Richard T. Ely's summary of the tenets of popular socialism is as accurate as any, and so I quote it: "Socialism contemplates an expansion of the business functions of government until all business is absorbed. All business is then to be regulated by the people in their organic capacity, each man and each woman having the same rights which any other man or any other woman has. Our political organization is to become an economic industrial organization. Private property in profit-producing capital

and rent-producing land is to be abolished, and private property in income is to be retained, but with this restriction, that it shall not be employed in productive enterprises. What is desired, then, is not, as is supposed by the uninformed, a division of property, but a concentration of property. The socialists do not complain because productive property is too much concentrated, but because it is not sufficiently so. They desire to nationalize capital and to abolish capitalists as a distinct class, by making everybody as a member of the community, that is, a partial owner of all the capital in the country. Distributive justice is the central aim, the pivotal point, of socialism. Socialists desire to extend the functions of the government until the government cultivates all the land, manufactures all the goods, conducts all the exchanges, and carries on every productive enterprise, and justly distributes the annual products of society. Such a program is socialism pure and simple, and is revolutionary in its character and full of greater social evils than now exist."

The socialist, in opposing the abuses of individualism, which are fostered by the "let alone" theory of Adam Smith, goes to the opposite extreme and destroys individual freedom, and makes man a mere piece of machinery under the domination of the state. Herein is the weakness of socialism, and its impractical nature. To destroy the individual freedom of man, as to initiative powers and activity, and thus throttle his inventive and enterprising spirit, is to send our civilization backward toward barbarism. Not only is the domination of such an industrial principle dangerous to civilization, but it provides for the greatest abuses and tyranny in government. Under the *régime* of socialism, if the government shall fall into selfish and mercenary hands, the last state of society would be worse than the first, and a revolution of anarchy would follow in the wake of degenerate socialism. The whole scheme of popular socialism is Utopian, and ignores the fact that human character is basal to such an organization of society, and can never succeed until the dawn of the perfect man.

There is no doubt but that the state is a beneficial and indis-

pensable organ of society, and what is wanted is the coördination of the two principles, the principle of public business and the principle of private business. Thus only will civilization be rendered rich and full.

The discussion of the above extreme views as to the object of the state, together with existing evils, which are causing a social unrest among the masses, brings us to the conclusion that the safety of society and the hope of a better civilization lies in *social reform*, based upon our fundamental civil institutions, and carried forward by just legal regulations. Constitutionalism, resulting in union, strength, and coöperation, provides for this social reform. In the past, too, much difference has existed between the people and the government. Hence there has been friction and revolution. But now the people are sovereign, and may use the state to remove the friction that exists in social and industrial matters.

That there is now friction in the body politic is evidenced by the social unrest of the masses, and their protests against unjust financial legislation, corruption in politics, and the oppression of trusts and monopolies—all of which come as the natural abuses of economic laws and from mercenary human nature, which the state ought to regulate.

I have no sympathy with the partisan cry often raised for political effect, that corporations and trusts are the creatures of partisan legislation. Such is not the fact. "Combination," says President Andrews, "has sprung from the very soul of our old 'laissez faire' competitive sort of industry. These monopolies daily arising to new power and numbers, are the logical and inevitable result of that industrial liberty which was formerly our boast. They are the product of economic and social forces, and not of statutes." The one is the cause of the other. Men combine to avoid the ruinous effects of competition, and society has not been without benefits in the cheapened cost of production, which great concerns have been able to accomplish. When great corporations combine to extort exorbitant prices, or oppress labor, then the state should intervene to limit the powers of these great units of wealth. Combinations in all kinds of industrial

and mercantile undertakings will be permanent because they are natural under present economic conditions. If wisely regulated by the state and their powers limited, no burdensome evils can arise; otherwise, they may work immeasurable social evils under mere economic law. That there are dangers here which can only be averted by the state, our wisest statesmen admit.

The past records the struggles against religious despotism. It is the history of the Reformation. The past also records the struggles against political despotism. It is the history of the English and French Revolutions, and the triumph of constitutionalism on the American continent. We are now on the threshold of the struggle against economic despotism. I do not think it will amount to revolution; but it will be rather an evolution which, to my mind, is the highest and noblest function of the state, and will make the civilization of the twentieth century renowned.

But this will not come without a struggle, and it will be a struggle of Titans—the great social masses, asking by legislation a higher standard of life, commensurate with our nineteenth century education on the one hand, and the shrewd opposition of the great units of wealth, known as corporations, on the other. In this struggle injustice must not be tolerated, and the giants must come together on mutual grounds, and allow the state to be the arbiter in the interests of general society and a higher civilization. This will be the supreme test of American constitutionalism.

Pessimistic writers and speakers have been prone to draw a parallel between the ancient republics of Greece and Rome and to predict our dissolution as a government. I do not think the parallel exists, and, further, I believe we have life-giving and life-renewing forces in our body politic which were entirely foreign to the ancient republics. Here is a greater fact of history. It seems that all nations which have perished, and live to-day only in the records of the past, have taken seven steps in their downward career: (1) Indifference to justice; (2) godlessness; (3) luxury; (4) sensuality; (5) civil war; (6) foreign war; (7) slavery. As a nation we have taken the first step, especially in economic matters, and are tolerating godlessness,

luxury, and sensuality in high life. The state, by wise legislation, can prevent injustice and remove the indifference by the enforcement of legal regulations. The correction of the other three must come through moral and educational forces in our body politic.

After all, the coming society and future civilization will be what individual character makes it. Character is of slow growth, and comes from educational and moral forces, which bloom only in the posterity of centuries. In this nation every man is a sovereign. The power of the ballot invests him with a personal responsibility. The government, the power of the state, and, indirectly, civilization, will be what he helps to make of it. This is the gift of a great natural right, and should be appreciated with a kingly spirit. A little poem, whose author is unknown, beautifully expresses my idea of our duty as citizens :

" I hold it the duty of one who is gifted,
And royally dowered in all men's sight,
To know no rest till his life is lifted
Fully up to his great gift's height.

" He must mold the man into rare completeness,
For gems are set only in gold refined ;
He must fashion his thoughts into perfect sweetness,
And cast out folly and pride from his mind.

" For he who drinks from a god's gold chalice,
Of art, or music, or rhythmic song,
Must sift from his soul the chaff of malice,
And weed from his heart the roots of wrong.

" For I think that the wrath of an outraged heaven
Should fall on the chosen and dowered soul
That allows a lump of selfish leaven,
By slow fermenting, to spoil the whole.

" Great gifts should be worn like a crown befitting,
And not like gems on a beggar's hands ;
And the toil must be constant and unremitting,
That lifts up the king to the crown's demands."

A. A. JOHNSON.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

BY PROF. H. H. BARBER.

NO PUBLIC institution has made greater progress during the last few years or grown more rapidly in public interest and favor than the free public library. The building of a magnificent structure in Chicago, together with the excellent Newberry free reference library, and in coöperation with the fast growing library of the Chicago University, will make perhaps the most superb public provision for free literary culture ever furnished by any municipality. Boston has lately transferred its more than half a million volumes to the new and noble public library building on the Back Bay. The newspapers of this last week tell us that in New York Mr. Tilden is after all not to be finally counted out; but that the two millions rescued from his estate by the high sense of honor of one of his heirs is to be joined with the invaluable Astor Library, and the choice Lennox Reference Library, and all made free and available to the public—a property valued in the aggregate at eight million dollars. These events, together with the recent founding of the Carnegie free libraries in Pittsburg and Allegheny, the not very remote establishment of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, and the addition by Mr. Henry C. Lea to the splendid Ridgway foundation in Philadelphia, constitute a series of brilliant triumphs for the free public library, unparalled in the history of educational institutions, and seldom equalled, I must think, in the intellectual progress of civilization.

Nor do these metropolitan successes indicate, after all, the most essential advance. The frequency with which private beneficence is coming to the aid of public enterprise in smaller cities and country towns, for the establishment and increase of these libraries; the recent notable instances of stimulative auxiliary legislation; and the growth of intelligent interest in new

and widely scattered sections of the civilized world, are equally significant, and perhaps even more widely beneficent. It is the era of the free public library ; and it is of special interest to us to see that our community and our commonwealth are moving in accord with this tide of new feeling and enterprise concerning it.

Of special interest, I say, to us as Pennsylvanians ; for we are glad to remember that it was here that the first impulse was given to the foundation of the system of circulating libraries, the development of which is the free public library in England and America. Benjamin Franklin, after considerable effort, founded in 1732 the Philadelphia Library Company, the "mother," as he himself calls it, "of all the subscription libraries in North America."

This library which Franklin started for the advantage of himself and his fifty young business associates, in the early time, when, as he says, "there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston," and when most of the books had to be imported from England, was followed soon by the establishment of more ambitious similar libraries in Newport (1747) and Hartford (1774) ; and later in many other places in England and this country. These were called public libraries, though books could only be taken out by subscribers. Probably, however, as in Philadelphia, the librarian could "permit any civil gentleman to peruse the books of the library in the library room."

But it was in the formation of many so-called "Social Libraries" in the smaller cities and country towns of New England and the Middle States, early in the present century, that the foundations of the free municipal library were laid. These subscription libraries, in their growth and in their decay, no less than in the appetite for books they developed, created a demand and at length a necessity for public provision for what had come to be one of the prime intellectual needs of many communities.

Meantime in Scotland, in 1816, Samuel Brown of Haddington, following in part the methods of London booksellers, established a system of free itinerating libraries, loaning without cost selections of fifty books in each package to villages and neighbor-

hoods that would engage to circulate and take proper care of them. At the end of two years each loan was called in, and another of different works sent in its place. This scheme was for many years highly successful, and doubtless highly useful ; but seems to have failed soon after the death of its projector and inspirer in 1839. The system had the earnest sanction of Lord Brougham, and about 1825 was taken up in some parts of England ; and, in a modified form, has had a great success in Melbourne and its neighborhood, in Australia. Stanley Jevons, whose article on the rationale of free public libraries in his "Methods of Social Reform" is one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the literature of this subject, commends it as the best form of extending free public libraries in the rural portions of Great Britain, and he estimates that there ought to be three thousand such literary itinerants in England and Wales.

This system was copied in this country in the School District Libraries which were started in the state of New York in 1835, and a few years afterward were in successful operation in Massachusetts and other New England states, and in Michigan and Ohio at least, among states further west. At first every school district raising thirty dollars the first year and ten dollars thereafter, by tax or subscription, was assisted by the state—I cite the Massachusetts statute—to a like sum ; and a small but choice selection of books sent to it for free circulation within the district. A little later Massachusetts, at least, removed this condition ; and supplied every school district with such a library. These libraries after remaining in use for a while, and generally being thoroughly read, were exchanged among the districts. New books were thus continually coming to new readers. This movement was earnestly forwarded by that pioneer among American educators, Horace Mann, and during the period of my boyhood was a godsend to the young people of New England. I want to bless the memory of Samuel Brown, Father Page (a pioneer of the system in New York), and Horace Mann for the gleams of literary light thus cast across the bookless darkness of New England rural homes forty to fifty years ago. This highly economical

missionary agency of general intelligence passed away in New England with the incoming of the more satisfactory town system of free libraries. The cause of its decadence elsewhere is not clear, but it has lately had a remarkable resurrection in New York, as we soon shall see.

The first free town library in America, or the world, supported by municipal taxation, was established by the efforts of Abiel Abbot, D. D., in Peterboro, New Hampshire, in 1833. A decayed social library and an operatives' library, and perhaps some other small collections, were thus gathered under the shelter of the town; and took on new life from its fostering care, and the small annual appropriation for new books which is the breath of life to all libraries. Here, as always, it was *a man* that inspired the advance movement and carried it on to successful fulfilment.

In 1849, New Hampshire passed a general law enabling towns and cities to maintain free libraries by taxation; and in 1851 Massachusetts, which had granted Boston in 1847 the right to establish such a library, passed a similar general enabling act. Several other states followed almost immediately, and nearly every northern and northwestern state, except Pennsylvania, has since adopted the measure. In 1893, twenty states had enacted similar statutes; and, in all, more than seven hundred free libraries have been established under them. They have increased—as might naturally have been expected—most rapidly in the portions of the country where other library agencies, and where an efficient public school system, have been longest and most efficiently at work. Thus, of the seven hundred libraries, more than three hundred are in Massachusetts (according to the returns of the Public Library Commission for 1894), or 1,233 volumes for every thousand of population; in New Hampshire something over one hundred (in 1894), or 464 volumes per thousand of inhabitants. *

* Fletcher's "Public Libraries in America" gives the following list of free libraries in the other states: Illinois, 42; Michigan, 38; Rhode Island, 26; New York, 24; Indiana, 23; Connecticut, 23; California, 21; Ohio, 21; Iowa, 15; Vermont, 15; Maine, 14; Wisconsin, 9; Kansas, 9; New Jersey, 9; Minnesota, 8; Pennsylvania, 7; Missouri, 4; Colorado, 3. It should be remembered that these are minimum figures, the returns from some states being very imperfect. On the other hand, some of those returned in all the states, and all of those in some states—as in Pennsylvania—are supported otherwise than by public taxation.

Great Britain has kept nearly equal pace with our foremost states in free library legislation. A general enabling act to establish and support free libraries for the people from municipal rates was passed by Parliament in 1850, and accepted with great energy and enthusiasm by many of the northern towns and cities. Eighty-six free libraries, not including branches, had been opened before 1880; but, as in this country, the conservatism of the southern portions of the country has prevented their general establishment. For similar reasons only the province of Ontario has made any considerable movement in this direction in the Dominion of Canada.

This hasty historical sketch would be very incomplete without some account of the recent legislation, in several states, for the assistance of the smaller towns and villages in the establishment and increase of public libraries. This legislation has already had marvelous results. Massachusetts, in 1890, appropriated one hundred dollars to any town that would raise by taxation, or appropriate from the dog tax, or otherwise raise, at least fifty dollars (or if its valuation was less than one million dollars it should raise twenty-five dollars, or if less than \$250,000 it should raise at least fifteen dollars); and should agree to take care of the books, and furnish the agency of distribution. The sums granted by the state are in the hands of a board of commissioners appointed by the governor (with the advice and consent of the council); and so far these commissioners—librarians and others—have been eminent citizens, serving without salaries, and having only \$500 in their hands annually for clerk hire and traveling expenses. The commission is also required to give advice and information to librarians and others concerning selection of books, cataloguing, and administration; and to select and forward the books granted by the state.

Now for results. The commission has thus aided in establishing, in four years, more than sixty free public libraries in small towns (out of one hundred and four not thus supplied) and its action has shamed a few larger towns into establishing them; so that now only two and three fourths per cent of the population of the state, in forty-four small towns, were in January, 1894,

without their advantages. And this has been accomplished with an entire expense to the commonwealth of less than ten thousand dollars. *Per contra*, more than half a million dollars were given by individuals in a single year for similar purposes within the state. Certainly, this has been a most economical and effective public outlay; free, too, from all suspicion of any one's fattening by political jobbery.

The record of New Hampshire is even more remarkable. This state passed a law in 1891, similar to the one outlined above, and over eighty towns accepted its provisions, and established free libraries within a twelvemonth after it came in force. We are glad to read that the states of Maine, Connecticut, and *Pennsylvania* are moving in the direction of a measure that has proved so effective in its operation, and that must be so widely beneficent.

The state of New York has adopted another system to stimulate the development of the free library. Her enabling act of many years ago produced, as we have seen, comparatively small results; and in 1892 a law was passed authorizing the Regents of the University of New York to lend for a limited time—usually six months—selections of books from the duplicate department of the state library, or from books purchased for the purpose, to any public library in the state; or, where none exists, to twenty-five petitioners in any town or village of the state. A fee of five dollars is required, to cover cost of transportation, catalogue, etc., for a loan of one hundred volumes, and a smaller sum (three dollars) for a loan of fifty volumes. This plan, it will be seen, is a revival of the old school district method; and of that instituted by Samuel Brown in Scotland, and the later one found successful in Australia. The antipodes have a fashion lately of suggesting valuable object-lessons for social legislation. In small communities it has the advantage of making books do manifold duty, and of meeting the wants of varied communities and occupations. By judicious and varied selection, clubs, classes, schools, and reading circles may be aided in special courses and investigations. At the end of twenty months* one hundred and

*See article on Traveling Libraries in the *Forum* for January, 1895.

twenty-five of these free loan libraries had been sent out by the New York Board of Regents; of which nearly one half (44) went to communities without public libraries, the remainder going to libraries already established (22), to university extension centers (18), and to academy libraries open to the public (22). Eleven thousand nine hundred volumes were thus made accessible to the public, with a total circulation of not far from 25,000 volumes and 9,000 readers. This system, which seems even more economical than the Massachusetts one, has greatly promoted interest in good reading, and led to the establishment of several local public libraries. The system is very elastic and is easily adapted to the rapidly growing demands for its privileges. As a pioneer method, or as auxiliary to municipal libraries, it promises excellent results.

After this historical survey it would hardly seem necessary to dwell upon the arguments in behalf of the free public library. "There is probably no mode of expending public money," says Stanley Jevons, "which gives a more extraordinary and immediate return in utility and innocent enjoyment." He affirms that in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and some other great towns in England, as in similar communities in this country, where such libraries have existed for years, there is but one opinion about them. "They are classed with town-halls, police courts, prisons, and poorhouses as necessary adjuncts of our stage of civilization." A more natural, and certainly more cheerful, collocation would class them with free schools, museums, and public parks, as Jevons himself afterwards suggests. "The main *raison d'être* of free public libraries, as indeed of public museums, art galleries, parks, halls, public clocks, and many other kinds of public works, is the enormous increase of utility which is thereby acquired for the community at a trifling cost." He proceeds to illustrate by several instances what he calls "the remarkable multiplication of utility" in the case of free lending libraries by several instances. Every book, in the first year of the Birmingham Free Library, was issued on an average seventeen times, and the periodical literature turned over fifty times. In Leeds, every book was used eighteen times. In larger

libraries and in later use, of course, the figures are less, averaging from three to ten times, the whole cost of each issue averaging only from two to five cents. Similar statistics may be found in the *Forum* article already referred to in regard to the manifold use of books furnished in New York.

The comfort and moral economy of a cheerful, well-lighted reading-room, too, is overwhelmingly illustrated. Mr. Jevons found that in Manchester all persons of suitable age visited the free libraries on an average thirteen times a year, of whom three fourths came to read in the reading-rooms. Such a refuge from the perils of the saloon and the street is an immense benefaction in any neighborhood.

The relative cheapness of securing this means of general culture and enjoyment, this efficient antidote to vice and ignorance, is strikingly shown by comparing its cost with other items of governmental expenditure, and the statistics of national luxuries and vices. The eighty-six free libraries in the large cities of Great Britain cost not more than half a million dollars per year—one fifth the cost of a first class ironclad. The statistics I have given show that the cost of the two war vessels just voted by Congress might be abundantly sufficient to insure the organization on the Massachusetts plan of a free library in every village and country town of the United States, not now accessible to such a library. The expenditure for drink, for horse-racing, or even for tobacco, for a single year, would royally equip and endow a public library for every thousand people now without such privileges. As post-office savings banks are, wherever established, a mighty engine for teaching thrift, as public parks are an incalculable source of health and enjoyment in our cities, so the public library, "the free literary park," as Jevons calls it, is a most effective agency for the promotion of culture and civilization.

In the year 1851, George Ticknor, the distinguished author of the "History of Spanish Literature" and a benefactor of the Boston Public Library, wrote to Edward Everett: "I would establish a library which differs from all free libraries yet attempted; I mean one in which any popular books tending to moral and intellectual improvement shall be furnished in such

numbers that many persons can be reading the same book at the same time ; in short, that not only the best books of all sorts, but the pleasant literature of the day, shall be made accessible to the whole people when they most care for it—that is, when it is fresh and new. I would thus by following the popular taste—unless it should demand something injurious—create a real appetite for healthy reading. This appetite once formed will take care of itself. It will in a great majority of cases demand better and better books.” *

Mr. Everett's conservatism doubted the wisdom of these principles for the foundation of a library ; but they are essentially those which have proved sound in the free library system of England and New England, of Australia and the Northwestern cities. In the light of fifty years' experience, indeed, Everett's skepticism reads like Governor Berkeley's report on education in Virginia, in which he thanked God that there were no free schools in Virginia and hoped that there would be none for a hundred years. The communities in which libraries, approaching George Ticknor's ideal, have been longest established, would do without paved streets or electric lights sooner than without these libraries, and they support them by taxation as cheerfully as the public schools. Indeed, the free library in not a few communities is reckoned an invaluable and indispensable adjunct of the public school, the very crown of the system of popular education. Such librarians as Green of Worcester, Massachusetts, and Whitney of Watertown, and Hosmer of Minneapolis, keep in touch with the work of the schools, and apprise the various classes of pupils of new books especially valuable for their work. More than this, they have regard to the needs of the various clubs, trades, and professions, and keep their members aware of valuable books in their special departments. But perhaps the most helpful service of all is rendered by capable librarians in the constant advice given to inexperienced readers, and the frequent bulletins sent out to stimulate the interest and instruct the intelligence of the community. It is of special interest to note that the demand for good reading has

* Fletcher, "Public Libraries in America," p. 17.

been greatly increased wherever the public library has been administered in this way. Indeed, booksellers and proprietary libraries have come to favor the opening of the free library as largely increasing the demand for their books.

It is not strange that with this large and various capacity of social service, the free library should be rapidly growing in public favor; nor that private munificence should frequently come to the municipal provision. There is no public object for which so generous gifts are often made. In the year 1893, for instance, five hundred thousand dollars were contributed to public libraries and the erection of library buildings in Massachusetts alone. "There has been ready perception," says Fletcher in his "Public Libraries in America," "of the truth that one's memory cannot better be perpetuated than by association with an institution so popular and at the same time so elevating and refining as the public library. Memorial libraries are therefore very abundant, and as expense has not been spared in the erection of such memorials, many of our towns, even the smaller ones, are ornamented by library buildings which are gems of architecture. . . . The fact remains, with all its significance, that about the public library cluster naturally the affections and the interest of the community. In its endowment, on the one hand by private beneficence, and on the other by public taxation, is illustrated that collaboration of the rich and the poor in the pursuit of the highest ends which has in it the promise, and perhaps the potency, of the solution of vexing social questions."

The remembrance that these statements are only locally accepted, and that large portions of England and the United States have hardly moved toward the establishment of public libraries, may prompt a consideration of certain objections which are still sometimes urged. Civilization accepts its most benignant and effective agencies of progress only under protest; and it is not, therefore, wholly inexplicable that fifty years of unmixed and increasing success should have left some excellent and otherwise intelligent people unconvinced of the beneficence of the free public library. A friend of mine was enthusiastically setting forth

the advantages of such libraries, and their rapid multiplication and growing service in New England, at the dinner table of one of the most distinguished, philosophic, and progressive of contemporary Englishmen; and was not a little surprised to be cut short with the decided comment, "I do not believe in it." The Englishman's fastidious preference for high fences and compartment railway carriages pervades all his intellectual conceptions also; and makes him impervious even to Stanley Jevons's overwhelming demonstration of the moral, social, and economic utility of the free public library; impervious even to the appeal that ignorance and narrow intellectual opportunity must be supposed to make upon enlightened philanthropy.

Mr. Herbert Spencer and the individualists oppose to the public library, supported by taxation, their well-worn declamation about the injustice of making one man pay for another man's culture and amusement; and urge the dictum of *laissez faire* in civilization and government. But as the post-office and the public school have survived their onslaughts we may not feel compelled to surrender the advantages of the free library. For, as with the school, it is easy to show that mental health and light are as primary interests of the community as material; and that it is precisely because those most deficient are least sensible of their defect that society must seek to remedy it. Mr. Spencer's analogy between hunger for food and hunger for knowledge is utterly fallacious. The physical appetite may be trusted to seek vigorously its own supply; the intellectual appetite has most to be aroused where intellectual starvation is most imminent; and it grows only by what it feeds on. Men usually value most, indeed, what they work or pay for; but it is precisely those who do not value good books at all who need to be tempted and trained to their appreciation. And it is just the children of those whose parents will not, or cannot, provide them wholesome reading, that society cannot afford to let go wholly unprovided.

The smallest fee here proves an effective bar, as the experience of all subscription libraries proves. When the Springfield (Mass.) library was made free, its circulation was trebled the first year—though the fee had been only one dollar—and in a

few years rose six or seven fold. "The Mercantile Library of Peoria, Ill.," says McCrunden, "turned over to the city and made free, notes an increase in ten years, of members from two hundred and seventy-five to four thousand five hundred, and of issues from fifteen thousand to ninety thousand." So always. If the dollar fee were removed from the circulation of the books of our Meadville City Library, for instance, within five years they would go into fifteen hundred families instead of less than three hundred, as now; and the added twelve hundred families would be the very ones where the books would be of highest service. And, perhaps, more beneficent still would be the influence upon the vastly larger number who would frequent the library, and grow intelligent through the multiplied use of its reading facilities, and the help of its valuable reference department. The reaction upon the general intelligence of the community would make itself felt in the increasing intelligence of its workingmen and the higher standard of life this would bring among them. In short, it would insure economic progress.

Besides the economic advantages, and much more important, the influence of a well-furnished free library would tell in the training of citizens. The discussion of economic and social questions, eager and often bitter as it is, would become less crude and partisan in the knowledge of the best books and magazine articles upon the topics involved. The reading of history, biography, and travels would exert a broadening, enlightening, and often inspiring influence. To make wholesome literature more accessible than dime novels would save many boys and girls from ruin, rouse many dormant intellects to higher life, and supply effective rivals to the saloons and other low resorts. Philanthropy and religion alike demand the wide opening of such an "effectual door" to the opportunities of the higher life.

It is sometimes objected that the records of all public libraries show that the lightest literature is most read, that fiction constitutes one half or three fourths of the books circulated. But besides the obvious consideration that only wholesome fiction finds place in all well-appointed public libraries, Horace Greeley's view has much to commend it, viz. : that all pure reading,

however light, tends to develop a taste for more vigorous and instructive literature. Besides, it may well be urged that fiction is not only the current form of literary art, but also the effective vehicle of current social theories, philanthropies, and reforms; and that much of the most earnest thinking and serious moral purpose of this age is embodied in it. Under such intelligent and careful selection as the public opinion of the community may provide for, the public library will furnish a healthful substitute and corrective for the unappointed and vagrant reading of that large section of young people most in need of guidance.

I have left myself but a moment to suggest one or two practical questions that may need consideration in the establishment of a new system of free public libraries in communities or a commonwealth. Next to thorough discussion of their proved beneficence, an efficient enabling act is certainly the first desideratum, in any state still without it, so that towns and cities may tax themselves for this purpose.* And it is most important that this act be not so narrowly limited that communities shall be unable to attempt anything worth while. Better wait five years, or ten years, more for the statute that will enable our communities to put themselves in line with the most advanced in the country in this respect, than to enact a starveling and ineffective statute that shall

“Keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope,”

as has already sometimes happened. The public appropriation is so limited by penny-wise legislation in a number of states as to discourage all action, and kill all interest in the matter.

In the same way, it is to be hoped that these states will accompany their enabling acts by auxiliary legislation similar to

* A measure is now (March, 1886) before the Pennsylvania legislature, authorizing school boards to make appropriations from the school fund for the establishment and support of free school libraries. Excellent as such a statute would be, the history of school libraries shows that it would not accomplish the results that have been brought about by the methods I have urged, in several of our states. A law was passed in 1887, and signed by Gov. Beaver May 23 (Pamphlet Laws of 1887, page 17). This statute is as follows: “Be it enacted, That it shall be competent for any incorporated city within the commonwealth, and the same is hereby empowered, to take and hold any grant or donation of money, books, and manuscripts, or property real or personal, for the purpose of establishing a free public library within the limits of such corporation, and to make provision by annual appropriation for the maintenance of such library.” So far as known, no library has been established under this statute and seems to have been generally overlooked. A similar law, extending its application to boroughs, is now before the legislature.

that in Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; or, perhaps still better, patterned upon that of New York. It is difficult to decide upon the comparative advantages of these two systems. That of Massachusetts seems to me better for permanent results ; but that of New York seems likely to be more immediately effective in stirring the sluggish interest of indifferent communities. Both are wonderfully economical in money, and both have great effectiveness when worked by the intelligent interest of even a few enthusiastic friends of the free library movement in any community. It would seem that even a governor who thinks five million people cannot afford \$25,000 for the "Birds of Pennsylvania" might consent to spend a fifth of that sum per year to begin a work that would not end, if once well begun, without putting a new and most effective agency of social culture and even economic progress within the reach of every boy and girl in the state.

The machinery through which to plan and begin this great and hopeful experiment should be carefully considered. Massachusetts's unsalaried commission of eminent citizens, New York's Board of University Regents, alike insure that in those commonwealths the work will be carried on under the most hopeful and efficient conditions. Some such unpartisan and public-spirited agency is absolutely demanded for the success of the movement in a state that has to begin it *de novo* ; and the *personnel* of the agency is the most important point in any legislation initiating it.

There is also a difference of opinion as to whether school boards, or boards specially constituted for the purpose, should have charge of public libraries. My opinion is decidedly in favor of the latter ; for while school boards would bring the library, as is most desirable, into closer relation with the public schools, an independent board, chosen, perhaps, by the school board in connection with the city council, as sometimes in Massachusetts, would be likely to bring more ability, independence, and careful consideration to the affairs of the library, and to separate it more completely from injurious partisan and personal politics.

H. H. BARBER.

Meadville Theological School.

BIMETALLISM VS. THE SINGLE STANDARD.

BY HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

II.

THE wretched results of a continual lowering of prices—of a constantly falling market—are too obvious to require illustration. This is appreciated even in England. Mr. Grenfell, an ex-governor of the Bank of England, says: “The fight against falling prices is an impossible one. Men are holding on in hopes for better times, but no better times, taking trade and commerce as a whole, can come in gold countries, while gold appreciates. The pitiable army of the unemployed must increase through no fault of their own.” And he speaks of “the misery, suffering, and despair which have been so prevalent during the last twenty years, owing to the fatal policy of contracting the currency of the world.”

Mr. Balfour, in his Manchester speech, said: “Of all conceivable systems of currency, that is assuredly the worst which gives you a standard steadily, continuously, indefinitely appreciating, and which by that very fact throws a burden upon every man of enterprise, and benefits no human being but the owner of fixed debts in gold.”

President Andrews aptly refers to it as “that baneful, blighting, deadly fall of prices which has affected with miasma the economic life-blood of the whole world.”

But the monometallist will suggest that it makes no real difference to a country whether the standard of values be high or low; if it is high and the seller receives less for his goods, that is equaled by the fact that he pays correspondingly less for what he buys.

There would be some force in this if commodities were all affected equally and simultaneously, and if there were no pay-

ments to be made in money itself. But there are vast numbers of contracts and obligations which require the payment of *money*, many of them running over long series of years. All of these are directly affected by the change in the value of money. When a dollar is worth 147, and is increasing over two per cent every year, it is easy to see that great injustice is done by requiring compliance with such contracts. In a somewhat similar case in Crete, the Turkish government, which we are not accustomed to consider the most humane, finally decreed, as the only available solution, that payments should be made at the value of money at the time of making the contract. But in a vast country like ours, with all the varieties of obligation belonging to a complex civilization, this would be well-nigh impossible. The only practicable means of securing justice to all is to restore the money basis to its normal standard by the remonetization of silver.

Meanwhile the increased value of money falls with terrible weight and injustice upon the debtor classes. The debts being stated in dollars, and the dollars having increased in value and in cost, the debts are correspondingly enlarged. The man who borrowed a thousand dollars in 1873, when money was at par, now finds that he owes one thousand dollars, each of which is worth $1\frac{4}{7}\%$ of the dollars which he borrowed. As the nominal amount is the same, it is simpler to state the case in other terms. It requires half as much more of average commodities to purchase the one thousand dollars in money now, than it did in 1873. Of some commodities it requires almost or quite double. If a farmer borrowed one hundred and nineteen dollars in 1873, he could repay it with one hundred bushels of wheat. To repay it now requires considerably over two hundred bushels. The measure of value—the dollar—has greatly increased in value, and yet he is compelled by law to repay just as many of them as he received before they began to rise. It is exactly the same as if he had contracted to deliver one hundred bushels of wheat and Congress had afterwards enacted that a bushel should contain sixty-four quarts instead of thirty-two, and that all old contracts should be paid in the new enlarged bushel.

Archbishop Walsh, of Dublin, sums up the matter in few words, when he says: "Every one under an obligation to make yearly payments of a fixed amount of money is under a burden which is growing heavier from year to year." Nor does this injustice fall alone upon those who are individually in debt. Every one is compelled to pay some part of the general debts of the community in which he lives, or of the corporations to which he is subject. The amount of state, county, town, city, village, school-district, and other public debts is prodigious. It is all payable in dollars, principal and interest. With each dollar now worth \$1.47, the taxpayer has to meet the increased burden required to procure these unjustly enlarged dollars. No amount of personal care or providence or avoidance of debt can save the American citizen from this added incumbrance. A large proportion of our taxation is not the result of current expense, but of these "fixed charges" required for paying the interest on public debts, and, whatever may be the decreased price of all commodities in money, the number of dollars required to meet these fixed charges is not lessened. So, again, our railroads owe enormous amounts in bonds, and interest thereon is often the largest item in calculating their expenses. It is payable in money, and money at its greatly increased value must be had in order to liquidate it. The rates of fare and freight must be made such as to meet these charges. So every one who travels or receives commodities by rail is forced, without his consent, and without any fault or neglect on his part, to pay part of the extra forty-seven per cent added to every dollar of railroad interest.

Calling the amount of interest paid by this country to England each year \$200,000,000, the added cost to our people is \$94,000,000 in our commodities, for which we have to toil; just that much added each year to the burden on American labor, without any return, as the price on that one account for the theoretical benefit of a single gold standard.

HONEST MONEY.

We hear a good deal about "honest money" and an "honest dollar," and some of our eastern friends use those phrases with

a kind of self-righteous complacency, as if *they* were the sole advocates of business integrity. And they do it, believing it is so.

Let us see about this.

Here is a dollar which has increased since 1873 and is still regularly increasing in value, about $2\frac{4}{10}\%$ per cent each year. If it would buy ten pounds of any commodity ten years ago, it will buy $12\frac{4}{10}\%$ pounds to-day. If a man borrowed \$100 ten years ago, he has to pay back 24 per cent more in value to-day than on the day of the loan, besides all interest. I am not speaking now of the manifest impossibility of doing any legitimate business at a profit, when there is an annual loss in the value of whatever goods are concerned in it of $2\frac{4}{10}\%$ as compared with money. I am only speaking of the honesty or dishonesty of this dollar which is rising in value every year. The most important quality in a measure of value is stability. The measure should be absolutely unchangeable. If a person borrows a sum in 1874, he should repay the sum, with the same purchasing power, in 1894. There is a manifest injustice—a manifest *dishonesty*—in requiring the man who borrowed \$100 in 1872, when it was equivalent to 84 bushels of wheat or 550 pounds of cotton, to pay back one hundred dollars which has appreciated to \$147 in 1894, and equals 200 bushels of wheat or 1,700 pounds of cotton.

The United States Constitution provides that Congress shall pass no law impairing the obligation of a contract. Yet Congress by its legislation has changed every contract in which a cash payment is at some time to be made, by increasing the value of the money which has to be used. Suppose that Congress should decree that each year one inch should be added to a yard measure, every one would cry out against the dishonesty involved in requiring a man who had contracted to furnish one thousand yards of cloth, supposing the yard to be thirty-six inches, to fulfil his contract when the length was increased to thirty-seven or forty inches, without any change in compensation. Yet the annual increase of two and four tenths per cent is almost exactly an inch on a yard. Had the yard measure increased exactly as money has since 1873 (that is to 147) it would now reach fifty-three inches.

So, if Congress should enact that a bushel should increase in the same ratio, it would now hold forty-seven quarts, and every one having a contract to deliver potatoes or wheat or apples, by the bushel, would be compelled to deliver that increased quantity.

If the legislative interference extended to weight, the pound would now weigh twenty-three ounces.

A law regarding a single commodity only affects that one article, but one which changes the worth of the measure of all values affects everything which is bought or sold by that standard.

Money is the embodiment, in one measure, of the measures of length, of capacity, and of weight—of the yardstick, the bushel, and the pound. Congress by the demonetizing act of 1873 has accomplished exactly what separate acts providing for the annual enlargement of each kind of measure would have done; the only difference is that the effect was so concealed that the indignation of the people was not immediately aroused.

And yet the increased measure of all values, which has enlarged every debt and obligation and contract, without the consent of the debtor and without any compensation, is called "an honest dollar," and every attempt to preserve its value without change is pronounced an endeavor to inflate the currency and "deluge the country with cheap money." Naturally the creditor classes, who hold the bonds and mortgages and securities, and derive a fixed number of dollars annually from them, desire the dearest possible money; the higher it ascends in its purchasing power, the more flagrantly it becomes a "dishonest dollar," the more profitable it is to them; and controlling, as they do, the banks and financial institutions and the press of the great cities, they do not find it difficult to cause the unthinking to believe that their selfish scheme of contraction is a patriotic effort to preserve the public credit.

There is another fallacy that it may be well to explode by a few facts. Quite frequently we hear the statement from some one who thinks that his words contain the wisdom of the ages, that the value of every commodity is what it costs to produce, and that, consequently, the real value of silver is what it costs to extract. Disregarding for a moment the absurdity of this

proposition in regard to a money metal, which is a measure of value, let us see what it would mean if it were in any sense true, if, for instance, silver were simply a commodity. The brilliant author of the statement usually follows it up by saying, "And in such a mine"—naming some one of the most famous producers of the time then in the height of its phenomenal success—"it only costs so many cents—twenty or thirty or forty perhaps—to mine an ounce of silver." Therefore, he argues, silver in general is worth twenty or thirty or forty cents an ounce. Such an extraordinary logician is only fit to be the victim of the next mine speculator who travels his way, or to be an early victim of the fool-killer.

On the same principle, if a man found a nugget of gold weighing five pounds, and carried it home, occupying a day in the operation, counting his time as worth \$2.50, that gold would be worth half a dollar a pound.

If the principle had *any* truth in it, it would be the *average* cost of production which would be the criterion, not the extreme either of cheapness or expense.

As matter of fact, both gold and silver—taking the whole production and expense—cost more to produce than they are worth. An official inquiry as to the cost of producing silver a few years since, showed the average expense to be nearer \$2 than \$1 per ounce; and it is not probable that nearly all the outlay was ascertained, as men are not generally anxious to publish their failures.

Within twenty miles of my own home is a mining camp, in which a few years ago more than 1,400 "locations" were made. On over 500 claims considerable work was done, ranging from a few hundred dollars to many thousands—how many hundreds of thousands in the aggregate no one can say. Unfortunately not a single mine ever paid expenses, and it is certainly not an overestimate to say that every ounce of silver obtained there cost \$100. The same is the case with scores of deserted camps all through the Rocky Mountain region. Yet would any one be idiotic enough to say that silver was worth \$100 an ounce because that was the cost of production?

A friend of mine recently counted up his expenditure in silver mining in various localities and found it to exceed \$6,500. He had succeeded in extracting something less than three ounces of metal. But that is no reason to say that silver is worth \$2,200 an ounce.

Within a month a well-known man of wealth in New York informed me that he had made twenty-six investments in mining and had never received a cent of return. If I should name him you would agree that the twenty-six investments probably aggregated over, rather than under, \$100,000. Suppose he had enjoyed somewhat better success and had succeeded in obtaining an ounce of gold or silver, would that be reason to say that either metal was worth \$100,000 an ounce, because that particular ounce cost that much? Even taking the bonanza mine referred to by our brilliant friend, in which silver is being produced say at thirty cents an ounce; if we go through its history, see the time and money spent in prospecting, in development work, in all the numberless difficulties to be overcome before success was achieved, and then watch its future when the rich ore is exhausted, or the vein is lost, or the mine is flooded, or the mineral becomes refractory, when new machinery and processes have to be introduced, and expensive dead work is continued in the hope of regaining the old richness, we will find that, even then, the average cost from beginning to end is vastly greater than in the heyday of phenomenal success.

Then it must be remembered that the facts in regard to gold are exactly the same as with silver; only emphasized, because a few pounds of gold accidentally found run into the thousands much faster than the white metal. In the early days of newly found placers in California and Australia, when the accumulation of ages was washed out in a year, two or three ounces a day was nothing unusual and sometimes a fortune was made between dawn and night. But no one thought that the value of the product, whether great or small, was to be measured by the value of the day's wages. A friend of mine last summer did a little placer mining on both sides of a stream, and found that on one side it cost about sixty cents to extract a pennyweight of gold

and on the other about \$2.00. Yet it would be absurd to say that the gold obtained varied to that extent in value.

The fact is, that, except in the case of newly discovered regions, the production of the precious metals depends on their value, not their value on the production. And it is also true, as before stated, that with the same exception, both gold and silver, taking the whole product of each, cost more to produce than they are worth: and we may conclude that thus it will be as long as the speculative trait in human nature remains unchanged. If gold is worth \$20 an ounce, every known place where it can be produced for that sum will be worked, and in addition a multitude of people will expend money in attempts which prove failures, thus largely enhancing the average cost of the metal obtained. And it is exactly the same as to silver.

But I have spent too much time on this illogical idea that the value of a money metal should be its cost of production, and vary as that varies. What is needed in a standard of value is stability. The man who incurs a debt to-day, measured in dollars, should pay it, both in justice to himself and his creditor, in dollars of the same value. Hence the value of money, and the number of ounces of a money metal to be counted as a given value, are matters of legislation, not of trade.

As a rule the matter of large or small supply has nothing to do with that fixed value. It is worth remarking that so far from a large supply of one or the other metal being made to reduce its value, in a number of cases, where dominant nations looked to their own interests, exactly the reverse was the case.

Look in your *Encyclopædia Britannica* and you will see that the Romans, when the supply of gold from Dacia and Spain fell off, raised the legal value of silver from one thirteenth to one tenth that of gold; raising, you observe, the more plentiful metal, so as to have a larger supply of money. The following extracts cover more modern changes: "In Spain the ratio was $10\frac{3}{4}$. When America was plundered the first fruits were gold, not silver, whereupon Spain in 1546 raised the legal value of gold to $13\frac{1}{3}$, and the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce. During the following century Portugal obtained such immense

quantities of gold from the East Indies, Japan, and Brazil, that her imports exceeded £3,000,000 a year. Portugal now governed the ratio and in 1688 raised the value of gold to sixteen times that of silver. A century later Spain again controlled, and as her colonial product was now mostly silver, raised its value in 1775 from $\frac{1}{16}$ to 1-15½ for the peninsula."

In every one of these cases the dominant power raised the value of the metal of which it had the most abundant supply, exactly opposite to the theory of the anti-silver men that a large production requires a diminution in value; and it will also be observed that the value was always fixed by edict and not by natural law.

The patriotism shown by the governments of Spain and Portugal, in obtaining all the advantages possible for their own people and products, compares very favorably with the action of our own, which struck down silver when we were its largest producers, and, when compelled by law to purchase a certain amount each month, labored incessantly to force down the price, when each cent of reduction, per ounce, meant the loss of millions of dollars to our agricultural and business community.

No better illustration of the fact that the value of the two money metals is matter of legislation and not of supply, can be found than in the result of the uniform ratio of 1 to 15½ preserved in France from 1803 to 1873, a period of seventy years. During this time the fluctuations of production of the precious metals were very great. From 1803 to 1820 the average annual yield of gold in the whole world was \$9,710,500, of silver \$36,847,500; or about 4 of silver to 1 of gold. From 1821 to 1840 it was \$11,466,000 of gold and \$21,964,000 of silver; or about 2 of silver to 1 of gold. From 1841 to 1860 it was \$85,150,000 of gold and \$34,826,500 of silver; about 2½ of gold to 1 of silver; and from 1861 to 1873 the annual gold product was \$117,991,850, silver \$68,043,900; nearly 2 of gold to 1 of silver. If we take shorter periods, the divergences are even greater. The coinage of France presents still more extraordinary contrasts. From 1821 to 1847 the value of silver coined was more than 9 times that of gold; from 1853 to 1866 that of gold exceeded the silver no less than 34 times.

Yet all these changes in production and coinage did not affect values one iota. The French ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 fixed the value of the two money metals for all of Europe, and by the existence of the bimetallic system all the dangers that would otherwise have been incurred from rapid changes in prices were averted, and the French people became the richest and with least pauperism of any in the world.

And yet the idea has been industriously inculcated by all the gold standard press of the East, that silver had depreciated because it had become so abundant by overproduction that it was against natural law to keep up its price, and that the bimetallic agitation was simply because the West desired "cheap money," a depreciated currency, with which to pay its debts. This kind of talk has a certain plausibility and is apt to affect the uninformed, who confuse commodities with measures of value and do not know that the latter are necessarily creations of law in order to insure stability. But when you meet it by the single fact that at the moment when Congress demonetized silver in 1873, silver itself was worth more than par at the ratio of 16 to 1, that a silver dollar was worth at least \$1.02 $\frac{1}{2}$, and a like weight of silver was worth that sum anywhere, because it could be coined into dollars at will, you destroy in a moment all that fallacy. Ernest Seyd said in his letter to Samuel Hooper, in 1872, "The cause of the disappearance of the American dollar from circulation is due to the original error of there being too much silver in the piece." It is then plain that the large production of silver had not the slightest effect on its value so long as the ancient law of free coinage existed. The depreciation of the metal was solely the result of legislation, not of supply. And a notable illustration of the same fact was presented only a year ago, when the demonetization in India caused an immediate fall in the value of silver. At that very time there was a diminution in the product, but the price was not affected by that, but solely by the legislation.

Perhaps for some it may be well to add the force of an official English opinion on the subject, the more notable as England is the leader in gold standard ideas. The report of the British

Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, made in 1886, says, speaking of the stability of the double standard during all the fluctuations of production during the century, "so long as the bimetallic system was in force, we think that, notwithstanding the changes in the production and use of the precious metals, it kept the market price of silver approximately steady at a ratio fixed by law."

Another point is worthy of notice. That so far as Europe is concerned, it was the steadfast bimetallism of one single country, France, which preserved the stability of the ratio through seventy years of fluctuation including the violent change in relative production brought about by the gold discoveries in California and Australia. If France could do this, single-handed, why not the United States?

So far from having been depressed by overproduction, the surprising point is that silver has not fallen in gold value more than it has, from other causes. For not only is it affected by the rise in the value of gold money, in which its value is counted, just as other property is, but its value is naturally greatly reduced by having its principal use suddenly prohibited by act of Congress.

Let us take a very simple illustration, which every one can understand, as to this latter point. The two great cereal articles of food are corn and wheat. The principal use of each is to be ground into bread-stuffs, yet each has a small percentage of use for other purposes. A certain fraction of the corn, for example, is used for distillation. Now let us suppose that a gigantic syndicate bought up all the wheat in the country, and that having done this, in order to enhance its value, they should influence Congress to pass a law forbidding any grinding of corn into meal or its use in any way as food. What would be the result? It is obvious that with the whole food demand, previously divided between the two great products, thrown exclusively upon wheat, its price would be immediately enhanced and would continue to increase as it became more and more scarce. On the other hand, the great use for corn having been extinguished, the only use remaining would not require twenty per cent of the crop, and the price would descend with a rush as each owner of corn tried to

secure a sale, by lower and lower offers, of his own stock, as part of the twenty per cent needed for distillation.

One would certainly think that the speculators and the Congress, which had created this great monopoly and made their selfish wishes law, would be held in detestation by the whole people and their names made subjects of execration forever.

But suppose, on the contrary, that when the owners of corn complained that what was before worth fifty cents a bushel would now bring only twenty cents and asked that the legislation which thus deprived it of value should be repealed and the immemorial and natural use of corn as a food material be restored so that it would recover its former price, they were to be met with the cry that this was a most monstrous and unjust proposition because every one could see that corn was only worth twenty cents, as it was actually selling for that price in the market, and the real trouble was that the production was too much for the demand; and for its raisers to ask congressional action was a piece of supreme assurance.

And suppose that when the great body of the people who were compelled to pay double value for wheat, because it was the only cereal product allowed to be eaten, arose and demanded that their ancient right to use corn should be restored, they should be told by national leaders and by the press that wheat was the only honest food, that the use of corn had always been a mistake, and that its deleterious effects were now so well known that no one except those selfishly engaged in its culture, or who dishonestly wished to cheapen food, would think of asking for its restoration.

This appears to be as near a parallel to the congressional action on the silver question as can be suggested, except that the latter is much more disastrous and far-reaching in its consequences because it has enhanced the value, not of a simple commodity like wheat, but of gold standard money, which is the only legal measure of value of everything else.

Gold and silver were the two money metals from the beginning of civilization. The great use of each was for the purpose of coinage. Silver had a comparatively small use in the manufac-

tures and arts, just as corn had for distillation. Now, suppose a certain syndicate, having obtained control of most of the gold of the world, actual and prospective, by means of holding interest-bearing indebtedness, should be able to influence Congress to demonetize silver. The two results are obvious. Gold, which is the only money metal left, increases in value as the burden of pecuniary business of the world, previously divided between the two metals equally, falls upon the one alone; and silver, with its great use destroyed, and only the smaller one for manufacturing remaining, of course rapidly falls.

Then, when the owners of silver ask that the legislation which caused this condition shall be repealed and the immemorial and natural use of silver as a money metal be restored so that it will recover its proper value, they are met with the same cry that this is a most monstrous and unjust proposition because every one can see that silver is worth only sixty cents an ounce, as it is actually selling for that in the market, and the trouble is that the production is too great for the demand; and for its producers to ask congressional action is a piece of supreme assurance.

And when the great body of the people, who are compelled to pay double value for money, because it is now confined to gold, arise and demand that their ancient right to coin and use silver be restored, they are told by national leaders and by the press that gold is the only honest money, that the use of a double standard had always been a mistake, and that its deleterious effects are now so well known that no one except selfish silver miners or those who dishonestly want "cheap money" would think of asking for its restoration.

And our people at the East, reasonable and intelligent about other things, seem to overlook the fact that it is only restoration to the normal and immemorial condition of things that is asked—not anything new; that the "supreme assurance" is on the part of those who ask Congress to reverse the action of all the ages and demonetize silver and thus deprive it of its legitimate use, not of those who simply ask that that most unjust as well as disastrous piece of legislation be repealed.

No doubt when the wheat syndicate destroys by legislation the

use of corn for food it will have power enough to control the press of a whole section and to obtain a constant repetition of the statement that corn was never a fit article for human nutrition, that it had been the fruitful source of all diseases so long as permitted to be eaten, and that it was a benevolent act on the part of the wheat Shylocks to save the people from a continuance of such dangers to life and health; and the good people of that section will consequently believe that their oppressors are a set of unselfish angels, nobly devoting themselves to the saving of the nation from the dishonest endeavors of the wicked owners of unwholesome corn.

AMERICAN PRODUCT.

One other point I wish to speak of, because there is a plausibility about it which at first sight has gained the acceptance of many excellent citizens. Yet the proposition is really so illogical that its supporters cannot have given it much consideration or else have not grasped the fundamental principles involved in this matter. I refer to the proposition to have "free coinage of the American product" of silver, only.

What does free coinage mean? It means the system which was established at the foundation of our government and continued until 1873, which provided that every one having gold or silver could take it to the mint and have it melted and stamped into coin, or receive its equivalent weight in money already coined. Thus, as it stood for many years prior to 1873, any one having gold received one dollar for each $23\frac{1}{10}$ grains; or, if having silver, received one dollar for each $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains. That was free and unlimited coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1. The consequence was that every ounce of gold in the world was worth \$20.68 and every ounce of silver was worth \$1.29, less the expense of transmitting it to the mill; because it could at any time be converted into coin at those rates. The amount actually coined was comparatively small, for the value by weight was thus absolutely fixed and determined by law.

So it must always be when there is free and unlimited coinage. So it is still as to gold, in this country, and will be as to silver as soon as the old law is restored. But the moment there is the

slightest limitation, so that owners may feel uncertainty as to the coinage of their own metal, there is a rush to the mint in order to secure the stamp of the government.

To illustrate, let us suppose that the amount of available uncoined gold in each year is \$30,000,000. So long as the law provides, as at present, for its unlimited coinage, the metal has its perfect value by weight wherever it is. But let the law provide that \$29,000,000 and no more shall be coined every year, and the fear that any particular lot of gold may be among the surplus million will depress the price and every owner will hasten to carry his metal to the mint. The result would be instability of value and a far larger actual coinage than under an unlimited law by which the gold is sure to be accepted whenever presented. The facts are exactly the same as to silver. So long as we had free coinage there was no rush of metal to the mint, for it was sure of acceptance at any time and was therefore worth as much in the bar as in the coin.

If we had a law for the free coinage of the American product only, at the old valuation of \$1.29 to the ounce, no one could determine, by looking at a bar or other form of the metal, whether it was American, and consequently entitled to coinage, or not. There would always be a doubt and a fear of rejection, and hence the metal would not command its full coin value. There would be a rush of silver to the mint in order to secure the coveted stamp which alone could remove all doubt.

With a law for unlimited coinage all the silver in the world would instantly be worth its weight in United States coin less the cost of transportation, and having that value in its uncoined condition there would be no inducement to undertake the cost and risk of sending it to our mint. But if there were a limitation either of amount or as to place of origin, we should have two classes of silver, entirely different in value, one coined and the other uncoined. There would be a continual struggle to secure coinage, lawfully or unlawfully, for the uncoined metal, and a multitude of difficulties and contentions would ensue.

The whole principle underlying the stable and unvarying values of the precious metals as measures of commercial ex-

change, requires an absolutely free and unlimited right of coinage at a fixed ratio. Any limitation whatever destroys uniformity, decreases value, and excites distrust.

An objection often urged to the restoration of the free coinage of silver as it existed before 1873 at the ratio of 16 to 1, without concurrent action by England and other nations, is that this country will be immediately inundated with silver from Europe; that it will become the "dumping ground" for the surplus silver of that continent. At first sight, this idea is somewhat plausible, but a very little investigation shows that it has no foundation. There are two reasons for this conclusion, either of which would be sufficient. *First*: There is no surplus silver in any country of Europe. Their silver is in the shape of coin and in no part of it is the amount greater than that required by the people themselves. *Secondly*: So long as our ratio is 16 to 1, silver can only be exported from Europe to the United States at a loss. Their ratio is $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. In other words $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver coin in Europe are worth one ounce of gold coin, but if brought to the United States another half ounce must be added to purchase the same amount of gold. This means a loss of $\frac{1}{12}$ or a little over three per cent on every transaction, besides the expense of transporting the silver across the ocean. This matter has been very thoroughly discussed and the "dumping ground" theory effectually set at rest by various authors, but this brief statement shows how unfounded it was.

While the United States at this moment is feeling the effect of demonetization most severely, many parts of Europe are suffering almost as greatly. In England the small landowners were practically swept out of existence in less than twenty years after the demonetization of 1816. Archbishop Walsh has graphically portrayed the condition of Ireland arising from the single gold standard. And Professor Suess, of the Austrian Parliament, perhaps the greatest continental authority on this subject, ends his recent great work with these significant words:

"The question is no longer whether silver will again become a full value coinage metal over the whole earth, but what are to be the trials through which Europe is to pass to gain that goal."

Such are some of the facts in this case, plainly stated. In their presentation I have indulged in no rhetoric and have used no expressions to arouse sympathy for the sufferings of the masses of the people or indignation at the selfishness of their oppressors.

The need of the hour is such an awakening of interest in this question in the East as will cause inquiry and investigation and independence of thought. We are one nation, our interests are identical ; that which affects one section, affects all ; and in this matter the conditions are practically the same, East and West, North and South. The idea studiously inculcated in the East that this is a western matter and one in which the silver producing states are principally interested, is utterly deceptive, as I have endeavored to show.

On theory it was easy to say what the results of demonetization must be ; actual experience is showing what they are. A steady decrease in all property values, and a steady increase in the burden of all fixed charges, can bring but one result. The cry of the suffering goes up to heaven. The most despairing and the most touching of their prayers are never heard on earth, for they come from those who suffer in silence. The aggregate of human misery caused by this grinding of the upper and nether millstones is a thing to make angels weep.

We live in the most favored of all lands. God has given us a goodly heritage. The natural resources of our country should make it one of universal prosperity and happiness. There is no reason for suffering and want. Its causes are purely artificial. By the selfishness of man the good gifts of Providence turn to ashes in our hands ; the food is taken from the mouths of the weak and the defenseless. No judgment from on high has been visited upon this people ; neither war, nor famine, nor pestilence has been suffered to afflict us. Yet in the midst of physical health the nation is sick. In the midst of wealth there is poverty, and in a land of plenty there is suffering and starvation. God grant us all the will and the wisdom to seek the causes of these things, and having found them to apply the remedy.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

AMERICAN TRADE PROSPECTS IN EAST AFRICA.

BY CHARLES J. ZINGG.

NOW that the long-drawn-out question of the tariff is settled and confidence finally restored, for a time at least, calculations for future business enterprises are appropriate, and the writer takes pleasure in calling the attention of enterprising merchants and capitalists to a part of the globe where American push and energy is wanted and would be crowned by a marked success.

American money has been extensively engaged on the west coast of Africa, along the famous Congo River, where the chances and prospects for a lucrative business are by far inferior compared with those on the eastern coast, of which Zanzibar and eventually Mombassa must be considered as the best starting-points for an undertaking in establishing East and Central African trade.

Truly we have no aspirations for political colonies in East or Central Africa, but we should have very decided aspirations for future business there. The English and Germans are opening up rapidly their respective vast territories, and we are bound to get a fair share of the trade if we make the effort. The rivalry between the two is in every way an advantage to us.

The commercial representatives of English, French, and German firms located at Zanzibar have been doing a profitable, legitimate business. I fail to see the necessity of giving the bulk of the trade over to the few competing foreign firms, when we have, indeed, the best chances to build up a paying trade by our ever increasing fields for the exportation of our manifold products.

It is rather strange, but nevertheless true, that while the ingenuity of the American manufacturer and merchant is proverbial and universally recognized, we do comparatively the least

in opening fully the trade channels of foreign markets. In Germany, for instance, the excess of the exports over the imports has been steady and remains steadily growing. But they have become keen in observing the condition of affairs, and they are leaving nothing undone to impress the government with the great importance of rendering manufacturing interests all possible help.

The question may be fairly asked, in the interest of our industries, whether the time has come or not to imitate the German example and study far more carefully than we have studied hitherto the foreign markets and send exports to introduce our products.

Such a course is imperative, and if the expense appears too great to justify any single merchant or dealer in sending his representative, let a number of them, dealing in different lines, form a club to defray the costs of sending out such a man.

We cannot rely solely on the reports some consuls furnish, which are likely to be colored according to their ability or goodwill, but they afford some idea as to the condition of affairs.

The acting American consul at Zanzibar says, in his report of March 27, 1894, regarding the import of American flour: "The people would be ready to eat American flour could they obtain it as cheaply as flour imported from India and Europe. In 1892 there were imported from Bombay 13,950 bags and 2,000 barrels from Europe; in 1893, 10,592 bags from Bombay and 1,857 barrels from Europe. No duty is charged on flour and wheat. No flour is imported from the United States and the prospects for extension of trade are not good, owing to the cheap supplies from other countries."

I have no desire to say that this report was not given in good faith by its author, but the facts are nevertheless somewhat different. The two years mentioned by the acting consul were two unsatisfactory business years in Zanzibar. Second, American flour was never given an opportunity to compete in the Zanzibar market. The flour imported within a few years from Australia via Bombay in bags is of a probably lower standard than the kind we would ship from the United States. But as long as the flour imported from Europe—which is the high-priced Hungary

flour—shipped at Trieste, finds a satisfactory market, so long I claim there is a good chance to establish also a market for our flours. Shipped in a combined cargo for steamer or on contracts by sailing vessel, American bread-stuffs can compete in East African markets.

Mr. Stanley Hollis, our consul at Mozambique, in his December report of 1893 says: "There was never a better time for our merchants to begin to lay the foundation of a large and profitable trade with the leading parts of the province!"

Mozambique is situated south of Zanzibar and has regular steamer connections and could be easily provided from Zanzibar. The distance between the two ports is made in three days by the mail steamers.

The present exports from the United States to Zanzibar and adjacent mainland are: petroleum, cheap soaps, a few raw cotton goods, planks, cements, and so forth. These are imported by sailing vessels, are staples of the African trade, and the sale of them could be largely increased. This is about all that is imported from the United States and the greater portion in value are the *unmanufactured natural products*, which circumstance does not reflect extremely creditably on the skill of our country.

Now let us see what a long row of *manufactured* articles our competitors import from *England*: all kinds of raw, bleached, and printed cotton goods from the Manchester markets; steel, iron, tools, knives, and so forth, from the Sheffield markets; paints, building materials, watches, jewelry, fancy goods, preserved canned goods, and meats of all and every description. *From Germany*: the same articles, but usually in cheaper grades, also crockeries, perfumeries, silks, shoes, liquors, wines, gunpowder, and so forth, and so forth. Masses of French and German wines are consumed also. Our California products neatly bottled would, in my opinion, sweep these out of existence. *From Italy* are imported the so-called pound beads from Venice, a valuable and probably the oldest standard article in East and Central Africa. They are never handled by the two American firms in Zanzibar, in spite of the fact that they are great sellers and help sell other goods. Those beads we would have to buy in

Venice, but I think we could do that just as well as the rest of our competitors. Besides that, lots of Italian manufacturers give these beads with pleasure in consignments. *Switzerland (and Holland)*, the former a small inland country, competes successfully with Manchester in woven and printed cotton goods, articles which could probably be duplicated with advantage in Fall River, Mass.

As a matter of fact, the greater and more valuable part of the competitors' imports could be brought from the United States. The question deserves a primary effort and a careful study.

The importance of the subject is still more manifest after a glance over the Zanzibar exports. They are : ivory, india rubber, hides, cloves, gum animi, copra, chillies, sun sun seeds, orchella weed, peanuts, etc., etc., etc. These goods are regular staples in their season. They are also products which our home markets chiefly consume—through the medium of the London broker, commission agent, and banker.

I do not want to go into further details, but it is plain that we ought to get the *full benefit* resulting naturally between export and import, instead of paying thousands and thousands of dollars annually to London brokers and bankers, mostly as a commission on our own first advanced or secured money.

Banking facilities are first-class at Zanzibar, and a well-balanced import and export ought to secure the very best rates of exchange in the regular course of the transactions.

In order that American merchants may take the commanding position in East African trade to which they are entitled they must send their own well-chosen representatives out there. It will be necessary for American manufacturers to investigate, noting carefully the fashions, fancies, and qualities. It is much less expensive to supply the people with what they want than to educate them to take what we think the proper thing.

The aforesaid applies in a good many instances to our trade with East India, and as far as a direct steamer line is concerned Zanzibar could be touched by the same vessels. These outlinings are the result of a many years' stay and study in Zanzibar.

CHARLES J. ZINGG.

THE GROWTH OF PEACE PRINCIPLES, AND THE METHODS OF PROPAGATING THEM.

BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

IT MUST be a source of congratulation to all women that the Woman's Council idea has so broadened as to take into its fold the Jew and the Gentile; Catholic and Protestant; the affiliates with the Grand Army of the Republic; the Peace Union, and the Red Cross.

The peace question, like the woman question, the temperance question, and social purity, is a subject of education more largely than of legislation; although each needs the other to be effective. Thus the moral culture and peaceful temperament of a people may lead them to prefer arbitration to war; while the ratification of a treaty of peace and arbitration by government may of itself become a source of education to the people of both the powers instrumental in its ratification.

The history of mankind has been one of war from the slaying of Abel by Cain until the present time; and, strangely enough, the religious wars of the past, so contrary to the spirit of Christ and his teachings, have been the bitterest and most prolonged.

Mahomet, the founder of Islam and prophet of Moslem in the sixth century, thought to convert his fellows to his religious creed by making war upon them, ignoring the fact that the essential element of religion is love. One of the principal commandments contained in the Koran is: "War against the infidel and the infidel has been, in all ages, the man who does not believe as we do." Orthodoxy is my doxy; heterodoxy is your doxy.

In the twelfth century the war against heretics, and the horrors of the Inquisition in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, the Netherlands, and Austria, and later in South America, intended to be in the interest of religion, and instigated by the

church, but ostensibly in the name of the state, when church and state were virtually one, caused the death of millions of professed Christians, whose tenets of creed did not precisely agree with those of their persecutors, thirty thousand of whom are supposed to have suffered death in the Old Castle Stein at Antwerp alone under the directions of Philip of Spain. The old castle, with its grim, dark, underground dungeons, and mysterious subterranean passages, with the rack and thumb-screws, and flesh-hooks, with which the dying prayers of the early Christians were stifled, is now converted into a museum, with the old judgment chair, from the sentences of which there was no appeal, as one of its chief attractions. During the reign of terror, which succeeded the horrid edicts of the Inquisition, wives testified against their husbands, and husbands against their wives; parents against their children, and children against their parents; until not only families, but communities, were dismembered, commerce ruined, and trade stagnated. Witchcraft in New England was one of the last expiring throes of that dread heresy, more heretical than the heretic.

The slaughter of five thousand Huguenots in Paris and thirty thousand in the provinces in the sixteenth century, by order of Charles IX., the young king of France, and said to have been instigated by his mother, Queen Catherine, was the result of a religious war between Catholicism and Protestantism, in which the former prevailed. In the three years of war which followed the Edict of Nantes, France is said to have lost nearly one million of inhabitants.

The Thirty Years' War in England during the same century had its origin in the same religious dissensions and jealousies between the same religious bodies, and ended in the triumph of Protestantism, but it created a bitterness between Catholics and Protestants, between Englishmen and Frenchmen, which two hundred years of peace have failed to eradicate, and which has recently found an outcropping in our own country in the birth of the A. P. A. It is the real cause of the lack of success of the movement for home rule in Ireland. But fanaticism is not religion. Religion means "peace on earth, good-will to men."

The Franco-Prussian War, which broke out in 1870-71, incited by the ambition of Napoleon III. and Eugenie, the latter of whom said, "This is my war," resulted in the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, and constitutes the principal menace to-day of the peace of Europe. That war, besides the loss of territory and treasure, cost France five million milliards in money and five hundred thousand men. It did more; it engendered a hatred between Frenchmen and Germans that another century will not eradicate.

Our own internecine war, known as the War of the Rebellion, cost our nation one million of men and three billions of dollars in money, besides the waste of valuable records and countless treasure, \$145,000,000 yearly in pensions, laid the foundation for the countless financial disasters of 1895, and created sectional prejudices and hatreds that will not entirely die out during the next fifty years.

The writers of war histories keep up this race and sectional prejudice by writing each one from his own party standpoint, lauding even the defeats of his countrymen until they seem like victories; suppressing many facts, and belittling the strength, prowess, courage, and magnanimity of his opponents, while he too often colors and magnifies the usually very insignificant cause of the war itself. It is doubtful if a candid person, entirely unacquainted with the facts, if such a thing can be supposed, should read English history with an account of the seven years' war of the Revolution, and then read our American history of the same events, that he would believe that they related to precisely the same difficulties, and recounted the same battles on the same soil; or if we come down to the Franco-Prussian War, and read it from the German, and then from the French standpoint; or if he should read the history of our own late War of the Rebellion, with the highly colored but antagonistic views of the North and the South, that a fair-minded reader would suppose that they were one and the same succession of events.

But we do not stop by putting these highly colored and erroneous histories into our libraries for the edification and instruction of mature readers who know and think; but with all of their

exaggerations and animosities they are too often condensed into school books for the instruction of the young, who imbibe the hatreds and prejudices of ourselves and of our ancestors. In these histories the prowess accorded, and the adulation lavished upon the conquering hero, are calculated to influence the youthful mind to like deeds of daring, until he, too, "burns to wear a uniform, hear drums, and see a battle," believing that the army or the navy are the only sure roads to preferment, and to fame and fortune. So the youth enlists, to repent of the hardships and tedium of army life at his leisure, and is only disenchanted when he falls on the battle-field or returns to his home a hopeless cripple for life. We have ten statues to the soldier where we have not one to the philanthropist or scientist. The organization of boys' brigades fosters this spirit; destroys in him respect for human life, until to take it seems easy.

Thus our knowledge of history becomes distorted; the war spirit is kept up, rendering another war imminent on the slightest provocation, while the real sentiments of our enemies are never known to us.

A recital of its wars constitutes the largest portion of the history of Christian nations; while the strides that it has made in commerce, in manufactures, and the arts, constitute the least. With this idea in view Mr. George Pitt, of England, has recently written a book entitled, "A History of England with Her Wars Left Out," and has succeeded in getting in a compact little book of one hundred and fourteen pages all that there has been important in English history for the past three hundred years.

The love of home and country are undoubtedly meritorious attributes, and self-sacrifice for country has always been held in high esteem, but it is but another form of self-love, and it is quite possible to make this love not only excessive, but unjust. There is another and higher love—the great love of humanity, of peace, of justice and equality—that should be taught to our youth as well. It has been well said that to die for one's country has been usually considered the highest order of patriotism; but to live for one's country is decidedly more patriotic and profitable.

In these latter days we have another potent influence at work to foment war, and that is the war correspondent. During the thirty years of peace since our late Civil War we have had several blood-curdling wars on paper, including the Italian imbroglio, the Itata affair, the Chilean entanglement, the Sioux outbreak, the Hawaiian matter, etc., etc., and it is rather painful to see the war spirit, after so many years of peace, boiling in the minds of our young men, and so many old men anxiously encouraging an actual passage at arms in matters too trivial to confer either glory, or advantage on us as a nation, if such a thing were desirable in any event. By our Constitution we are, as a government, pledged to neutrality, and cannot commit any overt act. We do not need to increase our territory, and have publicly declared through the Pan-American Congress that the right of conquest does not exist. So says the International Peace Congress and the Parliamentary Conference. We have gone further. In pursuance of the closing resolution of that Congress, in April, 1890, the grandest and most unique of its kind in the history of the world, and in conformity with the Sherman Joint Resolution passed the same year, the United States, in 1892, invited the nations of the world, and particularly all of those with whom we are in treaty relations, to join with us in a series of permanent treaties of arbitration, and the invitation has been accepted by Switzerland, Denmark, and Great Britain.

To ratify such a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the Hon. Wm. Randal Cremer has recently visited our shores, bearing a petition to the president and the Congress of the United States, signed by three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons, and assuring us that Her Majesty's ministry are largely in favor of the measure. In doing this Mr. Cremer has ignored that old threadbare trick of so-called diplomacy, which is always shifting responsibility by saying, let the other party make the overtures, and has had the moral courage to come to request that our government take action in this very important matter. I am sorry to know that we have some legislators without culture sufficient to appreciate his motives, or

the blessings that such a permanent state of international peace would give, as it would be sure to be followed with many other similar treaties with other nations, and thus lend strength enough to each to begin a system of gradual disarmament, that would at once lighten the burdens on the laboring and producing classes of Europe, and elevate womanhood by drawing largely the laboring woman from the field to the home, while the common soldier, whose services would no longer be required on the battle-field or the frontier, could take her place on the farm and in the workshop, and thus the great idle army of consumers would be converted into an army of producers, so much urged by our esteemed Parisian contemporary, Madame Greiss Traut. As it is, all Europe is bristling with bayonets, while the budgets of her several Parliaments are loaded with appropriations for the increase of the army and the navy, and her laboring men and women are staggering under a taxation greater than they can bear, with a war cloud always imminent, and a threat of dire disaster from one quarter or another, to the disquiet of rest and work. Mr. Cramer's petition was followed by a resolution in Congress by the Hon. Wm. J. Coombs of New York, backed by the petitions of six thousand reputable people, responding from Maine to California.

Even our own Congress, without a speck of a war cloud, or any danger of one, on our frontier, unless we provoke one by un-called-for meddling, are continuously making appropriations for war-ships to strengthen our navy, in order to protect long stretches of sea-coast that no nation has the remotest idea of attacking, or to protect our foreign commerce, which has recently grown so small that one would need a microscope to discover it. But let it not be forgotten that these large naval appropriations furnish very good jobs for a certain few who are in the ring, and that they must of a necessity be manned before they can be launched; otherwise there would be no positions for the young men who annually graduate at Annapolis; and little or no glory (as he thinks) for the secretary of the navy, who is usually anxious to magnify himself and his office. And so the money of the people is spent for a costly vessel that will usually stand the strain of one peaceful cruise at sea, providing there are no storms,

and then go to the dry dock for repairs. It were far better if these ships were made commercial ships, that they might in some way bless mankind.

But these appropriations, so far as our own country is concerned, are not only useless, but positively harmful, for they at once alarm our European friends, and incite them to a greater increase of their military and naval appropriations.

The *Washington Post* of February 16, 1895, had an article headed, "The Nation Needs Battle Ships; Our Navy Should be Prepared for Any Emergency," and then went on to state that the present appropriation bill authorizes the construction by contract of three seagoing coast-line battle ships of three thousand tons each, to cost not less than \$4,000,000 each, exclusive of armaments, and nine new torpedo boats, from one hundred to two hundred tons, to cost \$170,000, and three additional torpedo boats for the Brooklyn, Norfolk, and Mare Island Navy Yards, the whole amounting to \$20,000,000. All of this vast expenditure of money to be made in the present depleted condition of the treasury, while the poor of Washington and other large cities are starving, and business men are going to the wall, because there is not money enough for the needs of trade. The Hon. Elijah Morse, of Massachusetts, said, on the consideration of this bill: "Mr. Speaker, all the fish that ever swam in Bering Sea are not worth one day's fighting between these two great Christian nations."

The United States can afford to be generous and progressive along the line of peace legislation, even to taking the initiative in a permanent treaty of arbitration with a country as highly cultured as Great Britain, for the peace spirit is the cultured one, and the war spirit the savage side of human nature; and other nationalities would be sure to follow in the lead. An alliance between the United States, Great Britain, and France would be too strong a one for any foreign power to attempt to attack, and would at once render disarmament feasible and practical. The danger of a war once removed from the powers of Europe would be to the laboring masses like the dropping of the great burden which Christian left at the door of the sepulcher within

the walls of salvation. It would be the dawning of a new sun, an epoch in history ever to be remembered, that would bring light and joy to the world.

The present industrial condition of the country, the struggle of labor, organized and unorganized, against the grasping greed of monopolies, of trusts, of vast aggregations, of capital, defying competition and evading legislation, is a far greater menace to the security and prosperity of the state than the frown of any contigious or foreign foe possibly can be. Canada and Mexico are our sisters and friends, bound to us by consanguinity and common interests on the one side, and by peaceful commercial treaties on the other. In the past forty-six years there has been no threat of violence from either.

But a great strike, that quarters on a community thousands of idle men, ties up the railroads, the great living arteries of a nation's life, impedes the mails, and blocks the wheels of commerce, is a menace of which wise legislators should take note. A government that does not protect life and property, and the guaranty to every citizen of the pursuit of happiness, fails in its mission. The prime object of government is the greatest good to the greatest number, and that is why we are taxed to support it. A strike is a war whose blow is aimed at the very root of society, and, however good the intent, has proved as dangerous in the hands of modern leaders as guns and pistols would be in the nursery.

Felix Adler, in his opening address before the School of Ethics, at Washington, D. C., referring to strikes, uses these words: "Our country is disturbed; the public peace has been broken, and outbursts of violence are occurring at shorter and shorter intervals. If we are not to rely upon mere brute force in quelling these disturbances; if we are not to depend upon bayonets and machine guns, we must find a way of peaceably solving these difficulties. We must see whether we cannot come to some conclusions, alleviate distrust, and allay that keen sense of social justice which is far more operative to breed discontent than distress itself."

Carroll D. Wright, who has made social conditions the study

of years, said recently before the Woman's National Press Club that the only true fighters and "the only true commanders are the captains of industry"; that America's true greatness lies in her industrial world, in which all classes are engaged, and in which woman has now become an economic factor. He intimates that the cure for the strike is culture, education, moral suasion, and that the present tendency of organization in all classes of society is bringing about this result. A social organization may become, as the Woman's Council will, a complicated machine as powerful for good as a standing army is for ill, and a moral force may become much more potent in a well-organized community than brute force. Organization stands to-day to moral and mental development in the same ratio that the old hand-loom stands to the modern manufactory, or the stone mortar and pestle to the modern flouring mill. All classes of labor are organized, constituting so many industrial armies, and newspapers and newspaper correspondents are by no means the last to wheel into line. Thought, brain, and handwork have belted the globe. We are one people, with a community of interests, aspirations, and desires. Why should we quarrel with each other? Why should we destroy one another, taking away lives that we cannot give; laying in waste cities and towns; burning records, institutions, libraries, and works of art that no skill or money can restore, and for what? The gratification of a blind passion, that settles nothing, accomplishes nothing, builds up nothing. War is civilized murder, that brings no blessing in its train, and leaves the cause of the difficulty to be settled later by arbitration, by compromise, while the battle-fields are strewn with the dead and dying, wives widowed, children orphaned, the home despoiled, and fortunes confiscated. The quarrel is made by the few; the honor, the fame, and the money go to the few.

The Red Cross, with the treaty of Geneva behind it, with ambulances and scores of trained nurses, in its benignant charity, follows after the army, binds up the wounds made by the saber and the bullet, closes the eyes of the dying, and sends the parting message to the widow and mother; but the Universal Peace Union, with a broader charity, a prevention instead of a cure,

seeks to abolish guns and bayonets ; spikes the cannons and converts them into plowshares ; disbands the standing army ; settles all difficulties by arbitration, or by judicial methods, and rings the "Liberty Bell" around the world. Until that time arrives, the Red Cross will continue its humane work.

Women have nothing to gain by war, and the laboring man only a soldier's grave, crippled in body, or wasted in health, with his sacrifices speedily forgotten or ignored by the government and the masses.

The duty of the state is to protect her industries, her manufactures, and her arts ; to improve her public highways, and to facilitate inter-communication, for the advancement of the great industrial armies who constitute what we call the commonwealth. And the word is well coined, for it is the brawn and brain of a nation that constitute her real wealth, rather than her accumulations ; and it is the duty of our government to-day to protect her captains of industry whose business is going to the wall because the circulating medium of the country, so-called money, is insufficient for the needs of trade. It is to this to-day that we would utter the warning note of danger, and the remedy is in our own hands, for our government credit is amply sufficient for such an increase in our currency as would meet the wants of the hour. Hunger and cold and want of shelter have no business in a country like ours, for brawn and brain are capital for which the government should find employment, if necessary. The great war of to-day in this country is a war for bread and butter, and a battle of brains to learn how to arbitrate it by permanent alleviation and legislation.

The Congress of the United States, each member of which was too strongly imbued with his own sectionalism and party spirit, at the close of its third heated term, found itself unequal to cope with this great financial problem, in which capital and labor, silver and gold, are struggling for the mastery, while the secretary of the treasury had exhausted his financial ingenuity to protect the gold reserve, and the credit of a great and wealthy nation was weighed in the balance, and bartered on the markets of the world.

Could a Woman's Council, with an upper and a lower house, have plunged the country into a greater financial disaster? And could you picture them wringing their hands in grief for ways and means with which to fill the treasury, standing idly by while every day's balance grew less? The fight for life, for sustenance, for comforts, to say nothing of luxuries, is often a bitter one, and to-day this battle is at many doors, waiting for the deliverance of wise financial legislation, when peace shall smile upon them once again.

I represent the Universal Peace Union, with its twenty-five branches, and our one hundred fraternal societies across the water, and the Peace Bureau, all members of which assume that no thoughtful person, no humane person, believes in war, which destroys everything and creates nothing but hatred.

We believe and teach peace and arbitration in the home, in the church, in society, in the state, and between nations. We believe in the sanctity of human life, the inalienable rights of individuals, in justice, in equality, and fraternity. Our government has already settled many serious difficulties with the various nations of the world by arbitration and by treaty, without resort to war and without bloodshed, and the expense of all of them combined has not been one tenth that of the War of the Revolution or the War of the Rebellion.

Just now we are combining the work of all these societies in central bureaus, joining hands across the United States and wiping out its sectionalism; joining hands with our friends across the Atlantic and in far-off Asia; ignoring creeds and tongues, party lines and historical legends; affiliating with professors of colleges and universities, and combining all of the friends of peace—and their name is legion—in one grand cordon for the suppression of war. The work of our conventions and conferences is sent to the crowned heads of Europe and to the president of the United States. Our resolutions and petitions are being introduced into the parliaments of the world. We are no longer man-fearing. To reach these, we begin with the home, the school, the society, the university, the press—and here is one of our great strongholds—and then to the halls of legislation.

Our great *but* to-day is, first, permanent treaties of arbitration between the United States and the great Christian nations of the world; a permanent International Arbitration Court, and gradual disarmament. But it means education, culture, work, money, combination, patience, faith, and unlimited consecration. Every year some of the faithful who have consecrated their lives to the work pass over the river, and to-day we mourn Sir Henry Richard, Lemonnier, Howard, Ruchonnet, Mazzoleni, Destrem, Frederick Douglass, and a host of others, who have wrought and gleaned with us, but we hold on with unwavering hope in the belief that the day is not distant when the Christian world will be relieved from the curse of war, for even now the Christian ministry are combining with us against this unholy warfare, this slaughter of the innocent, and the death of the many for the emolument of the few.

Peace Societies are springing up everywhere, not only in the United States, but in Europe. Switzerland has one in every canton; Denmark has one hundred organized bodies; England rolled up in petition one million names to back the Cremer resolution for the permanent treaty between the United States and Great Britain, and even Austria, with her Baroness Van Sutner, and warlike Germany, are organizing Peace Societies. In the latter country the laboring men's unions are combining against war and the extravagance of the war budget. The Sherman bill in the Senate and the Coombs resolution in the House call for the ratification of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, and the petitions of many thousand citizens are behind them, urging this important measure. Our banner is the white bordered flag of all nations.

Organization is the hope of the world, and woman the elastic cement that is binding organizations together, and by them and through them we hope soon to hold the banner aloft to the nations of the world, proclaiming the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

DISTINCTIVE AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

BY ADOLPH ROEDER.

A NUMBER of points might be taken for granted in the contemplation of this subject. Chief among them, of course, the thought that patriotism is a most important factor in the establishment of citizenship. Not less in import is an intelligent grasp of duty and responsibility. And ranked with these, of equal or perhaps tantamount value, comes some manner of insight, if possible of intelligent insight, into the general conditions, resources, and active civic factors of the country.

Ranging these three requirements with the general sense of manhood, fairness, firmness, and fidelity, we have a fairly promising working ideal of citizenship. But it cannot be with any sense of correctness called the ideal of distinctive American citizenship; for in the development of the citizen in Germany, in France, in England, or in any country of civilization, the factors given pertain to right citizenship with the same force and with similar thoroughness. The idea of distinctive American citizenship requires one or more additional factors.

There is evidently a difference in nationality. There must be traits and points in which the American citizen differs from the German citizen or the French citizen. There must be parts of the drama of the past which have been played distinctly by Americans; there must be portions of the drama of the present crudely and insufficiently voiced in the cry, "America for the Americans," which can be filled acceptably only by Americans; and there must be also sections of the unborn history of the future which will be intrusted wholly to the hands, brains, and hearts of American distinctiveness. These cannot be measured by the standard of patriotism: for the patriotism that taught the arm of Winkelried to gather a harvest of spears into his breast differs in no wise from the patriotism that fired the first shot at Bunker

Hill or pulled the first lint after Sumter had been fired upon. The sense of duty and responsibility that rested upon the shoulders of Washington and of the glorious men allied with him differed in no large degree from the sense of duty and responsibility that lay upon the shoulders of the Directory of 1799. And the grasp of national affairs as held by men like Blaine and Reed in their place differs not essentially from that held by Nishan the Armenian, Bismarck the German, Gladstone the Englishman, or Faure the Frenchman, in theirs. Hence, on this ground, the question of what constitutes distinctive American citizenship cannot be satisfactorily answered, nor will the answer thus come to him who desires to do his full duty and his midget share in bringing to birth the embryonic American citizen.

If I desire to reach another city the answer to the question, "What must I do?" is not, "You must take a train," but always, "You must take some certain train on some certain road." If I desire information on any certain point, the answer to the question, "What shall I read?" is not, "Read a book," but, "Read a certain book on some certain subject." So the answer to the teacher's question and to the parent's question, "What shall I do with my boys and my girls in the line of civics?" is not, "Make citizens of them," but, "Make American citizens of them along certain definite American lines."

Nor is the question such a very difficult one. Even if the absolute solution cannot be reached, we can at least learn to move in the direction of that solution. And the first point that presents itself is a positive one. There is a natural distinctiveness about America that requires no artificial help. If the American nation is anything, it is distinctly cosmopolitan. It is true, indeed, that Austria-Hungary is a wilderness of barbarous civilization. It is true, also, that Turkey is a contradiction of nationalities, and that Stamboul is an *agora* in which Armenian and Jew and Turk and Copt and what not all seethe and boil together. It is true, too, that on the broad expanse of Russia endless and interminable nationalities mingle and love and hate. But these are simply race mixtures. They are physical mixtures, as oxygen and nitrogen in the air. They have not the peculiar chemi-

cal fusion about them which marks cosmopolitan America, in which the national molecules retain their individuality for a short time, to be finally and permanently engulfed in the chemical compound of Americanism. Be the citizen German or French, Chinese or Japanese, Hindoo or Hebrew, son of Italy or son of Erin, the whirl of American life gradually engulfs him, breaks off and polishes the corners, and presently fits him smoothly into the "huge heterogeneous homogeneity" (Thank you, Mr. Spencer) which is the American nation.

Keeping this fundamental thought thoroughly in view, we can eliminate from the problem certain features, in which distinctive Americanism need play no prominent part. For instance, the question of establishing colonies in strange countries and of emigration into such countries, may come strongly to densely populated England, Germany, France, to landlord-ridden Ireland, but it cannot come with equal force to the American. It therefore will not require so much prominence in his education as some other line of thought. The question of the apportionment of lands under the system of the *mir* of Russia or the *gau* of Switzerland may occupy a large proportion in the education of the Russian and the Swiss, but the environment and land question as it will come to the American will require a smaller share of his attention. Again, it may be possible that conditions in France call for a *familistère* of Godin and that Germany may require a *Bruderhaus* in Reuttligen, but the knowledge of the system and of its detail is not essential to the American. And so in many questions. Possibly the solution of the question of co-operation will come more directly from England and Scotland than it will from America. Possibly the relation of church and state may receive more practical answer in the new Italy than in America. Possibly the question of government ownership of railroads can be brought to a more rapid solution in England, Germany, and France than in America. And so, careful investigation might find many points to which the coördination of circumstance gives a local coloring and in which the American, as a citizen, takes a large and vital interest, but in which he does not, and probably will not, play a vital part.

Setting these things temporarily aside, or arranging them as a secondary consideration, it should be evident (coming back to our first point) that the cosmopolitan training of an American citizen premises a something cosmopolitan in store for him. For in the evolution of the citizen, as in the evolution of everything else, there is a purpose more or less evident, according to the case. Call this purpose destiny, call it character, call it development, call it Divine Providence, call it civilization, call it what you will, the purpose is there. The same law that fashions a fin to beat the water and a wing to beat the air and a brain for the mechanism of thought, fashions the parts of the world's history and the nations to play them. It must be evident that Rome played a certain part in the world's history and left us a legacy of roads and laws that are as much a legacy to our body politic as the *cauda equina* is to our physical body. Greece played a certain part in the world's history and left us a legacy of mathematics as real to the student of Euclid and as vital to the educational life of the race as the birth-closed *foramen ovale* of the heart. We see the parts these nations played because the distance of the century perspective has reduced them to the compass of a finite eye, and against the background of antiquity it is possible to trace similar points in the life of every nation. If this be true of the nations of antiquity, can it be any the less true of the nations of to-day?

It is on such ground as this that the truly cosmopolitan nature of the American citizen comes prominently into play. It is in America that true cosmopolitanism can be thought of as the basis of a coming "internationalism." Taking the common traits of citizenship for granted, could there not be added a distinctive American trait called "internationalism"? It may be true that the international interests of the world have in the past been compelled to seek a place of conference in Berne, in Paris, in London, but do not the indications point in the direction of a growing international sense in the American nation? When the heroine, Clara Barton, conceived the idea of the Red Cross, was it not as natural for her to seek foreign fields for it after its establishment in her own heart and her own country, as

it is for water to flow down hill, or the sun to shine? When George Kennan returned from Siberia and the direct result of his work at home gathered force and momentum in the petition to the czar; when the monster petition against the liquor evil starts out across the ocean to other nations presently; when the question between China and Japan is virtually vested as to possible arbitration in the hands of our American representatives; when our chief executive is asked to take the office of arbitrator in recent foreign movements of large import; these indications should not be allowed to go for naught. They should leave a strong impression upon the mind of the patriotic American citizen, that there is a decided niche for him to fill in the world's history; that no nation is so eminently fitted to handle international questions; that no nation has the peculiar cosmopolitan fundement-training; that in no nation probably could the vast field of fairness and justice be developed on which a representative gathering, not only of men but of things, could find room for play. Look into the history of Mormonism on the one hand, and find a country on the globe where such a peculiarly anomalous orchid could flourish. Or, on the other hand, it might be difficult to find the country in which a parliament of religions could have taken place and could have been such a marked success, as the effort in Chicago two years ago. These and many similar points confirm the position taken, that the probable destiny of the American citizen is foreshadowed in the word "internationalism."

Nor is it a question in which the dreams of the dreamer solely rule; though "the world has need of its dreamers as the night has need of its stars." It is a question of an eminently practical nature. It is not necessary to lay any great emphasis on the question of international copyrights or on the question of the development of the Universal Postal Union. There are vital questions apart from these that require a solution, and, I believe, an American solution. Chief among them is the money question. No matter how much it may be tinged with the local coloring; no matter how much the cry may be of "monometallism and bimetallism," of "silver certificate and wild-cat script." Ad-

mitting all the local difficulties, the chief difficulty evidently lies in the international aspect of the question. So evident is that point that almost every one is ready to concede that the protective tariff and free trade are only unfinished partial products of the problem and that it still rests unsolved in its vital form, "How does the money system in America adjust itself with the standards of other countries?" Nor can it be very difficult to see that the solution will ultimately come from America, for it is even now a matter of serious doubt whether any country can show a monetary complication in which so much foreign interest is involved as the money question under its American aspect. The very recent unsolved fraction called the Belmont-Morgan syndicate, demonstrates this very forcibly. A little more training of this kind will school a number of American citizens who will be able to handle the money question in an American way and to steer the ship of state rather more safely through the breakers of "minus quantities" than is the case just now. The solution of all such international questions as patents, copyrights, postal system, laws of war, peace, and arbitration, ocean freight and express, fisheries and cables, money and media of exchange, offers a field which amply deserves a special cultivation and which evidently requires minds possessed of a special cultivation in the lines of internationalism, in which cultivation the minds of all nations at present fail. If American citizenship could be held in mind as a distinctive soil in which this internationalism can grow, its comprehension and the method of its evolution can become quickly clear.

A word more on the ethical side. The author would fail in making himself understood if he has left the impression that he considers any of the fundamental characteristics generally conceded to good citizenship of non-import. Far from it. He considers patriotism, the love of country and love of home, the love of American institutions and of American liberty, the love of America's very soil and of its customs and of its habits, as fundamentally essential to citizenship, but he adds to them the intense desire to see accomplished in America what all nations seem to lack, and seem so desperately to lack, namely, the love

of service to others, that larger altruism into which the dawn of a new age is carrying an astonished world. It may be a comparatively easy matter for a citizen of the United States to represent the interests of the United States in a foreign country. It would be service simply to the larger self. But could he not, as an American, represent the interests of the race, of humanity? The race is quivering toward that "door of hope in the valley of Achor" in which men are destined to cease from the service of self and live in the service of others.

The dreams of William Dean Howells' "Traveler from Altruria," the glorious vision of Drummond's "Ascent of Man," are not based on clouds or on the mists of the valley, but on the irrevocable foreshadowings of evolution. Would it be very much wrong to say that the answer which solves a question in the light of larger altruism is an American answer?

I know not that answer; but this I know: that the day of larger service has come; that the shadows of the present are actually falling across the threshold of Altruria; that the pathway that lies to God lies through the heart of the neighbor; that men cannot touch the hem of the garment of Divinity unless first they lift the mantle of humanity, and that mantle is lifted not by service to self or to the larger self, but to the world that demands it. And this larger thought, of self-less service to the "Greater Humanity," I should wish to emphasize as "Distinctive American Citizenship."

ADOLPH ROEDEE.

FARMERS AND TAXATION.

BY JAMES MIDDLETON.

AGRICULTURE is the basic industry of civilized society. By it most of the materials for food which supports life and clothing which shelters, are furnished. It makes possible the development of manufactures, commerce, education, and art, which are the glories of our modern civilization.

The praises of agriculture have ever been a favorite theme of writers. Yet the social position of the small working farmer has ever been an undesirable one. Even in this day such epithets as "hayseed" are by no means uncommon. From the early days of our civilization his hours of labor have been many, his leisure small, and opportunities for culture few. Even when his sons and daughters have acquired knowledge, culture, and prominence, it has been at great sacrifices both on the part of parents and children. Too often the very culture and prominence won by the children have raised a barrier between parent and child. The condition of those he employs has been even worse.

One would naturally think that with the marvelous development of wealth this century has seen, through the conquest of the forces of nature by invention, that those who have made it possible, and who constitute over two fifths of the great industrial army, should have their share and should, as a consequence, have greater leisure and opportunity for education and those refinements that add so much to life. But instead of holding their own they are rather losing ground. Instead of brightening skies, the outlook is full of menace.

According to census estimates of 1870, 1880, and 1890, "lands, farms, and buildings" constituted in 1850 about 45 per cent of our national wealth, in 1860 about 41 per cent, in 1870 about 24 per cent, in 1880 about 23 per cent, and in 1890 it was only about

20 per cent of the total wealth of the country. These figures are pregnant with suggestion.

During that same period we have seen a great growth of urban population as compared with the country. When we consider the growth of the renting and mortgage classes and of large estates the situation seems still more gloomy. From 1880 to 1890 population increased 24.86 per cent; farms cultivated by owners increased but 9.56 per cent; farms rented on shares, 19.65 per cent; and farms rented for money, 41.04 per cent. The amount of mortgages on acres made in 1880 was \$342,566,477, in 1890 \$585,729,719, an increase of over 40 per cent, while the total mortgage indebtedness on acres in 1890 is given at \$2,209,148,431.

There is only one consolation for the farmer, if one can take consolation from the misfortunes of others, that the showing in regard to city houses and lots is still worse; but the true patriot cannot fail to be alarmed in either case.

These figures do not touch chattel mortgages. Undoubtedly if the truth could be known in regard to them the outlook would be still more grave.

As to the growth of great estates there is but little in the census reports to give light. It shows a diminution in the average size of farms, but it also shows an increase in every class from the fifty-acre class to those of one thousand acres and over. The total number of farms may have increased as the classification shows, and yet the total acreage in the one thousand acres and over class may have increased out of all proportion to the other classes. In 1880 there were 28,578 such farms and in 1890 there were 31,546. Not only may the new farms be a great deal larger than those of 1880 but those of 1880 may have doubled in size. There are certainly several individuals and corporations who hold estates or tracts of land that could be classified in a million acres or upwards class.

These holders are not Americans alone but include foreigners as well. For instance, the Holland Company is said to own 4,500,000 acres in New Mexico, an English syndicate 3,000,000 acres in Texas. This is the land given by the state in payment

for its capitol building. The Duke of Sutherland is said to own 422,000 acres, the Duke of Northumberland 191,480 acres, Lord Dunmore 120,000 acres. To our railroad companies since 1850 has been given land enough to make six states the size of Ohio. Of course a good deal of railroad land has been sold to individuals.

These data show unmistakably that the trend of landholding in the United States is the same as it has been in Great Britain, and the time is coming, unless a change is made, when we shall become a nation of landlords and tenants in the country as well as the city and when our working farmers will all be tenant farmers.

The causes which are leading to this result are various and complex. It was supposed when the founders of the republic had abolished primogeniture and entail and had done away with a property qualification for votes, that they had done away with the causes that produced these results. But they were in error. Other and sufficient causes still remained.

Personal causes there are and these are beyond the domain of legislation. We cannot make men temperate, industrious, frugal, and wise by legislation. The lack of these qualities may vitiate the best of laws. The presence of them might not be sufficient to arrest the tendency to tenant farming unless it found expression in better laws and improved social conditions.

Another cause claimed by many, and by them elevated to the chief cause, is the development of modern machinery, by which the great capitalist or bonanza farmer is enabled to crush out the small farmer by competition. I am a small working farmer in a fine agricultural section of the state of Ohio near Lake Erie and my knowledge of farming leads me to think that this cause is but a minor one and one that would not be operative but for other and greater causes.

Take, for instance, the culture of wheat. I can probably make a larger profit per acre than the bonanza farmer of North Dakota. It comes in a regular rotation of crops and is a "catch crop." In scientific farming, I should take my ground on which potatoes, corn, or oats had been harvested, without plowing,

work it over with a harrow thoroughly, and sow the wheat ; next spring sow clover ; in summer harvest the wheat, the next year mow one crop of clover, and the following spring plow under the clover growth as a fertilizer for the leading cash crop of corn or potatoes. Thus I improve my land as well as get cash returns. I can hire my wheat drilled in with fertilizer, if I wish, for fifty cents per acre. I can have it reaped and bound for a dollar per acre and thrashed for three cents a bushel. With thirty acres under cultivation I can have ten acres of wheat, ten of clover, and ten of potatoes, doing the bulk of the work myself with a team.

The bonanza farmer cannot get as large a return per acre as I can where the bulk of the work is done by myself and where every rod of land is, every year, a thoroughly scanned page. Under just social conditions, especially as to money, transportation, and taxation, the small farmer in the East need have no fear of the bonanza farmer of the West. By coöperation with his neighbors he can avail himself of modern machinery to advantage.

The three great causes are found in the manipulation of money and credit, in our system of transportation with its discriminations, but above all in our unjust methods of taxation.

We had an expanding currency from 1878 to the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Silver Act in 1893, yet the changes to tenantry and mortgages went on steadily, just as was true in England during the great influx of precious metals following the conquest of Mexico and Peru.

While railroads, with their discriminations and favoritism, have undoubtedly helped, yet the West, which should show the benefit, shows a much larger percentage of increase of mortgage indebtedness and of the renting classes. From 1880 to 1889, according to the *Census Abstract*, the mortgage indebtedness of Massachusetts increased 168.05 per cent ; Montana, 578.18 per cent ; Connecticut, 92½ per cent ; California, 225.35 per cent.

It is true that the North Atlantic States show an actual decrease in the number of farms owned from 1880 to 1890, and that the western division showed an increase in number of

farms owned. This increase can be accounted for by new settlements. But during that period, while we were adding nearly our whole output of silver to buy currency, and though the western division may be supposed to have profited over the East through the railroads, the increase in farms rented for money for the North Atlantic division was more than six per cent; North Central division, more than 67 per cent; and for the western division, more than 59 per cent. The railroad influence may have determined the increase in the North Central States over the western but the fact remains that the showing is bad for the Western States. There must be some other more potent cause. That cause is found in unjust taxation. It was the chief cause in England and it is the chief cause here.

It was an eminent French statesman in the ancient *régime*, when the king could say he was the state, who uttered the famous saying: "Indirect taxation is the method of plucking the goose with the least possible outcry." We have no king; but the goose and indirect taxation still survive. Signs indicate that the people are coming more and more to realize that though they see no tax bill, yet, whenever they make a purchase, a part of the purchase price reaches the government and a still larger part goes to others who would not get it but for the operation of the tax.

All our national taxes are indirect except, to some extent, the new income tax. That is, the dealer or importer advances the tax on the articles and hopes, when he sells, to recover the tax from his customer and a percentage besides for his trouble. When the tax on matches was repealed Professor Ely says that a box of matches which previously had been selling in Baltimore for fifteen cents and on which there was a tax of six cents thereafter sold for six cents. That is, the repeal of the six cents tax caused a fall of nine cents, showing that the manufacturers and dealers had not only gotten back from the consumer the tax advanced but fifty per cent besides. It is not strange that the big manufacturers who had the capital to advance the taxes should have opposed the repeal, as the tax prevented poorer people from manufacturing, and thus it gave the large capitalist a monopoly.

What was true of matches is as true to-day in regard to whisky and oleomargarine.

If we consider our revenue duties the case is still worse. Where they are laid for revenue, even a McKinley concedes the purchasing consumer pays the revenue ultimately. But there are some men of note who will claim that when the duty is put on to benefit the home producer, that the cost of the article is thereby cheapened to the consumer. It is hard for an unsophisticated mind to understand by what subtle alchemy such varying results are produced. It is also hard to understand, if this is true, why manufacturers are so anxious for the tariff if it is for the purpose of cheapening the price of their product. If such a doctrine is true it is strange that England should pay so largely the taxes of the nations to which she exports and yet be more prosperous and pay higher wages than other countries as old and as densely populated as she, that have protective tariffs.

The lessons that have come from repeals and lessening of tariffs show very plainly that as a general principle the foreigner does not pay the tax that the consumer does pay. The repeal of the duty on quinine, the reduction of duty on sugar, wool, and many other articles, demonstrate this clearly to the unprejudiced mind.

All commerce is but in its final analysis an exchange of products. Money and credit are but the machinery of exchange. When our farmer sends wheat to England it is to pay bonds or interest, or to purchase other commodities. The higher the tax on those commodities the less his wheat will bring him. Between seventy and eighty per cent of our exports have been agricultural products. When our farmer seeks to sell his surplus he finds this restriction which depreciates his wheat at home and abroad, and so of all the rest of his exports. With a protection on wool and those farm products of which we are importers, he may get more from his neighbor for his protected articles, but when the balance sheet is made out, for every dime he has taken from his neighbor he will find a dollar lost on such articles of which we produce a surplus for export.

Of course it is unfair to make those articles free on which a duty will enable him to get more for, and at the same time re-

tain a duty on those he must buy. This is the curse of the doctrine of free raw materials with a protection of the manufactured product. It was bad for the farmer under our previous laws. It may be even worse for him under this other theory.

Our state and local taxes are as hopelessly complex, confused, and injurious in their action as our national system. We tax the farmer's products and the merchant's wares. We tax the manufacturer who is trying to build up our home market. We aim to tax nearly everything in sight and out of sight.

The successful manufacturer gets back his tax when he sells his products, the successful merchant gets back his tax when he sells his wares, and the successful farmer also tries to get back his taxes when he markets his produce. Each is trying to get ahead of the other; confusion and misfortune are the result. Nearly the whole burden is thrown upon the consumer. Not alone the burden of taxation, but that far greater burden which is the result of the quasi-taxing power conferred upon monopolies and other beneficiaries of our present system, or lack of system.

If the burdens all amount to twenty-five per cent of consumption, and various experts have placed it at that, then the man whose consumption equals his income has twenty-five dollars less in every hundred than he otherwise would have. In other words, the taxes and the quasi-taxes take all of his possible saving. If a man has an income of \$500, and spends \$400, he saves \$100. But for the tax he would save another \$100, or \$200. His burden is fifty per cent of his possible saving, or one hundred per cent of his actual saving. On the millionaire with a large income and moderate expenses the burden would be but a feather's weight. Our working farmers are not millionaires. The bulk of them are lucky if their income is sufficient to meet their expenses. Hence the burdens arising from taxation take all their possible savings.

What, then, is the remedy? What can we do to lighten the burden of the small producers, yet produce no injury to any legitimate industry? Is it possible to greatly diminish these burdens, yet greatly stimulate industry and increase the rewards of all who work?

There is one remedy proposed which is worthy of the serious consideration of the farmer, manufacturer, trader, and wage-worker alike. That remedy is the proposition to raise our revenues by a tax upon the annual rental value of land, including those franchises which are made up of land values. Just as at first blush an indirect tax seems to benefit the farmer, so at first blush this tax upon land values seems to be the worst imaginable for him. But as we have found an indirect tax was working him incalculable injury, so we may find that the single tax will produce him the greatest good that can possibly arise from any system of taxation.

By value of land is meant that value of all natural resources that comes from natural fertility or productivity or from advantageous situation and which is revealed or developed by the growth and industry of society as a whole. It is the value that inheres in a city lot when the improvements have been swept away by fire or flood; it is the value that remains to a farm or mine when the improvements have been destroyed. In land values, whether city lots, mines, or farms, the situation counts for much, fertility counts for but little; a lot in a great business center may sell for hundreds of thousands of dollars, while a lot on the outskirts much more readily fitted for building upon may sell for a few hundreds. A farm near New York City may rent for a hundred dollars per acre annually while land vastly more fertile in the Mississippi bottoms may not rent for one hundredth part as much. Next to city lots probably the most valuable lands are the roadbeds of our railways, which constitute their franchise value.

The single tax proposition is to tax all these values, whether used or unused, for the revenues of government. It taxes the unimproved city lot as much as the one of equal value by its side that is improved. It taxes the hundred acre tract of unimproved land just as much as the improved hundred acre farm adjoining whose natural fertility of land and whose situation are the same as the unimproved. Our present system taxes the improved land and improvements and treats the holders of unimproved lands with marked tenderness. The more the holders of

unimproved lands pay, the less need the holders of improved lands pay. The man who puts land to good use creates wealth, gives employment to labor, and benefits the community. The man who withholds land from use diminishes the opportunities for creating wealth and the demand for labor.

Under the single tax the farmer's buildings, stock, machinery, and crops would be exempt. The more he had of these the less would be the ratio of the tax to his wealth. He would pay no more tax than his neighbor who was shiftless or who held unimproved land of equal fertility and situation. No single measure that could be enacted would give such a stimulus to agriculture. Taxing the unimproved lands would throw them on the markets and make it easier for his children to purchase homes near him. According to the *Census Abstract* over fifty-four per cent of mortgages was for the purchase price. By the single tax the greatest cause for mortgages would be removed. Men would not be compelled to seek homes on the blizzard-swept plains, to see their families dying of hunger and cold, as in Nebraska but recently, while countless acres await the friendly hand of man near our centers of population.

It may be said that every one would rush into farming, and prices of farm products would become so low that a living would not be made. The single tax would stimulate mining, manufacture, and trade in exactly the same way, so that the home market would more than keep pace with the farmer's products. What protection has sought in vain to do, the single tax would do, give the farmer a steady home market.

The true farmer seeks in his farm an ideal farm home with the comforts and refinements of life. With our farming communities more compact through making the unused lands near our markets available and through a steady market, with those steadily engaged at good wages in other occupations, he could with lightened taxes have better roads and better schools. He could build better houses, buy better clothing, and have and enjoy the comforts of life. He would then no longer be called a "hayseed," but would be looked upon as the peer of merchant or manufacturer. The small industrious farmer may then be one

of the true nobility. By the single tax this result may be accomplished and the manufacturer, merchant, and wage-worker alike share in the general prosperity.

A perfect currency and a perfect system of transportation may prove a temporary benefit ; but make no change in taxation, and speculation in the fundamental necessity of life, land, would go steadily on and the elimination of the workers from landownership be just as surely accomplished. The only remedy, short of state socialism, is to make each one pay in proportion to the number of the natural opportunities he possesses under the protection of the state, and not, as now, in proportion to his industry or consumption. Then will we promote industry and check speculation, and make a perfect system of transportation and a perfect currency a boon.

JAMES MIDDLETON.

STATE RIGHTS AND FEDERAL ENCROACHMENTS.

BY HON. JAMES S. FISHER.

ACCORDING to the theory of our government, the people are the source of all political power. Their will, once authoritatively declared, is the supreme rule of the government, the undisputed law of the land. Beyond that there is no appeal. It may be disregarded or ignored by states, communities, or individuals, but the power that made it is the only power that can reform or amend it. That will has been authoritatively declared in the Constitution of the United States of America. Daniel Webster wrote: "The Constitution of the United States is a written instrument, a recorded fundamental law, it is the BOND of the only BOND of the UNION of these states; it is all that gives a national character."

It is the bulwark of freedom to the people of this continent, so long as the boundary line between state and national power is so plainly in view and observed by all, but we should not dream of freedom for the Union while the states are deprived of their constitutional powers. If you would preserve the freedom of the masses, preserve the constitutional power of each member of the great family, and then you will perpetuate the great *liberty of states*, more powerful in peace than in war, and in war invincible. Concentrate all power in the general government, and you will behold but a bloated and feeble giant, whose brain is imbecile, whose limbs are dead, and who pays in disease and weakness the penalty of transcending the natural proportion of strength and vigor. It is in the states and smaller communities that the incentives to patriotism are most ardent, and the promptness to glorious deeds most active and pure. But it is in the national field of political action that men are more prone to desire as the license to pillage and make government only the use for rapine.

It contains within itself ample provisions for its own alteration or amendment, all the machinery necessary to peaceably revolutionize itself. In its language it is plain, and, for the most part, easily understood, and is intended for the common sense and unsophisticated understanding of the masses of the people. As to some of its grants and limitations of power, it is, and always will be, possible for ingenuity to raise constructive doubts.

One of the first questions raised under the Constitution, and that during President Washington's administration, was as to the power of Congress to incorporate a bank. Congress, as well as the president's cabinet, was divided on the question. The president, after mature deliberation, inclined to the opinion that Congress had that power, and an act to that effect became a law. Senator Benton, in a speech in the United States Senate on that subject said :

General Hamilton was secretary of the treasury. He was the advocate of the paper system, the banking system, and the funding system, which was fastened upon England, by Sir Robert Walpole, in his long and baneful administration, under the first and second George. General Hamilton was the advocate of those systems, and wished to transplant them to America. He exerted his great abilities, rendered still more potent by his high personal character, and his glorious revolutionary services, to substitute paper money for the federal currency, and banks for the keepers of the public money ; and he succeeded to the extent of his wishes. The hard money prescribed by the act of September 1, 1789, was abolished by construction, and by a treasury order to receive bank notes ; the fiscal agent for the reception, the keeping, and the disbursement of the public moneys, consisting of the treasurer and his collectors and receivers, was superseded by the creation of a national bank, invested with the privilege of keeping the public moneys, paying them out, and furnishing supplies of paper money for the payment of dues to the government. Thus the two acts of 1789 were avoided, or superseded ; not repealed, but only avoided and superseded by a treasury order to receive paper, and a bank to keep it and pay it out. From this time paper money became the federal currency, and a bank the keeper of the federal money. It is needless to pursue this departure further. The bank had its privileges for twenty years—was succeeded in them by the local banks—they superseded by a second national bank—it again by local banks—and these finally by the independent treasury system—which was nothing but a return to the fundamental acts of 1789.

Upon the failure to re-charter the Bank of the United States by Congress, the present sub-treasury system was proposed by

President Van Buren at the called session of 1837, and adopted by Congress in 1840. Since that time, the Treasury Department has handled its own money, through its own treasurer officers and agents, and it has not since been deemed necessary by Congress to incorporate any financial agencies for that purpose.

The question as to whether Congress possessed the constitutional power to incorporate a bank, was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1819, in the case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, in reference to the Bank of the United States, which was incorporated by Congress in 1816, and upon which the legislature of Maryland had imposed a tax.

The question seems to have been, whether Congress possessed the constitutional power to incorporate a bank for any purpose. The court held in that case that the power of establishing a corporation is not a distinct sovereign power or end of government, but only the means of carrying into effect other powers which are sovereign. Whenever it becomes an appropriate means of exercising any of the powers given by the Constitution to the government of the Union, it may be exercised by that government, and the state governments have no right to tax any of the constitutional means employed by the government of the Union to execute its constitutional powers. The court held that the law of the 10th of April, 1816, to "incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States," is a law made in pursuance of the Constitution, and that the Bank of the United States has constitutionally a right to establish its branches or offices of discount and deposit within any state.

This decision settled the question beyond further controversy, that Congress has the power to incorporate a bank if it should be deemed an instrument necessary and proper for carrying into effect the powers specially vested by the Constitution in the government of the Union. That the bank was a public corporation, created for public and national purposes, and was an instrument deemed by Congress to be necessary and proper in the execution of a sovereign power specially granted to Congress by the Constitution.

This decision was pronounced on the 7th day of March, 1819,

and just one month previous to that date the state of Ohio imposed a tax, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars annually, on the branch bank of the United States established in that state. The officers of the state of Ohio proceeded to levy the tax, and that act brought up before the Supreme Court a renewed discussion and consideration of the legality of such a tax, and, incidentally, of the constitutionality of the bank. In the case of *Osborn vs. The United States Bank* the claim was set up that the Bank of the United States was a mere private corporation, engaged in its own business, with its own views, and that its great end and principal object were private trade and private profit.

But the court did not sustain this view. It held the bank to be a public corporation, created for public and national purposes, and as an instrument necessary and proper for carrying into effect the powers specially vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States. The business of lending and dealing in money for private purposes was an incidental circumstance, and not the primary object; and the bank was endowed with this faculty in order to enable it to effect the great public end of its institution, and without such faculty and business, the bank would lack a capacity to perform its public functions. Mr. Kent in his *Commentaries*, from which material has been freely used in this paper, and who is always inclined to favor the interpretation most favorable to the general government in all matters of state rights, in giving the opinion of the court, says: "The Bank was not created for its own sake or for private purposes. It has never been supposed that Congress could create such a corporation." And there certainly can be no grounds for such a supposition. The institution of a private corporation for the purposes of private gain exclusively, no matter how great a public convenience it might be, could never be considered an instrument necessary and proper to be employed by Congress in the execution of any specially delegated power contained in the Constitution.

But as to the power of the state to incorporate a bank. The state has never surrendered the power to establish and regulate its own internal commerce, and may use all proper means to that

end not prohibited by the Constitution of the United States. If the legislature of the state should deem the incorporation of a bank as a proper and adequate measure in the execution of that power, there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prohibit the act.

That question was forever put at rest in the case of *Beeson vs. Bank of Kentucky*, by the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, that there was no limitation in the Constitution on the power of the state to incorporate banks, and their notes were not intended to be inhibited, nor were considered as *bills of credit*. In this case the question as to the definition of *bills of credit* as used in the Constitution, prohibiting their emission by the states, was fully and exhaustively discussed. They were defined by the court to be *paper issued by the authority of the state, on the faith of the state, and designed to circulate as money*; and under this definition it was adjudged that the bank of the state of Kentucky, established in the name and on behalf of the state, under the direction of a president and twelve directors chosen by the legislature, and the bank exclusively the property of the state, and with authority to issue notes payable to bearer on demand, and receive deposits and make loans; and the notes of which bank, by a subsequent act, were to be received on execution by the plaintiff, and, if refused, further proceedings to be delayed on the judgment for two years, *were not within the prohibition of the Constitution of the United States against the emission of bills of credit*.

It may be observed that the court does not seem to base this decision on the ground that the state possesses the constitutional power to create corporations generally, but restricts it to a case that comes clearly within the scope of an incidental power of the state, to create a bank as a proper and adequate means to execute the sovereign power of the state, to regulate its own internal commerce. This case seems to have followed the doctrine laid down in *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, and *Osborn vs. The Bank of the United States*, that the institution of a corporation was not an act of sovereign power or end of government, but the choice of necessary and adequate means to aid in

executing a sovereign power, by delegating powers to the corporation, to do acts for and on behalf of the state, and which the state itself has the power to do. The case of *Beeson vs. The Bank of Kentucky* was affirmed in *Darrington vs. The Bank of Alabama*, and the Supreme Court of Arkansas in *McFarland vs. The State Bank* held itself bound and concluded by that case. It thus follows that Congress may incorporate a bank, as a public measure, and as a necessary and proper means in the execution of a specially granted constitutional power, but cannot create a corporation for the corporation's sake, or for the corporation's own private aims and purposes. Also that the state has the sovereign and exclusive power to regulate its own internal commerce, and may create a bank to aid in the execution of that power.

In the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, on the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the states, the court held that this power, like all the other powers of Congress, was plenary and absolute within its acknowledged limits. But it was admitted that inspection laws relative to the quality of articles to be exported, and quarantine laws, and health laws of every description, and laws for regulating the internal commerce of a state, and those with respect to turnpike roads, ferries, etc., were component parts of an immense mass of legislation not surrendered to the general government.

What, then, is the character and standing of the national banks of the United States? To say that the law under which they are organized and doing business is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States is void and cannot become the law of the land, and does not bind the courts, nor oblige them to give it effect, is a startling proposition when considered in all its bearings. But is not that the fact? The law answers none of the tests of a constitutional law of Congress.

The power to create a corporation of any kind is not specially granted to Congress by the Constitution. It is not in the list of granted powers. It is not found in that instrument. It is not a sovereign power. Congress can exercise no power unless specially granted by the Constitution or which is not necessarily im-

plied in the specially granted powers. The powers of Congress are plenary and supreme, as the supreme law of the land, within the acknowledged scope of their application. The banks incorporated under that law were not created for any public or national object, and as instruments in the execution of any specially granted powers, but are created for their own sakes only, and for purely private purposes. They are intended only to make money for their stockholders, and they are well adapted to that end. They are not employed to perform any functions, in aid of the execution of any specially granted power of Congress. Who shall say that they are not doing business contrary to the Constitution of the United States and in violation of all law both state and national?

The unconstitutionality of the national banking law being admitted, of course all laws enacted for their protection and regulation fall with it. It is unnecessary to consider the question of "exclusive jurisdiction" over the places where the banks are located without the consent of the legislatures of the states, or the powers of Congress to provide a punishment for counterfeiting their notes under the power "to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States." But the exercise of the power to lay a prohibitory tax on state bank circulation raises a different and more important question. That the tax is prohibitory proves conclusively that the law was not intended for a revenue measure, but was intended for a purely protective tariff in the interest of national banks. It is a serious question whether Congress has the power to levy such a tax. The power of taxation was extensively discussed and well understood by the people of the colonies before they formed the Constitution. In that instrument the people granted to Congress the power to "levy and collect" taxes, etc., but the tax on state bank circulation was never intended to be collected, for it was known that no state bank would ever incur that penalty. The law was never intended as an exercise of the power to "levy and collect." It was only intended to be a death blow to the state banks of issue and so it proved to be.

National banks were to be exempt from that tax. When the

national banks put a currency in circulation subject to that state bank tax, which, if collected, would have put nearly ten millions of dollars into the United States Treasury, the whole matter was ignored by the officers, whose duty it should have been to collect the same.

It has been shown that the state has the constitutional power to incorporate a bank, and that there is no constitutional limit in that respect. It may do that, not as a sovereign power or end of government, but as a necessary and proper means to the execution of the sovereign power of the state, to regulate its own internal commerce. In that particular the power of the state is supreme. President Jefferson in a letter to Governor Monroe in 1801, in regard to the transaction of business between the national and state governments, said :

Comparing the two governments together, it is observable that in all those cases where the independent or reserved rights of the states are in question, the two executives, if they act together, must be exactly coördinate ; they are, in these cases, each the supreme head of an independent government. In other cases, to-wit, those transferred by the Constitution to the general government, the general executive is certainly preordinate ; *e. g.*, in a question respecting the militia, and others easily to be recollected.

But the state never transferred the power to the general government, to incorporate the banks of the state, and in that case the state is an independent government, and Congress has no more right to tax any of the constitutional means employed by the state in the execution of her sovereign powers, than Maryland and Ohio had to tax the branch banks of the United States established in those states, and employed by Congress as a proper means in the execution of its specially granted powers. "There would be a plain repugnance in conferring on one government the power to control the constitutional measures of another, which other, with respect to those very measures, was declared to be supreme over that which exerts the control." The sovereignty of the state extends to everything which is introduced by its permission, as well as to everything which exists by its own authority, and the regulation and protection of its internal commerce is beyond the interference or control of any power, outside

of the state. Congress should and does regulate commerce with foreign nations, and that it should regulate commerce among the states is not only necessary, but a very wise provision of the federal Constitution, but it remains with the state authorities and its people to establish, regulate, foster, and protect its commerce within its jurisdictional limits. That power is exclusively the power and duty of the state, and the act of Congress, robbing the state of that power and the means of performing its duty to its citizens, was an act of oppression which is beginning to bear its full fruits in the nation.

But we should not charge wilful misconduct in office on all who had any agency in the passage of that obnoxious law. Conditions are supposed to be much the same at the seat of the national government at all times. Hon. Silas Wright, once governor and senator from the state of New York, and one of the most unselfish and patriotic statesmen of that long list of eminent and able men furnished the country by that state, wrote as early as 1847 that "no one familiar with the affairs of our government can have failed to notice how large a proportion of our statesmen appear never to have read the Constitution of the United States with a careful reference to its precise language and exact provisions, but rather, as occasion presents, seem to exercise their ingenuity, unfortunately too often powerful and powerfully exerted, to stretch both to the limit of what they, at the moment, consider expedient. A reference to a careful, perfect, and full analysis of that instrument, and of the grants of power really found therein, cannot fail to exert a strong and salutary influence upon such minds."

One gentleman is reported to have said recently in a public address: "My agency in procuring the passage of the national bank act was the greatest mistake of my life. That bill built up a monopoly that affects every interest in the land." And there can be no doubt in the minds of every candid, unprejudiced person, as to that bill with its twin offspring, the demonetizing of silver and canceling of the national greenbacks, being the direct cause of more than a million of laborers at this time being in enforced idleness; active, intelligent, industrious, and skilful

workmen, and that, too, in a land of inexhaustible resources, in fact, of being the direct cause of all the financial evils from which the country is now suffering.

And what is the remedy? Common sense would dictate that we undo quickly that which has been wrongly done, before idleness, poverty, licentiousness, and the soul-blighting curse of avarice shall dissolve all the ties that bind men together in a patriotic devotion to the maintenance of their common liberties. We should not forget that self-government is yet an experiment in the world. One hundred years in the life of a nation is a short period of time. Rapid growth carries with it elements of weakness, which common prudence dictates should not be disregarded. Keep within a strict construction of the Constitution of the United States and all will be well for all time.

JAMES S. FISHER.

SHOULD CHURCH PROPERTY BE TAXED?

BY REV. WILLIAM H. LAIRD.

PICKING up a back number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS, I find therein an article on this subject by James E. Larmer, Jr., in which he strongly favors taxation. To me the writer appears to have a very imperfect view of the subject, not only from the religious, but from a civil standpoint also.

To a Christian, indeed to any one who believes in a God, though he be not pious, the taxation of church property must always bear the aspect of a subject taxing his sovereign; a creature, his creator; a beneficiary, his benefactor. But we will not press the religious side of the question, albeit that side is legitimate, and also strong and conclusive, if there is a God "whose we are and whom we ought to serve."

Taxation is urged on the ground that churches are for the private benefit of the congregations building them. This is only partly true. We justly recognize that the congregations have a first claim on the use of the building to this extent, viz., the right not to be crowded out by outsiders who contributed nothing to the erection of the building, and bear little or no share of the running expenses. This right preserved, the buildings are for the use of the public, who are not only welcome, but invited to use them.

Nor, again, is it altogether correct to view churches as the property or assets of the congregations. It is true that the congregations exercise ownership and the right of ordering and disposing of them. But this arises partly from the exigency that every institution must be managed, and partly is forced on them by (very proper) requirements of civil law aiming at good order and the protection of rights. Still the buildings are not congregational assets, properly speaking. They are in intention, and to an extent legally, God's. They were not built by stock subscriptions, whereby the contributors have pecuniary claims on

the property to the amount of their contributions ; but by donations, pure and simple. If a building should be sold, the congregation may not distribute the proceeds among themselves ; such proceeds must otherwise be applied to religious uses. Should a congregation undertake to pocket such money, not only would the Christian sense of the community convict them of sacrilegious theft, but, I apprehend, any court on application would issue an injunction against such pocketing. It would recognize that the contributions which erected the church, having been given outright and without reservation for a religious purpose, cannot be diverted. Strictly, then, churches are not to be classed as personal wealth.

Another difference between church property, with rare exceptions, and other property is that it yields no revenue for individual benefit. Whatever revenue accrues is not acquisition from others, as that of a business man, but is contributed by the members out of their own pockets, and adds nothing to their individual wealth, but rather takes from it. Any surplus over their current expenses is not applied to their personal benefit in any way, but to doing good to others. This remark applies even to church property which brings income by rental, of which a little is to be found here and there. The income goes to benevolent purposes.

It is evident that church property bears to its owners (so called) no such analogous relation with personal or corporate property as to place it on the same footing throughout with respect to taxation.

But we turn to more positive arguments. It is, I believe, accepted that where, by exemption from taxation, an industry, for example, may be established and fostered from which the public will derive more than an equivalent for the taxes it foregoes, such exemption is justifiable. This even in reference to property whose owners get the whole benefit of the unlaidd taxes. The object of the exemption is even held to justify making an exception to the fundamental principle that "every man shall be taxed according to his actual worth in real and personal property."

Still more strongly may the church rest her claim for exemption on this ground, because in her case there is made no discrimination between individuals; the benefits of exemption accruing not to the members of the church, but to the public objects to which the church is dedicated.

That the community and state are fully compensated by the church—compensated a hundred fold—is not to be questioned. Whatever contempt one may entertain for religion in its supernatural aspect, he cannot deny this—that its rules of life are good, preëminently underlying the public weal, and that the church is a power in enforcing those rules on the consciences of men. Making most ample allowance for her failures to influence, it must still be confessed that, but for her, morals would be much worse than they are. And it should be borne in mind that her influence does not terminate with those whom she directly reaches with her ministries, but extends, more or less, to the whole community. The standard of morals which she strenuously maintains (and of the maintenance of which in a community she is the backbone) affects the whole body politic appreciably.

Undoubtedly, through her public peace and security are largely promoted and crime lessened, to the saving to the community, many times over, the amount of the exempted taxes; not to mention the saving from demoralization which the occurrence of crime inevitably tends to work. Thomas Jefferson recognized her political value in the saying: "The support of religion is a cheap way of maintaining a standing army." It preserves order at less cost, and a far better kind of order—that of principle, not of fear.

But the church does far more to *reduce the public taxes*. Through her hospitals, orphanages, homes for incurables and aged, supported by the voluntary contributions of her members, she lifts a great care and charge off the shoulders of the community, and far more than returns to it dollar for dollar, while also more effectively doing the works of mercy which the body politic ever does with a hard heart and grudging hand. Indeed, the body politic gets its *quid pro quo*, and would do well to sub-

sidize the church rather than have her cease to exist. As to this class of church property, we may ask, would one desire to tax these benevolences? to say nothing of them as tax-saving institutions. Monstrous to talk of taxing the exercise of humanity!

In fine, when we regard the *animus* of the church and the beneficent offices she performs for the state—how largely she means all and devotes all for the public good, her property more closely corresponds to public property, schools, courthouses, and such like, which no one thinks of taxing, than it does to private property.

If no question of sentiment were involved, the taxation of church property should still be negatived as a purely state question. Don't rob of her corn the goose that lays you golden eggs. Again, it is immoral, being exacting in a quarter whence you are receiving generous benefactions.

WILLIAM H. LAIRD

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP FUNCTIONS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS.— ACTIVITIES.

Chase Mellen, of Club F, New York City, in a pamphlet on the subject, defines these as follows:

- (1) To create a healthy civic pride in the hearts of our fellow-citizens.
- (2) To keep this aroused spirit alive.
- (3) To aid in selecting public officials on the ground of merit and fitness.
- (4) To divorce politics and the city's business.
- (5) To raise a standard of municipal government which will serve as a model for other cities.
- (6) To see to it that the city's business shall be managed in the interest of all the citizens, regardless of party or faction, and with the same economy and efficiency as those with which any private enterprise is managed.
- (7) To be vigilant and alert in seeing that the laws for the government of the city and the administration of its affairs shall be faithfully executed.

GOOD GOVERNMENT.—The Executive Committee of Good Government Club O, in the XIVth Assembly District, New York, is working on the following lines:

1. That active labor must be accomplished between elections if reform is to be permanent.
2. That reformers should take a kindergarten lesson in municipal duties before they instruct others.
3. That citizens of this Assembly District should acquire rudimentary knowledge of the portion of the town in which they live, before attempting more ambitious duties, embracing the whole city.
4. That this knowledge should embrace all city departments, but that the "housekeeping," or rather street-cleaning, of the district should be first attended to.

By dividing the Assembly District into sections, election districts into blocks, and putting each block in charge of one citizen living in the block, and then having him or her report upward, through assistant inspectors, inspectors, section leaders, and chairman of the Executive Committee, the last named making a weekly report to various city de-

partments, or "quick report" when especially needed, the total work will be divided among many, and the reports will be condensed and revised before reaching the municipal authorities. This is urged to be a more direct way of obtaining immediate results than by giving subjects to various city organizations, whose work is spread over large territory. If each Assembly District should carry out this system through its Good Government Clubs, the president of each club would be in touch with a central organization, such as the City Club, or the Confederate Good Government Clubs, and these two organizations, from the reports received from the various Assembly Districts, could intelligently report upon the general matters of the city government. In other words, each Assembly District would be watching everything in its district, after the manner of a town-meeting, and each of the districts would be vying with one another, so as to make its locality the best in the city.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

HONEST CITY GOVERNMENT.—Nothing could better illustrate the fundamental soundness of our American body politic than this general awakening in favor of honest city governments and progressive social work in our population centers. Our city governments have been our most conspicuous failure and the most dangerous of all the evils which threatened our national life. Having finally awakened to a full appreciation of the facts as they were, the American people are bestirring themselves to make the cities wholesome and good. They will not accomplish everything by virtue of a wave of enthusiasm, but the new movement will not prove itself a passing whim. It is based upon sound principles, and it is supported by the deep determination of thousands of men and women who are capable of persistence through long years. Theirs is a determination to bring our American cities up to the standard of the best American ideals, and also up to the standard of the best foreign achievements in municipal organization and improvement.

The organized reaction of good citizenship against municipal misrule, and the various positive movements for improved physical, social, and moral conditions in our American towns and cities, have together constituted the most significant and hopeful feature of our national life during the past season. Municipal reform agitation has taken powerful hold of almost every considerable community in the entire land. Nor can it be said that most of these local activities are due chiefly to the imitative instinct. In name, in form, and in the actual circumstances of organization many of these movements reveal their indebtedness to certain common sources of experiment or propaganda. But nearly all of them are essentially indigenous. Any attempt to bind them together as belonging to a uniform and centrally organized movement for social progress, would be wholly futile. Each is in position to profit to the utmost by all the information that may be derived from the experience of other cities. But it is evident enough that each must rest squarely and independently upon its own local basis, and must shape itself in its own way to the work it finds most necessary.—*Review of Reviews*.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. **TRAFFIC IN VOTES.**—The real political leaders on both sides hate and deplore the accursed traffic in votes, though their henchmen are guilty of using what they claim as the only means that can now be used effectively in the infected districts. There is some reason to believe that the day is near at hand when both sides will join hands in a powerful attempt to stamp out this horrible disease, as the sanitary authorities would locate, isolate, and stamp out the cholera infection. Our investigators and reformers are rendering a good service in their attempts to make a scientific and statistical study of venal voting, and the attention of the country cannot be focused too sharply upon these dangers and abuses.—*Review of Reviews.*

OUR PRESENT PROBLEM CLUB is the title of an interesting department in which *The Young Men's Era*, western organ of the Y. M. C. A., presents much excellent matter weekly relating to affairs of civics. The fact that the department is conducted by Prof. Graham Taylor is indicative of its value.

KENTUCKY GOVERNORSHIP CONFLICT.—*The Ellis County (Ky.) Mirror* in a forcible editorial attributes the lamentable outcome of the last election chiefly to the state poll-tax law. This measure, which has not been enforced with any attempt at regularity and justice, is said to be chiefly employed by Kentucky politicians in controlling votes. The editor of the *Mirror* declares that whether tried by ancient or modern systems the poll-tax suffrage idea is a failure, as it ought to be, and has no place in any progressive community.

A TEMPERANCE PROGRAM.—Dr. Lyman Abbott (A. I. C.) in a late number of *The Outlook* says:

"We desire to submit to our readers for their consideration, suggestion, approval, or amendment, a temperance program, our object being to afford at least a basis for a discussion which may lead at last to some agreement among all temperance workers.

"1. Abolish the present excise system. It is a failure. It does not materially limit the number of saloons nor improve their character. It promotes favoritism and vicious forms of political influence, and it is subject to the criticism that it appears to a portion of the community to give a public approval to the liquor traffic. The abolition of the license system will leave men as free to sell liquor as they are now to sell groceries, subject to the restrictions hereinafter mentioned.

"2. No man to be permitted to open a liquor saloon in any community without the permission in writing first obtained of the real estate owners of the property immediately abutting the premises. This consent in writing to be filed with, say, the county clerk.

"3. Liquor-selling to minors, to habitual drunkards, and, perhaps, between the hours of twelve at night and five in the morning, prohibited, as now.

"4. A tax levied on the real estate of every place in which liquor is sold—saloon, hotel, or club; perhaps such tax to be proportioned to the assessed value of the real estate actually occupied by the room used for the sale and consumption of the liquor. Such tax would be a lien on the real estate and would be collected from the landowner, not from the liquor-seller.

"5. Local option given to every community—city, town, or perhaps ward or election district—to prohibit the sale of liquor altogether, or to prohibit it on Sundays. Special provision would have to be made for the voting on local option, which ought not to be held oftener than once in three, or perhaps once in five, years. If any community is to be permitted to sanction the sale of liquor on Sunday, it ought also be permitted to prohibit the sale of liquor altogether.

"We offer this platform for discussion, hold ourselves ready to adopt amendments to it, and shall be glad of brief response from interested readers."

.
MONEY MADNESS.—We must find a cure for the money madness, the worship of wealth, which is the besetting sin of this nation at present, if we are to preserve intact the noble institutions of liberty and justice bequeathed to us by the founders of the republic. Men who rob the government, wreck railroads, and monopolize the necessities of life for their own selfish ends, regardless alike of morality and justice, are worse, rather than better, than the petty offenders who fill our prisons, and when public opinion takes this view the beginning of the end of the worship of wealth for its own sake will be at hand.—*Denver Republican*.

.
PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF STREET RAILWAYS.—The New York legislature, by the significant majority of seventy votes, has passed a bill which provides for submitting to popular vote the question of municipal ownership of street railways in New York City, Brooklyn, and Buffalo; and also a resolution providing for an official investigation as to the cost and capitalization of the street railways in the state. It is to be hoped that by the concurrence of the senate, the latter inquiry will be made. No reputable and honest street railway corporation will be injured by it, and those not of this class cannot too soon have the light of a judicial inquiry turned upon them.

.
A GOOD USE FOR IDLE ACRES.—New York follows the example set by Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, and arrangements have been made whereby hundreds of unused acres in and about the city are to be turned over for the free use of such of the poor and unemployed as choose to make use of a plot upon which to raise crops. It will be to the benefit of the owners, as well as the needy users, to have the once beautiful, but now barren and untidy fields which have been blighted by the mildew of "speculation," so used as to warm the hearts (too often in need of it)

of those who hold titles to these lands, while filling the mouths of the hungry. Brooklyn, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and all the great cities of the country have wastes within and around them, now neither useful nor pleasant to look upon, which may be made to gladden the hearts of the suffering poor and the eyes of all beholders, while serving also as object lessons to those who need fresh proof of the present existence of any large degree of the "good-will" of which angels sang so long ago.

. . . .

MURDER STATISTICS.—In 1893 there were 6,615 murders committed within the borders of our Union. In 1894 the number rose to 9,800, an increase of 3,185 murders in one year.

Instantly that statement will be seized upon as a proof that the death penalty does not deter murderers. But is it quite clear that the death penalty has no deterrent virtue in it, when the fact is that it is not an actual, veritable, enforceable penalty?

The death penalty has, in fact, been all but abolished in practice in the United States. For many years past the number of executions has been so small relatively to the number of murders that capital punishment for homicide may be said to have been a theory, but not a condition.

In proof of this statement, which may be regarded by some readers with doubt, look at the relative figures for 1894.

Number of murders reported, 9,800; number of legal executions, 132.

There is to-day only one chance in seventy-five that any man who commits murder in the United States will pay his own life as the forfeit.

This proportion has been about the average thing for several years past. The question is not, therefore, whether the death penalty deters men from killing, but whether the nearer and nearer approach in practice to the abolition of it is resulting in a decrease or an increase of homicide.

The answer given to that question by the *Chicago Tribune's* carefully collected statistics is as follows: In 1891 the number of murders recorded was 5,906; in 1892 it rose to 6,791; in 1893 it stood about stationary at 6,791, and in 1894 it advanced to the terrible total of 9,800. In four years, therefore, our national murder crop has increased 80 per cent. It is increasing at the rate of 100 per cent, or doubling every five years.

Whatever may be said about the efficacy or uselessness of the death penalty as a deterrent if it is actually enforced, it is very clear that, as a dead letter, or nearly so, on the statute book, it multiplies the number of murderers at an appalling rate.

Far better abolish it and put life imprisonment in its place. The conviction of murderers would be less difficult to secure, and there is no doubt that their life sentences, when passed, would be far more impartially and strictly enforced.

All authorities on criminal science are agreed that whatever deterrent or preventive value there is in any penalty is almost entirely lost as soon as its enforcement becomes lax, uncertain, and easy of evasion.

The criminal who said "Hanging is played out in this country" was hanged. But he only anticipated events by about twenty years.—*New York Recorder*.

NEW YORK'S CROWDED TENEMENTS.—The report of the Tenement House Commission states a fact not generally known, namely, that New York below the Harlem has a greater density of population than any other city in the world. The average is 143.2 to the acre. Paris is second, with 125.2, and Berlin third, with 113.6. The densest small area in Europe is a district in Prague, which has a population of 485.4 to the acre, whereas the Tenth Ward in New York has over 628 persons to the acre, with five times the acreage of Prague's thickly populated district. The commission finds that the small, model tenement houses in and near the city pay a good profit on the investment, which is an encouraging fact. It shows that capital, if it is so disposed, can do something to improve the condition of the poor and make money at it.

INCOME TAX.—The inconclusive conclusion of the Supreme Court in the matter of the income tax is summarized briefly in *The Outlook* with comments as follows :

"(1) The entire court is agreed that the clause taxing incomes from state and municipal bonds is unconstitutional. (2) Six of the eight judges—Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Field, Gray, Brewer, Brown, and Shiras—hold that those portions of the act which tax incomes from real estate are likewise unconstitutional. From this conclusion Justices Harlan and White dissent. (3) Four of the judges—unofficially reported to be Chief Justice Fuller, Justices Field, Gray, and Brewer—hold that the entire act is unconstitutional. The conclusion (1) which the court reaches unanimously was generally anticipated even by those constitutional lawyers who stoutly upheld the income tax as a whole. The federal courts have uniformly decided that the federal government has no more right to tax the property or instruments of credit of the local governments than the local governments have to tax the property or instruments of credit of the federal government. The question upon which the court is equally divided—whether the entire income tax is a direct tax, and, therefore, unconstitutional unless apportioned among the several states according to population—is not discussed in the opinion handed down by the Chief Justice. The effect of the equal division of the court on this question is that so much of the tax as does not affect incomes from real estate or municipal and state bonds remains in force."

REFORM IN CHICAGO.—The election of George B. Swift to the mayoralty by a majority of 43,000 votes is heralded by many Republican newspapers as a partisan victory. A very little arithmetic and common sense applied to the facts ought to make it evident that here, as in the late overturn in New York, the victory represents an uprising

of intelligent and patriotic citizens of all parties, who have simply used the Republican party machinery as the best available means for the distinction of political machinery and methods no longer tolerable. It is to the credit of the Republican party, and its good fortune, that such use has been made of it. If it wishes to deprive itself of both of these manifest advantages, in New York, Chicago, and wherever else the people of all parties have thus used it, it can do this very easily and speedily by making partisan capital out of results chiefly due to non-partisan votes. It is to be hoped that the new municipal legislature in Chicago will not commit the incomprehensible folly of imitating the Plattite elements in the city and state of New York. No party ever had a grander opportunity to make itself the party of the people than that now open to the Republican party, if it shall have the wisdom to make itself, in disregard of its own worst elements, the party of good citizenship and good government. It is on trial in the grand court of public opinion. What shall the verdict be?

. . . .

PUBLIC AFFAIRS. "AMERICA FOR AMERICANS."—Great Britain, after a vain attempt at control of the destinies of Hawaii and of the commerce of the Pacific by means of a perpetual lease of Necker Island, a lease to the granting of which President Cleveland and Secretary Gresham were fatuously favorable, seems to have gone to work with intent to secure such a footing in Nicaragua and Venezuela as may make her dominant over the projected ship canal, and over the trade of the great Orinoco River. Very oddly, just at the time of England's energetic action on the Continent, Spain makes such an unfriendly demonstration in the Caribbean Sea as to make it likely that the Atlantic squadron of the United States will be withdrawn from the coasts of the Central American republics. If the concurrent actions have been planned by the two European powers, they cannot but be regarded as threatening the existence of the Monroe doctrine as a political factor; if they be but accidentally simultaneous, they are suggestive of future danger. Whether accidental or premeditated, recent events demonstrate the necessity of a renewed and extended assertion of the great doctrine of America for the Americans, and of the construction and maintenance of a navy adequate for the enforcement of the doctrine.

The conquest or forcible possession by any European power of a foot of soil upon any part of the American continent or on any of its islands that have an independent and specially a republican form of government, should be regarded as an act of war upon the United States. No efforts should be spared to unite all the republics of Northern, Central, and Southern America, and of the contiguous islands, in an offensive and defensive league for the maintenance of Pan-American independence.

Just now there is need of a revival of Americanism. Great Britain ought to be made to know that the United States will not consent to

her obtaining freehold, leasehold, or protectorate in Venezuela or Nicaragua.—*The Inter Ocean, Chicago.*

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND has permitted the present Commissioner of Patents to place the administration a second time in a false position. The first instance was in connection with the letting of the lithographic contract in the summer of 1893, when Commissioner Seymour and Josiah Quincy between them succeeded in stirring up a savory mess from the effects of which not only they but their superiors in office will probably always suffer. In spite of this, Mr. Cleveland has just permitted Seymour to turn out, without excuse or explanation, two of the three members of the Board of Examiners-in-Chief, Messrs. Clarke and Bates.—*Good Government.*

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS. EXTENSION DEPARTMENT A. I. C.—The University Extension *Bulletin* gives generous space to an article on this department furnished by its director, Mr. H. D. Slater. We quote as follows:

"For the past nine years the American Institute of Civics has been working through the diverse channels of its various departments toward the realization of its motto, 'Good Government Through Good Citizenship.' The necessity for the instruction of young Americans in the specific duties of citizenship, coupled with the conspicuous absence of such study from the curriculums of our public and private schools, has led to the establishment of educational departments on school work in general. Through these much has been accomplished in creating a demand for such courses and then supplying them. The Departments of the Press and of Legislation have also done efficient work in their several lines, but it is especially to the Extension Department that we shall refer.

"Surely it is time that the 'powers that work for good' should learn a lesson from those working for evil, and take to themselves the strength and power that come with organization. Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt, in a recent address before the students of Harvard College, stated that decent politics were practicable in this country, and also that organized corruption had good chances of winning against unorganized decency. The logical conclusion to be drawn from these two premises is evident. If we are to accomplish anything definite, or make more than a ripple in political life, we must have organized, unified action, not a club here and there, one in Florida, one in Maine, and one in California, but a network of such clubs united by means of a strong central organization. It is with this idea that the clubs are formed under the Extension Department, which seeks to give to all the clubs, through personal correspondence and through the Institute page in *Public Opinion*, the benefit of the experience of each, and strives to keep the ultimate aim, 'Good Government Through Good Citizenship,' with the virtues necessary for its accomplishment—integrity, intelli-

gence, and patriotism—constantly before the minds of the individual members.

“Letters addressed to the department desiring information in regard to methods of work, organization, and references for subjects under consideration, outlines and subjects for debate, etc., are promptly answered. The Institute page in *Public Opinion* affords a ready means of communication between the clubs, and it contains each week, besides the club notes, an article of about one thousand words bearing on the work of the clubs. The readiness with which the busiest and most cultured of our public men have consented to devote a part of their time to the dissemination of knowledge in this way, has been one of the most encouraging features of the work.

“The mention of a few of the representative clubs will show the adaptability of the plan and the broad need felt for such work. In the National Normal University at Lebanon, O., one of the first clubs organized predicts a membership of one hundred before the close of the year; at New Rochelle, N. Y., is a club composed of young men belonging to the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip. At Washington, D. C., clubs have been formed in the Business High School and private seminaries; one club, now in its second winter, formed chiefly of the young women graduates of Columbian University, grows more enthusiastic with each meeting. Professor J. M. Consley has organized a club at the Mississippi Central Normal School. At Chicago Heights a large club composed of business men and representative citizens was formed, a committee on local affairs was appointed, the mayor acting as chairman of the Committee on Political and Congressional News. The local paper devoted several columns to an account of the proceedings of the club and the plan reached an almost ideal development. From the Illinois Central College, Emory College, Oxford, Ga., Morgan Park Academy of Chicago, the Legion of Loyal Women of American Liberty, and from citizens at large come sympathetic letters and promises of speedy organization and participation in the work.

“The plan is really a modified, specific form of the University Extension movement and can work in perfect harmony with it. In speaking of the plan, President E. Benjamin Andrews, of Brown University, wrote: ‘I think that current topics would form an excellent basis for work in University Extension.’ W. B. Powell, superintendent of public schools at Washington, D. C., says that ‘it is a new, practical plan of University Extension; under good leadership it must succeed in any community.’

“We cordially invite correspondence on the subject, and upon application to the Extension Department, Box 348, Washington, D. C., with inclosure of ten cents, we will send a twenty-page book containing details for carrying out the plan and valuable suggestions for methods of work. There is no pecuniary profit to any one connected with the Institute, the remittance being asked simply to apply toward the cost. The details of enrollment have been made extremely simple and the

dues reduced to a minimum, in order that there may not be the slightest check upon organization. To quote again from Commissioner Roosevelt, we extend a cordial invitation to all who desire 'Good Government Through Good Citizenship' to stand shoulder to shoulder with us and make the blows against evil count."

ACTIVITIES OF AMOS G. WARNER, Associate Member Faculty
A. I. C. A. I. C., in Stanford University, contributes to the
MEMBERS. A. I. C. department in *Public Opinion* (Vol. 18, No.
13) a paper on "Consciences and Corporations,"
which is exceptionally just, lucid, and convincing.

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON has the honor of succeeding to the editorial chair so long filled with distinguished ability by the late George William Curtis. In this connection the *New York Times* says: "As a journalist, Mr. Nelson is thoroughly equipped. He is a New Yorker by birth, and is now in his forty-ninth year. A graduate of Williams and Columbia Colleges, he studied law, taking his degree in 1869. In 1878 he went to Washington and was the correspondent of *The Boston Post* up to the fall of 1888. Going to Boston, Mr. Nelson was for some time the principal editorial writer of *The Boston Post*. Coming to New York he took charge of *The Star*. On leaving *The Star* Mr. Nelson wrote for *Harper's Magazine* and for *Harper's Weekly*, and at the same time for the *Atlantic Monthly*. In 1889 he accepted the post of editorial writer on *The New York World*. This position he has held up to his acceptance of the editorship of *Harper's Weekly*."

LA SALLE A. MAYNARD, New York, one of the editors of *Christian Work* and of the A. I. C. lecture corps, has prepared an illustrated lecture on "Good Citizenship," which has been specially arranged for the purpose of giving useful and practical information upon the subjects of the rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizens, and of helping toward the development of a truer and higher type of patriotism.

VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—Recent returns to the
AFFAIRS. Bureau of Education show that there are 14,165,182 children in the elementary schools of the United States; 402,089 more are pursuing the secondary course of study in public high schools, private academies, and preparatory schools, and 147,662 are taking courses of higher education in colleges, technical and professional schools. In other words, one person in five of the entire population of the United States is enrolled in some elementary school. There are also in the United States four thousand public libraries, with more than 1,000 volumes each. The total expenditure in the United States for common schools last year was \$163,359,016. The largest expenditure was in the state of New York, which expended \$12,111,684.

Indiana's figures are \$6,069,655. The Northern States pay a great deal more for education than the Southern States. For example, Texas has 428,314 pupils enrolled and spends \$3,925,000 a year for their education, while Iowa has 513,614 enrolled pupils and spends \$7,551,483. Tennessee has 483,861 pupils enrolled and pays \$1,647,799, while Michigan, with 455,598 pupils, spends \$6,062,657. North Carolina, with 356,958 children in her schools, pays \$790,320, while Kansas, with 382,225 pupils, pays \$4,346,667. South Carolina, with 223,150 children, pays \$483,189, while California, with 238,109 children, pays \$5,434,216.—*Indiana Baptist*.

.

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING.—A new law compelling school attendance in New York went into effect January 1. Thousands of children, particularly those of foreign parents, have long been roaming the streets or engaged in petty peddling, running of errands, or begging in school hours, despite the old half-forgotten laws to the contrary. The new law is strict, has a special corps of officers for its enforcement, and has these conditions to help those officers: the school district failing to enforce the law shall be deprived of one half of its school money appropriation; and parents or guardians failing to send their children to school shall be fined five cents for each failure—a small sum, but enough to be felt by most foreign parents with their proverbially large households. Habitual truants are liable to arrest without warrant and sent by the magistrate to an orphan asylum, a truant school, or other suitable place where they can be compelled to attend school. The working of the law will be carefully watched.

.

A NOVEL SUNDAY-SCHOOL CLASS.—Wm. C. Sprague's class, at Woodward Avenue Baptist Church, Detroit, Mich., is worthy of a description in the "Outlook" department. This class of 750 members is composed of about 650 working girls of this city, the larger number being domestics, and of about 100 young men, who are engaged as private help, and who can not attend services during regular hours. This intelligent-looking body meets every Sunday afternoon at 3:30, in a room furnished properly for their entertainment and instruction. Their leader is himself a leader in music, and was much sought after as an organizer before he began work in this particular field some four years ago. This class is certainly doing a wonderful work, and is now recognized throughout the country as the second or third class in size in the United States.

They have a library of their own, to which all members have free and equal access, and in their entertainments at stated periods they are each made to feel they are units; but the instruction and pleasure thus derived is not the most meritorious part of their work, nor that which commends itself most largely and forcibly to those who believe that much lasting good is accomplished by coöperation of this kind. This last winter, out of their receipts obtained in various ways, original

among themselves, they made eighty persons—fifteen families—of thirty adults and fifty children comfortable, where they would otherwise have suffered for the necessities of life, in cases where the husband and father was out of work and money.

Their Hospital Association has 125 members, who pay twenty-five cents per month into this fund, which now holds a balance of between \$150 and \$200. Each member of this association, in good standing, when sick is cared for by the best hospital in the state of Michigan, with medical attendance and all that the most fortunate can have.

There are "Anchor Classes," whose duty it is to look after the physical and spiritual welfare of homeless girls coming into the city, and this feature alone has done incalculable good.

There is also an employment bureau that does much toward keeping all the members in good situations. The class is strictly non-sectarian and non-denominational—here meet Catholics and Protestants, and all are working together for good. Other cities might well and speedily organize on this plan which, having proved such a success here, teaches that much has heretofore been neglected through oversight in not appreciating that "the poor we always have with us"—(in spiritual welfare).

.

FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT.—The Good Government Club of Alameda, Cal., is moving in the right direction. There are enrolled almost 1,700 voters—believers in better government, by better officers, selected in a better way, and who will soon submit their nominees to the suffrage of the people. Nominations for the various offices were made in open meeting of the club, each name being publicly indorsed by ten residents of the city, each indorser being required to state publicly his full name and residence. Two weeks subsequent an election, confined to club members, was held under the Australian ballot system, to choose from the nominees (club) those who were to be the candidates for election as city officers. The names of the successful persons are now before the people of the city for election about the middle of April. Much care has been taken in all the work, and the club thinks it has selected the best available men for the positions to be filled. The referendum method of legislation by the board of city trustees has been adopted and will soon be given a practical test of voting a light tax for public library purposes. The people are awakening to the importance of better government in all its branches and hope soon to see California standing well to the front in the matter of good government.

.

AMERICAN SENSE OF HONOR.—The London correspondent of the New York *Sun* quotes an eminent English banker as saying:

"The failure to punish the criminal mismanagement of railroad and other great corporations in America is having a disastrous effect upon the English view of the American sense of honor. There can be no revival of English interest in this class of investments until at least

some measure is adopted in the United States for the punishment of railway thieves. An Englishman sees public conscience practically indifferent to the matter, and naturally concludes that the lack of commercial honor has become a national characteristic. . . . The average Englishman makes no distinction between New York and Washington, and now ranks the national senators in the same category with the group of boodlers in some of the New York City departments. This belief will probably remain fixed in the English mind until there is a great national revolt against corruption."

. . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY **MUNICIPAL REFORM MOVEMENTS** is a book by **OF CIVICS.** Wm. H. Tolman, Ph.D., of which the publishers, F. H. Revell Co., New York, say :

"The imperative call for some work that shall at once present an outline of the method of organization, the plan of execution, and the results of trial and experience, not only in connection with the most successful organization in New York City, the City Vigilance League, of which the author is secretary, but including similar societies in other municipalities, large and small, renders unnecessary an apology for the issuance of this volume. The opportunities presented to the author for studying the various methods of different organizations, are such as to especially fit him for the preparation of such a work."

The volume presents information concerning various reform movements in New York City, Albany, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and other cities. Cloth, 220 pp., \$1.00.

. . . .

A TALE OF SPOILS, OR SENATOR INTRIGUE AND INSPECTOR MOSEBY, represents a very successful effort by Frances Campbell Sparhawk (A. I. C.) to make manifest the utter unrighteousness of the spoils system as applied in Indian affairs. Little Wasu and her brave Indian lover, with the many other braves whose ambitions to walk in the pathway of civilization are cruelly thwarted by the removal of a good agent to make room for a spoils man, present an appeal against an iniquitous system, which ought to be convincing because of its touching realism and its foundation in fact. Miss Sparhawk has already achieved notable success as a writer of stories, which are not only interesting but intended to fulfil useful missions, and this one will be read with interest, and unlike multitudes of books of fiction, with benefit also. President Gates of Amherst College fitly described it as a "working book," and it will certainly do a good work, wherever it is read, in arousing the public sentiment necessary to the right conduct of Indian affairs. Readers of this periodical can obtain a copy (handsomely bound in cloth) by sending one dollar to the author, Newton Centre, Mass., or to the Red Letter Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.

. . . .

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION, by Wm. H. Shaw ; "Pennsylvania.

Election Laws," by Albert H. Bird, and "Employment for the Insane," are the titles of brief but useful articles in *Citizen* (Philadelphia) for April. "Consciences and Corporations," by Amos G. Warner (A. I. C.), Stanford University; "Civil Service Reform, Value of," by Theodore Roosevelt; "The Place of Literature in Reform," by Raymond M. Alden, Columbian University, Washington, D. C., are contributions to Extension Department American Institute of Civics, in *Public Opinion*, March 28, April 4, and April 11. "Past and Coming Congresses," "High Wages in the United States," "Civic Helps for Civic Life," the latter by Rev. M. M. G. Dana (A. I. C.), in *Social Economics*, April. "Farms, Homes, and Mortgages," "Arbitration Worth Trying," in *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, April. "Character Forming Schools," Fred De Land (A. I. C.), in *Electrical Engineering*, April. "Moral Forces in Dealing With the Labor Question," J. S. MacKenzie, in *International Journal of Ethics*, April. "The Republic and the Debs Insurrection," Z. Swift Holbrook (A. I. C.); "The Social Ethics of Jesus," John S. Sewall; "Strikes," in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April.

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES, No. 1.



HON. JOSEPH C. SIBLEY.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS.

JUNE, 1895.

PROGRESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM.

BY PROF. JOHN R. COMMONS, OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

RECENTLY I spent two days visiting the Amana Society of Communists in Iowa. This is the only communistic society out of the thirty or forty established in America forty years ago that has increased both in numbers and wealth.

The Amana colony is composed of members of a German religious sect whose beliefs are almost identical with those of the Friend Quakers. They came to this country as individuals in the '30's and '40's, and settled near Buffalo. Some were prosperous and a large number were very poor. It seemed to them that being brothers in Christ they should be brothers to each other; that for the poor to be the hired hands of the well-to-do was not a brotherly relation. And so, like the primitive Christians, they all cast their private goods and lands into a common fund, "and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common."

Thus organized, they needed more room than the expanding suburbs of Buffalo permitted, and by the year 1862 the entire colony had sold its Buffalo property and purchased 25,000 acres in the valley of the Iowa River. There they are incorporated under a special charter of the legislature of Iowa. They constitute an entire civil township wherein they elect all township officers. They also have their own charter organization. Annually six trustees and a president are elected, who are the sole rulers. These officers assign to each individual the work which he shall do. There is but one educated profession—medicine.

No lawyers are needed, and every one is a minister according to the principle of "true inspiration."

There are 1,700 communists, living in six villages. The family life is that of the German peasantry. Each family has its own home, though not owning the edifice. The only private property in the entire society is the food and clothing and books and household furnishing which are actually being used and consumed by the individuals and families. All productive property is common. The industries are agriculture and manufactures. They have the best of farm machinery, a great canal for water power, the work of seven years' common industry. Their woolen goods, grain, and flour products, and cotton prints have a reputation for strength and purity over several states.

No one is overworked. Eight hours is the work-day for farm and shop. Every child is educated in English and German. The aged and the young have all their wants provided—there is no rounding up in the poorhouse after a life of work. Their head men get no more than their laborers. All get their living, but all are provided with the outfit needed to make them useful. The physicians and surgeons are equipped with the best instruments and have the finest horses.

No money is needed. A common store in each village supplies every product. Every brother has a book credit at the store. He gets there what he wants and needs, the goods being simply charged against him. Accounts are kept in terms of money but no money changes hands. An allowance of \$75.00 a year is made to each member for luxuries.

The community is almost self-supporting. Sugar, of course, they purchase from the sugar trust in carload lots. Cotton goods they purchase; they subscribe for the daily papers, although they have a printing press and a publishing house of their own. In this "foreign trade," where they must depend on outsiders, they act through their treasurer, a man of the keenest business sagacity and ability.

It is an idyllic life these quaint people live. Integrity, virtue, friendship, religion, are here found in poetic simplicity. No paupers, no criminals, no sweaters, no overworked, no able-

bodied idlers, no illiterates, no millionaires, no spendthrifts, no heiresses.

If I understand the present-day socialists they would make the nation and the world one universal Amana Society.

Now, I have no fault to find with the genuine socialists nor the Amana communists, if they enjoy their kind of life. In the words of Abraham Lincoln, "if a man likes that sort of a thing that would be the sort of a thing he would like." But to me, and, I guess, to most Americans, it is too humdrum, too slow, too ancient. The Amana colonist never does anything on his own motion. He cannot travel—none of them went to the World's Fair. If one should travel, all must travel, and they could not afford it. Sometimes a young man grows tired and wants to see the world. Every one is at liberty to leave, and, indeed, receives \$125 spending money on departure. But he soon comes back, as one of the old men told me, "with a hat and a pair of pants." His training has made him helpless in the outside world. He never handled money. He never looked out for himself. Yet there are exceptions to this, and some ex-Amanites are now well-to-do merchants in certain Iowa cities.

But apart from our prejudices and wishes, would the Amana scheme work for a nation of 65,000,000 people? Probably not.

What would be done with the criminals and shirks? Amana expels them. I think there are four factors, including the German language, which have made Amana the success it is. This is one. The rest of the United States must take care of their incorrigibles and their do-nothings.

But if the entire country should start out to secure for every able-bodied man a living we should have to build prisons and workhouses not only for criminals and drunkards, but also for sluggards. And when it came to be seen that the most obvious motive to work was that of governmental compulsion, there would spring up a sentimental regard for the culprit, or a political appeal for his vote, which would render the government either a wreck or a tyranny.

Two other things are necessary for the success of communism if one may judge from the success of Amana and the failures of

its prototypes. Communism must be based on religion; and the dirty work must be done by hired hands.

Religion brings a fund of self-sacrifice. The prayer-meetings at Amana twice every day are stimulants to industry and mutual coöperation. But religion is not enough. I asked one of the men who was working in the vats of the dyeing establishment whether he was a member of the community. "No," said he, "the brothers want to work in the offices." This is the rock where they all split. Amana employs large numbers of hired men and women. The wage system as we have it is an automatic compulsory labor system. If a man will not work he and his family starve. This may not be the highest motive to work but it is a necessary supplement to other motives. Consequently the Amana community, based on the idea that the wage system is inconsistent with brotherhood, survives only by depending upon that wage system for its hardest kinds of work.

Socialism as a universal or national project is out of the question. Even should the Amana communism become national, one fourth to one third of the work would still be done by wage-workers, who have no voice in the ownership of the property, and that is not socialism.

But there are certain projects before the modern world which are called socialistic. How are we to determine whether they are so or not, and to judge them upon their ultimate merits?

In the first place, you and I are at liberty to call anything socialistic which we please. The word has as yet no accepted meaning. And especially if we want to frighten out certain timid reformers let us dub them socialists, and possibly they will keep still. How then shall we define the word? I should say to make a project socialistic two features are necessary. (1) It must substitute governmental ownership and regulation for private ownership and free competition. (2) It must tend in the long run to stifle the private energy and enterprise of the people.

These two features are necessary. Governmental ownership alone is not socialistic. Such ownership must tend also to make the people helpless and dependent on governmental aid and di-

rection, like the Amana communists. If governmental control serves to stimulate the self-reliant energies of the people, if it opens up new avenues for private enterprise, if it equalizes and widens the opportunity for employment, if it prevents injustice, oppression, and monopoly, if it stimulates a noble ambition, inspires hopefulness, and vouchsafes rewards where they are earned, then government is not socialistic but rather is supplementing the highest individualism.

This kind of governmental aid is necessary. No individual lives to himself however self-reliant. His powers are limited. When government protects his person and property, it leaves him free to cultivate his person and to accumulate property.

Each activity of government must be judged on its own merits. What under the known circumstances are the effects of this or that measure?

On some points all are agreed. Formerly the state and the church were one. Government regulated religion and owned the structures. Or, rather, the church absorbed the state and through it controlled the *opinions* of the people. Heresy was therefore not the indifferent thing it is to-day, but an attack on government and on the vested incomes of the ruling classes. But to-day religious belief is far outside the control of the state. The same is true of the food and clothing we eat and wear. Sumptuary laws are no longer tolerated.

Thus in our beliefs and our enjoyments the state has taken its hands off—the result is a stimulus to individualism, a freedom for the richest and most varied growth of individuality. Herein it is a *lessening* of the state's functions which has been the source of the wonderful outburst of individualism since the Renaissance and the Reformation.

On the other hand, certain new functions of the state have served in an equal degree to foster individualism. We read in the New Testament of the publicans and sinners. The publicans were simply the employees of the private corporations of tax collectors to whom the taxes of Rome were auctioneered. These corporations then collected from the people what they could. Certainly they stifled enterprise. No man dared to accumulate

wealth beyond a pittance. His success was the signal for legalized robbery by private and irresponsible monopolists. When government collects its own taxes through its own responsible officers, equality, justice, and the rewards of industry begin to stimulate private energy and to multiply the wealth of its citizens.

In the Middle Ages the state supported no armies or navies. Private parties—dukes and earls and barons, the Pinkertons of the dark ages—furnished soldiers on contract. Essential inequality was the result, robbery of the working classes, and choking the ambition of industry. We agree that private enterprise is impossible without governmental police and state protection to life and property.

Are free public schools socialistic? In one sense they are. The state enters into competition with private schools. Private enterprise in education is restricted. But in their ultimate tendencies the result is exactly the opposite.

Free schools raise up armies of men and women into the ranks of competitive life when without education they would be crushed below. Competition is increased and intensified rather than stifled. The same is true of compulsory education, free textbooks, and even free meals. By these means children whose poverty would keep them for life below the competitive level are placed above that level where they struggle on equal terms with their wealthier but no better equipped fellow-citizens.

Neither is the higher education of the state university socialistic. It competes with private corporations, indeed, but it does not depress individualism. It increases the number of doctors, lawyers, ministers, professors, politicians, thus intensifies the emulation among these higher classes, breaks down their combines, and so diffuses its benefits throughout society.

This leads me to note the two kinds of competition that may exist. There is, first, a fair, open, and free competition with abundant opportunities for self-employment, and no special privileges and inequalities. This was mainly the situation in America until after the Civil War. Since the war the vacant lands have all been occupied, population has recoiled upon itself,

monopolies have sprung up, and competition has become not the hearty emulation of the first period, but a cut-throat struggle to underbid for access to the opportunities already occupied. Those who suffer are the unorganized wage-working classes and the small farmers, manufacturers, and tradesmen who are crowded into these classes.

The socialists see only this form of competition. They see it making brutes of men and women. They consider the first kind as primitive and now impossible. They would therefore abolish all competition—not only that which is brutish but also the possibility of that which is fair. Consequently they consider all measures whose aim is to soften or equalize the terms of competition as mere palliatives. I refer to four classes of legislation which have assumed prominence but which socialists either treat with indifference or else strongly oppose.

(1) First are the so-called factory acts, limiting the hours of labor, the employment of women and children, enforcing sanitary shops, prohibiting sweating. These are sometimes called socialistic. But their tendency is the opposite. Competition is by no means stopped—the *level of competition* is raised. Children who would be put in factories at an early age are taken out, are put in school, and are transferred in so far from the degrading competition of ignorance and weakness to the fair and free competition of intelligence and ability.

(2) The socialist is not interested in the money question. He says the effort of the American farmer to increase the currency and get higher prices for his products is a hopeless effort. The farmer is simply becoming a wage-earner, and when the transition is complete he will become a socialist. But the American farmer, in my opinion, is the most ultra-conservative of individualists. And when he organizes against contraction of the currency he is organizing for free and fair competition against spoliation.

Our monetary system is worthy of his opposition. In 1890 Jay Gould and certain partners at the time of the Barings failure withdrew from the banks of New York several million dollars in gold and locked it up in the vaults of the trust companies,

"to get it off the Street," as the brokers said. The result was a panic. Banks were compelled to call in their loans. Stocks and bonds, hypothecated as collateral, had to be sold on the Stock Exchange for what they would bring. And Gould emerged from the scramble with a transcontinental railroad in his possession which he had robbed from its owners. As long as it is possible to corner the money market—the very life-blood of modern competitive industry—how can it be said that we have *free* competition?

The same is true of the fall in prices since 1873, and especially since 1880. In the latter year the interest-bearing debt of the United States payable in gold was \$1,700,000,000. Wheat in Indiana was \$1.03 a bushel. It would have required 1,630,000,000 bushels of wheat to pay the debt. In 1894 the debt had fallen to \$635,000,000. Nearly two thirds had been paid off. Yet wheat had fallen to 46 cents and it would have required 1,360,000,000 bushels—only 20 per cent less than in 1880—to have paid the debt. The burden of debt and interest payments for the farmer had more than doubled. Besides the federal debt he has his own mortgages and his taxes to pay. He has, perhaps, increased the productiveness of his farm 25 per cent during that period, but if all the rewards of his economy, his enterprise, his investments in new machinery, are to go to his creditors and his taxes how can it be said that private enterprise is being fostered? Rather, an unbearable burden is being placed upon our valiant individualism, and only monopoly can survive.

The secret of monetary reform is this: The creditor should receive in commodities just what he loaned in purchasing power, no more and no less. He discounts his risks in the rate of interest. The debtor assumes all the risks of business—he should therefore receive all the profits and gains that come from lessened cost of production. Justice to the creditor, reward to the debtor, is the essential standard of free and fair competition. This can be secured, not by falling prices nor by rising prices, but by *level* prices.

Falling prices and cornered currency injure the wage classes most of all. They are thrown out of employment. They com-

pete with each other for the mere permission to work. This is the lowest depth of that unfair competition which socialists would abolish.

But how would they abolish it? Not by reforming the currency. That is mere patchwork. Socialism needs no currency. Every man will have book credits and labor checks. Opposed to this view I maintain that private property, free competition, and individual enterprise, if they are to survive, must be furnished first and foremost with an honest currency. Government alone can do this. If the gold standard brings contraction and corners, government must abandon it. If free silver leads to inflation, government must control it. And it is not socialism for government to go even into the banking business or to prohibit private note issues if thereby it can prevent the jugglery of our value standards. Banks may issue credits, but government alone should expand and contract the legal tenders.

(3) Next to the currency, the most threatening danger for private enterprise in America is our systems of communication under private irresponsible control. The telegraph is essentially a part of the postal system of a country. The post-office is managed not for profit but to facilitate the business of the country. To do this it stimulates especially the newspapers by carrying and delivering papers below cost. This increases the number of papers and the stress of competition. If the telegraph were governmental, similar privileges would be given in telegraphic news. Daily papers could be started where now a few dailies occupy the field and exclude new competitors. Free speech, free public opinion, are the very heart of individualism. In these days free speech is influential mainly through the daily papers and the telegraph. Not socialism but individualism has most to hope from government telegraph.

The same is true of railways. Under private control they have broken down private industry in coal-mining, petroleum, and many other products where transportation is a factor. The railway is more essential to national life than were the highways of old. Transportation charges are a tax on every citizen and industry. When the Standard Oil Company gives

discriminations in freight charges, when the great pork packers receive secret rebates, they are simply using the functions of government to crush their rivals. Great cities have been built by these discriminations, while country villages and rural districts have been handicapped in the race.

In the name of the American common citizen, who asks only a fair field and no favors, is the demand now arising for government control of railways. Let it be only *control*, if that will do, but if that fails, as it seems likely to do, then let it be ownership.

In the hands of the government every man is equal. The washerwoman has equal rights on the streets and highways with the millionaire's wife, and Armour gets no rebates on postage stamps simply because he buys in large quantities.

(4) The socialist pays but little attention to taxation. No taxes are needed in Amana. The officers of government are supported and public works are conducted exactly like private citizens and private industries. Indeed, all workers are government officers and all industry is public. But taxation assumes the existence of private property and private citizens. Yet, scarcely a single direct tax has ever been introduced, says Professor Seligman of Columbia College, which has not somewhere or other met with the objection that it is socialistic.

Is the protective tariff socialistic? It interferes with private business, but so does every tax. The question is, does it suppress private enterprise? No; it simply directs the channels of that enterprise. And properly levied it may be a powerful agency in stimulating invention, diversifying industry, and thus furnishing the most varied outlet for the varied abilities and capacities of all individuals. Certainly no nation, I believe, has ever made the transition from sluggish primitive agriculture to the bustling competition of manufactures and city life without the aid of protective tariffs and bounties.

The income tax and inheritance taxes are levied in progressive rates so that larger properties pay not only larger amounts but larger *relative* amounts than smaller properties, while the poorest are exempt altogether. These taxes are justified on various

grounds. The income tax, for example, offsets the regressive taxes of the protective tariff. Large incomes and inheritances are better able to pay than small ones. An inheritance tax is a substitute for back taxes. But, whatever the arguments, plainly such taxes tend to diffuse property or to check its concentration. This takes the burden off from the weaker competitors of society, from those just beginning the upward struggle, and places it on the stronger competitors, whose accumulated resources or inherited wealth would enable them usually to crowd out the former. In this way competition becomes equal, free, and intense.

Of course these taxes may be made so heavy as to discourage enterprise and economy. But a low income tax of two per cent, or a moderate inheritance tax which goes no higher than five per cent as in Ohio, or ten per cent as in Great Britain, imposed only on superfluous wealth, cannot check a wholesome individual ambition.

New Zealand has partially introduced the single tax on land values. It is a progressive tax—the rate increasing as the size of the holding increases. The object is to break up the large speculative holdings of land in that colony and to bring such land into cultivation.

Take a couple of applications of this principle in the United States. The anthracite coal combine operates about 25,000 acres of property. There are about 130,000 acres of such lands, four fifths of which are locked up by the trust. This would be impossible if a tax were imposed on these speculative holdings commensurate with the value of the property. The land tax would force the owners to render the property productive in order to pay the taxes. They would be compelled to open the lands themselves, to lease to others, or to forfeit to the state. In any case private enterprise and free competition would enter where now they are helpless.

In the city of Detroit for several years the board of assessors has been increasing the valuations of speculative holdings in the suburbs. Large tracts of land owned by estates and not yet cut into lots had formerly been appraised as only so much farm

land. The new assessors began to value them on the basis of their speculative figures. As a result, hundreds of acres have been thrown upon the market, and the number of workingmen and others owning homes of less than \$1,000 in value increased from 3,000 to 13,000 in six years, although the city's population increased only 75 per cent.

This is a striking example of what I mean by open and free competition. In many of our cities the working classes are crowded into the tenement-house regions where land is dear, and they compete with one another simply in paying the highest rents. But when land in the suburbs is thrown open there is a stimulus to business, houses and improvements are constructed, laborers find employment, and a new kind of competition ensues, not to fleece tenants by high ground rents for poor accommodations, but to attract buyers and tenants by comfortable homes, beautiful surroundings, and the opportunities of cheerful independence.

A tax reform of this kind is far from being socialistic, though it is often described as such. Yet, like the income or inheritance taxes, it may be carried so far as to become confiscatory. Then, of course, it depresses industry. This is the main criticism on the doctrine of the single tax as presented by Mr. Henry George and others. With them it is a substitute for all taxes. But, in my opinion, if the land-value tax be adopted as a scheme solely for local taxation, leaving taxes on corporations, inheritances, incomes, and imports for state and federal purposes, then the tax would not confiscate and would at the same time bring about the good results its advocates predict.

I have now spoken of four fields of governmental activities—namely, factory laws, money, transportation, and taxation, in which the genuine socialist takes little interest, but which seem to me to be essential to preserve individualism.

Compare them with the socialist's ideal. The socialist emphasizes what he calls the brotherhood of men. By this he means that men should coöperate in mutual aid, rather than that they should fight each other like animals and only the strong and cunning survive. In order to bring about this unity of life he would

abolish all individual diversity and make the government all in all. The unity would be the machine-like unity of an army or a hive of bees.

But there is a higher unity—that of free and self-reliant human wills, coöperating not by compulsion, but as the natural expression of their moral, social, and industrial life. Such coöperation can only be that of equals. And this is now, and for five hundred years has been, the growing function of Anglo-Saxon government, to remove the handicap from those below the level and to check the arrogance of those above the level, thus equalizing the terms of competition. Then, when the fear of poverty and injustice is removed, the spirit of brotherhood will find spontaneous and voluntary growth. The brave English soldiers in India marched side by side over many a mile of torrid heat, sharing their rations, binding each other's wounds, gently aiding the sick, but when the Indian nabob cast 150 of them into the "Black Hole of Calcutta," only twenty feet square and with but a small obstructed window where alone fresh air could be found, every one of those devoted friends was transformed into a brutish fiend in the selfish struggle to reach that single monopolized tract of nature's vital bounty.

It is so with our industrial system. Let men compete in the full assurance of equal opportunity, and their competition will not be directed mainly to crush the weak, but will develop the highest forms of voluntary coöperation. Open up speculative holdings in suburban lots by a judicious system of taxation and we shall see a brilliant expansion of coöperative banking in the building and loan associations. Let transportation be equal and fair to all, let the currency measure our values as justly as do our yardsticks. Then monopolies will be broken down, new enterprises will be promoted, and laborers will not be compelled to trample each other in their struggle for monopolized employment.

The general argument presented in this paper is somewhat akin to that of Mr. Benjamin Kidd in his "Social Evolution." But it differs in one most essential feature. Mr. Kidd seems to hold that even after the level is raised, the same kind of com-

petition will still continue, and in this competition alone he sees the hope of progress. He apparently entertains no consideration for voluntary coöperation any more than for governmental coöperation. But the two are quite different as basis for progress. Voluntary coöperation is the natural outcome of fair and open competition. Its failures at present are due as largely to discriminations on the part of privileged interests already in the field as to the inherent difficulties of the coöperative principle. Building and loan associations could never have reached their present marvelous growth had the existing national and state banks cared to enter their field, or the legislatures failed to enact favorable laws. With fair competitive conditions and legislative sympathy, the coöperative idea will spread in other directions. For example, every corporation now existing could be gradually transformed into a *coöperation* simply by changing the method of voting so as to substitute the democratic principle, "One man, one vote," instead of the plutocratic principle, "One share, one vote." And this possibly may be the outcome for those private corporations which government does not assume as public undertakings.

Under these progressive conditions competition will continue, but the "survival of the fittest" will not be that of the unscrupulous and cunning, but of the morally fit. Only those who are vicious, drunken, dishonest, lazy, and therefore incapable of coöperation, will fall in the forward march, and they and their children will drop from the field. In the highest realms of competition, in the emulation for honor and respect, in the race of integrity, perseverance, economy, we shall behold undreamed of fruits of voluntary coöperation and diversified individualism, and not the lethargy of socialism.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

WOMAN'S PART IN POLITICAL SINS.

BY ELLA W. WINSTON.

A RECENT writer on equal suffrage, speaking of the corrupt government of New York City, asks: "In the long roll-call of her misdeeds, * * * * in the perversion of all the machinery of justice toward the perpetration of injustice, what part has been borne by women?" Her answer is, "None! They and they alone are innocent of all these crimes and guiltless of all this disgrace."

The woman who wrote those words is a physician. She belongs to a class of women who more than any other should know and understand the mysteries of life. She, at least, ought to know there can be no effect without a cause. Can men be born of women, be trained by women, and the women who reared them be innocent of their crimes and wholly irresponsible for the guilt and disgrace which results from their wrong-doing? Are the men who have so misgoverned New York City so destitute of mothers, wives, and sisters that the women of that metropolis "are innocent of all these crimes and guiltless of all this disgrace"? Can the men of that city or any other be corrupt and the women pure? Did the women who reared these disgraceful administrators of justice rear at the same time pure and noble daughters? If they did, the mothers of that generation were criminally discriminative in the management of their families.

The reformers of the present time lay too much stress on environment and too little on heredity. Environment means all the difference between the luxuriant tree growing under favorable conditions and its stunted brother on the arid plain; but heredity means that "all the water in the ocean can never turn the swan's black legs to white." We labor to make a good environment for the individual. This is well. But we are indifferent to the inherent traits which the individual brings into life,

traits which are oftentimes more decisive, as regards his future conduct, than any environment can be.

For a reform to obtain any measure of success, we must go to the source of the evil which we are striving to correct. If the cause remains undisturbed it is but folly to expend energy on the effect.

The women who spend their time flitting from one convention to another, who are constantly demanding more political power for themselves and their sex, claim that they desire it for noble purposes, that they are working for the "universal, trying to raise the moral tone." They look out upon a world where much is wrong and they feel that they have discovered what, if granted, would prove an unfailing remedy. They work for various philanthropies, but, when all their efforts are reduced to a common denominator, the ballot for woman is their ultimatum. To their vision there is but one instrument of power and that is a ballot in the hands of a woman. So they spend their time in conventions where, no matter what may be the object of the gathering, the first resolution passed is one for the enfranchisement of woman.

These would-be reformers entirely ignore the home influence. They constantly demand that woman be granted the ballot so that she may protect her home, not seeing that women who have failed to protect their homes without a ballot are not going to do so with one. Trite as it may sound, the homes of a nation determine what the national life shall be, and any reform that ignores this vital force must prove as futile as efforts toward changing the color of the swan's leg.

The "new woman," who is supposed to be a type of all these would-be philanthropic reformers, declares that she will never cease from her warfare until she has obtained the supreme object of her desires. It never occurs to her, absorbed as she is in substituting effects for causes, that, as woman is the power in the home, she has always been the controlling factor in human affairs and that, from the nature of the case, she must be while to her hands is intrusted the sacred burden of motherhood and until some one beside woman has charge of human creatures

during the most impressible period of life. To such self-evident facts the new woman is sublimely indifferent. Her thought is fixed on the superiority of women, on the inferiority of men, and on the unjust laws which these inferior men have made. She constantly asserts that woman's ballot is the only force that can usher in the glad new day when right shall reign triumphant over wrong.

Every time that women meet in any of their multiplex organizations, lamenting over the sins of the world and demanding a chance to reform these sins, they pass unfavorable criticism on themselves and their sex. Whenever a blight rests on any human life it is generally because some woman has failed in her duty to that life. This is a grave charge, but it is none the less true. Does not the same law which causes the herb to yield seed of its kind and the tree fruit of its kind apply to the human organism as well? And is not woman the torch-bearer of life from one generation to another? Human life must and will produce life after its kind, as does all other life. Shall she who controls the stream complain of its quality or lament that it is impure when to her influence is confided the power of cleansing it?

Equal suffragists constantly affirm that woman's ballot is the only hope for political purification. If women are so wise and pure that their votes will exert such a salutary effect, how does it happen that politics, society, and the world generally are in need of such a moral cleansing as only women can give? For women have always sat at the helm. They have given birth to the children, they have trained the children, or allowed them to go untrained, in which case the responsibility rests as much upon them as if their duty had been rightly performed. The world's wickedness only proves that women have failed in their legitimate sphere, that of rearing the young. For if they had not failed and had trained the inhabitants of earth to do righteously, then the world would be the Utopia which some dreamers imagine woman's ballot will make it. Now the suffragists would like to see woman try her hand at some other sort of work than the training of children and see if she cannot undo some of the mischief she has caused. Not that they for one

moment attribute any of earth's misery to woman. In their eyes all women are wise and noble, most of them are angelic; all that is wrong with the world is the fault of man. But the merciless logic of common sense puts the burden of the world's woe at the door of woman and there it must remain.

The "new woman" talks a great deal about the "average woman," the woman who blindly supposes she has rights enough and feels disinclined to struggle for more; the woman whose life is centered in the round of duties near at hand, who lives "in the teacup instead of the world." It is a part of the work which the new woman has mapped out for herself to arouse the "average woman" to a realization of her great need of the ballot, so that she will desire it, at least sufficiently to write her name on some petition for it, if no more. With the franchise granted to woman, without doubt the average sister may be able to do something for society and the universal, no matter how much she may have to neglect her family in the meantime. It would, indeed, be well to arouse the "average woman," but not on the subject of the ballot.

It is not votes, nor laws, nor lawmakers that the nations of earth need most to-day. They need homes whose inmates shall be taught from infancy to reverence law. They need wise mothers in these average homes who shall have some knowledge of the work intrusted to their hands. Scan the death-rate for young children and you may be sure that the largest percentage is caused by the mother's ignorance of sanitary law. This fact indicates the physical condition of the average home. If the moral health is examined with equal care, it will be found that before the child goes into society and is at all its own master, its mother and its home have already determined whether that life shall be pure or impure.

If these superior women have any other message for the "average woman" than one that will help her to become a wiser mother and a truer home-maker, so that, through the powerful and sacred influence of her home, she may help to bind up the nation's wounds, it would better be undelivered and she be left in undisturbed possession of the idea that her rights are sufficient.

The "average woman" suffers enough through the ignorance of her foremothers, she does enough harm through her own ignorance. Do not unsettle her with visions of what she might do with the ballot. She will make even a more dismal failure of that power than she has of motherhood. George Eliot's crabbed schoolmaster, Bartle Massey, said: "Woman shoulders the burden of motherhood in a poor, makeshift sort of a way; it ha' better ha' been left to the man." And until women take up the sacred duty of maternity more intelligently and solemnly, the charge is only too well founded. Let the "new woman" who delights in considering herself an awakened creature, far in advance of her sex, help her less favored sisters in the grave duties which are inherently theirs.

William Dean Howells has lately said, speaking of the desirability of enfranchising women: "A woman could not be bought." From this postulate he argues that her participation in political life must necessarily purify it. The great novelist has not been an astute observer of humanity, if he has yet to learn that a woman can be bought. What of the society women whom he delights to depict? Have none of them been bought by wealth and social position? Do not large numbers of these women, in effecting matrimonial settlements for their daughters, omit all considerations except money and social advantages? Do such women teach their daughters either by precept or example the sacredness of love? Is it not true rather that such girls have it always impressed upon them by their mothers that they are to marry for the most desirable positions?

Turning from the women of the highest standing in society to the great army of disreputable women who live by selling themselves, body and soul, we come to a class from which no sane person could hope for assistance in political purification. It is supposable that these women are to vote as well as others, unless the ballot for woman is to be accompanied by a moral qualification. It is estimated that these unfortunates comprise from five to fifteen per cent of the women of the large cities; to these add the women whose interests in saloons, gambling-places, and the "spoils" of political preferment are identical with those of

their husbands, and you have an appalling force which can scarcely be considered purifying.

Where, then, shall we look for the women who are to purify politics by their votes? Not to the society women, many of whom have sold themselves and in turn sell their daughters for wealth and social standing, nor to the average women, who through ignorance and neglect have been the cause of so many dwarfed, misshapen, and wicked lives. To the fallen women? No! It is unwise to hope for any larger percentage of purifying influences from these classes of women than comes from the men they have reared. There are still left the "superior women"; the leaders in the agitation for the enfranchisement of women; the women who rise above the frivolities of society and the belittling cares of home life; the ones who have caught such resplendent visions of the capabilities of all women and who constantly assert that woman's influence alone can purify politics. Surely these women may be counted on to always act nobly.

One of the leaders of this movement, who is considered to be a brilliant example of the "new woman," said in a recent address, when speaking of the ballot for woman: "Women must rally for the time to whatever party will give this important measure justice." That hardly sounds as if a woman could not be bought. "Women must rally for a time" to whatever party will grant them their pet hobby, is scarcely an ennobling declaration of principle. The W. C. T. U., whose badge is a white ribbon and whose rallying cry is purity, which numbers at least 150,000 women as members, has just said through its official organ: "We will oppose no party which stands squarely for prohibition, and if, in any election, two or more parties stand thus for prohibition we shall throw our influence, and would give our vote, if we had it, with the one of the two or more prohibition parties which was most likely to win in the contest." It certainly seems to be, even with these women, anything for success.

The leading suffrage women in the summer of 1894 made no secret of their trade for votes in Kansas. Frances Willard has

just recommended the union of the Prohibition and Populist parties, although the latter has not been considered a strictly temperance organization. In Wyoming, where equal suffrage has been legalized for a quarter of a century, women have not attempted to purify politics, saying they do not wish to antagonize the men who gave them the ballot. Saloons and gambling-houses are licensed there as in the states where women do not vote.

Now these "superior women" make a specialty of noble principles. They spend their lives trying to improve their fellow-creatures. They are agitating for a reform which, they say, will do away with corruption in political life and yet at the very outset of their demand for power they advertise that their large stock of principles can be had by any political party which promises them success in their especial line of work. As influence is worth more than money, so is such conduct more to be condemned than the offering of money as a bribe. When women make a declaration of such elastic principles, it certainly looks as if the lack of principle in men, of which they make such loud complaint, had been inherited from their female ancestors.

Where, then, shall we find the women who are to purify politics? They are to be found among the noble mothers whose sons never need to be reformed or "mothered" by any league or association, their mothers having done their work so well that assistance from outsiders is rendered forever unnecessary. These are the women to whom we may look for political purification and for all the purifying influences of which life has knowledge. They may be society women, or average women; perhaps it is not too much to say that some of them are fitted to take rank with the "superior women" in mental and moral qualifications; but they are all noble women and they do their work silently but powerfully, as do the unseen forces of nature. They have done it in the past without a ballot and they can do the same in the future. They have given to the world the men and women who have accomplished all that is worthy of honor and emulation in the history of human life. If we wish to make the world better,

we must see to it that such women are increased in numbers.

It is not logical to rear a saloon element with one hand and to protest against it with the other; to try to move heaven and earth to enact laws prohibiting evils while continually furnishing favorable conditions for their growth. If we wish "white life for two," or any other number, we must make life white at the beginning. The right to be well born is paramount to all other rights, and it is one of the saddest facts in life that children are constantly being born of women who defraud them of this right. When we learn what it means to be born with a blighted life and strive for conditions which shall render such blight impossible, we shall then have learned the alphabet of the greatest reform the world can know.

That the care of and the responsibility for the children should be left to the mother may not be a satisfactory arrangement; it certainly does not seem so to many women of the present time, still it is an arrangement of nature and when we contend against it, we contend against the inevitable and waste energy for naught. It is doubtless consoling to some women, when they take an inventory of the sins of man, to say as did the writer quoted at the beginning of this article that women "are innocent of all these crimes and guiltless of all this disgrace," but she who says it betrays ignorance or lacks candor. For the statement is false. Men and women cannot have separate interests nor separate sins. The sins of the parents are still visited "upon the children unto the third and fourth generation," and parents are not yet restricted solely to the male sex.

It may be startling to the noisy agitators who are so intensely anxious to reform others by the use of the ballot, and to the women who really have the good of humanity at heart, but are misled by the bluster of the more assertive ones, to learn that it is their sex that stands in need of being reformed. Such, however, is the fact. Women as a whole are so little above men in a moral point of view and their interests are so nearly identical with those of men that their excess of morality is not of sufficient force to create any great change in political matters, were suffrage extended to them. The recent elections in Colorado illus-

trate this fact with considerable emphasis. While the women increased the temperance vote by 5,300, this relatively large increase was only an insignificant fraction of the whole woman's vote and had no appreciable effect in the general result. It is only when political parties are almost evenly matched that this slight preponderance of morality can turn the scale.

Instances of this kind are rare and, when they do exist, corruption is the exception, for the party in power cannot be sure of concealing maladministration. Besides, no law can be enforced unless it is supported by a large majority of the people. A small plurality may elect an officer but cannot, in a democratic form of government, give permanence and effectiveness to statutory enactments. Penal laws are made to restrain the few, not the many, and all reforms must come through an overwhelming public opinion.

ELLA W. WINSTON.

IS MONOPOLY ALWAYS VICTORIOUS?

BY HON. GILBERT L. EBERHART.

I TAKE my text from a very respectable and ably conducted newspaper published in one of our large cities, and make it the headline of this article. The editorial from which I take my theme is a criticism on the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, declaring that what is known as the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is not applicable to the transactions of the corporation known as the Sugar Trust. The journal to which I refer says :

No matter how carefully a law be drafted ; no matter how creditable and public-spirited was the motive which prompted its introduction, or how clearly defined the force of public opinion in obedience to which the law was enacted, the people, in their fight against monopolistic exactions and capitalistic greed, nearly always draw the short straw.

This same journal further says on the same subject :

The point to be made is that the decision shows the impotency of the federal government, under the restrictions of power placed upon it, to protect the public against plutocratic aggression and the arbitrary raising of prices on articles which enter into daily consumption, by vast combinations of those engaged in their production.

The quotations are, in the light of truth, astounding ; and it must be noted by every intelligent reader who knows the facts involved, that, but for these two striking examples, we might deny that any editor of a reputable journal could be so reckless as to indulge in such a gross perversion of the truth, and to assert, as is substantially alleged in the above two excerpts, that the people of these United States, with all the governmental machinery of their own invention and creation, are unable to protect themselves against the attempted usurpations and frauds of a few of their own fellow-citizens and neighbors.

The allegations are without foundation in fact ; they are a libel on the people—they are simply *petitio principii*—and can be regarded only as vagaries and demagogic attempts to influence the

minds of the ignorant and impulsive populace and to mislead the reader of ordinary information and observation ; and should, if they do not, utterly fail to effect their purpose.

The cry of "monopolistic exactions" and "capitalistic greed," "plutocratic aggression," and inability of the laws and courts to "protect the people," is born of brains that have the least regard for the dignity of the courts and the majesty of the law ; and these phrases are the shibboleths of the blatant anarchist and rioter.

No principle of law is so well established, and so firmly rooted in American jurisprudence, as that which declares that a corporation has no right to exercise any function not specifically vested in it by the authority that created it—not clearly defined in its charter.

Our large corporations are composed generally of our most energetic, enterprising, and public-spirited citizens—men who, in their desire to improve and develop the boundless resources of our country, take risks that only a few care to assume, and venture on hazards that are appalling to the great majority of their fellow-citizens. And let me ask in all candor, what the condition of our country would be to-day—where, or what, the leading industries of our people—what the state of development in the natural wealth of our soil, and the consequent benefit to our industrial classes, were it not for the enterprise that has exercised its beneficent influences through the instrumentalities of our larger and more powerful "capitalistic" business associations?

We have a large country in its expanse of territory. We have some single states that are larger than either France or the German Empire. Our population is nearly as great as that of Germany and France combined. Pennsylvania is but little less in territorial area than England. We have several single railway systems that are longer than the entire distance from London to Rome and back again, and it is hardly necessary for me to say to the man who has the breadth of intellect to comprehend the fact, that it requires a company with a larger capital to build three thousand miles of railway than to build one hundred miles ;

and more money to conduct successfully a sugar refinery that employs two thousand men than the puny concern that employs only ten. Hence we must have "plutocratic" corporations to accomplish and work out the great industrial and commercial necessities of this great nation.

And let us look at the facts known of all men who desire to know them. *First*: It will be admitted that these "plutocratic" concerns are composed of *men*—creatures with the same hopes and fears as we poor honest fellows, so rich in envy that, if we have no cash with which to help on the progress of the world, we have large treasures of invidious epithets for those who seem to be more competent and successful in great business enterprises than we are. *Second*: We notice the "plutocratic" and "capitalistic" concerns give steady employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers, and invariably pay them their stipulated wages; and most of them pay higher wages than they could possibly get from the good, pure employers who are not so wicked as to be associated with the "plutocratic" and "capitalistic" villains. *Third*: It is a fact well known to some men—to all who honestly seek for truth—that the man who can sell a million dollars' worth of goods per annum can afford to, and usually does, sell at a less profit than the small dealer; and hence, such a "plutocratic" dealer necessarily subserves the interest of the consumer. And it takes only a small amount of arithmetical knowledge to ascertain the fact that the man who sells one million dollars' worth of goods a year, at the small profit of five per cent net, will become rich in twenty years, and honestly, too; while the man who sells only ten thousand dollars' worth can plod on a long life-time and get no more than a living.

And, again, let us look at some of the trusts for which so many men have only diatribes. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Prior to the organization of the Sugar Trust, the consumer was obliged to pay from 8 to 12 cents for the sugar which now sells for 3 to 5 cents per pound. Is it an injury to the poor man, or any consumer, so to control the sugar market that he can buy now, for three hundred dollars, that which three or four years ago cost him six or eight hundred? We have a wall-paper

trust, and, as a consequence, the consumer gets as good paper to-day for five cents per bolt as, prior to the organization of that trust, cost two to four times that sum. So, too, we have a school-furniture trust; and, hence, our public schoolhouses are furnished with all modern appliances at a half, or, at most, two thirds, the cost of former years.

The Standard Oil Company is the target at which a vast deal of abuse is constantly hurled; but what has it done to subject it to so many shafts of the enemy? What has it done for the consumer of the great illuminating mineral oil? Nothing more accursed than to enable the consumer to purchase at retail, in as small a quantity at a time as a pint or quart, as much for one dollar as he could possibly purchase before the organization of that great "octopus" for five or six dollars. Is it an injustice to the people so to reduce prices of articles that "enter into daily consumption" as to enable them to purchase to-day for one hundred dollars as much as they could purchase a few years ago for four hundred—five hundred—six hundred dollars?

I have no interest in any of these large corporations not held in common with the poorest and most obscure of my fellow-citizens; but I believe in fair play, and, above all, *the dissemination of truth among the people*. The editor who gives currency to falsehood and misleads the public by inflammatory rhetoric, who, by the use of invidious terms and phrases coined in the brain of the ignorant brawler and borrowed from the scheming demagogue to create prejudices and envious resentments and vengeful animosities in the minds of one class of citizens against another, is the most dangerous man in our land. He is a constant menace to the peace and good order of society, and the security of our homes and our firesides. Let no such men be trusted.

From the earliest dawn of civilization it has devolved on a few men to manage the business of the world. It was said more than eighteen and a half centuries ago by the Man whose "name is above every name," "The poor you have always with you." So it had been for centuries, so it was then, and so it is to-day; but there is no royal road to wealth. David was the son of a

poor man ; his occupation that of a shepherd—the humblest of positions in life ; but by his energy, his courage, and his unflinching adherence to the best interests of his countrymen he became a king—a “plutocrat” influenced by “capitalistic” ideas—and won an immortality of fame. The same influences, the same laws of life, environ men to-day that existed in David’s time. The way is open to all, but all are not endowed with the same mental capabilities. Some are “born tired” ; with these “sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.” Others never can see the movement of the tide that leads on to fortune—some do not care much about tides—do not care how they move, or when, or whether they move at all. All these are never so happy as when simply looking at “*the procession*” as it marches by. They are content to “throw mud” at those who are in it, and to deride the leaders, and mock at the inspiration that spurs them and their followers to the noble achievements that lift society from penury to competency and comfort—from ignorance to that broad, generous, and charitable disposition of mind that raises men above the condition of the savage and makes the whole world kin.

So long as the plutocrat and the capitalist properly invest their wealth in the industrial and commercial enterprises of the land, and thus give employment to the people at fair wages, and the consumers of their products the necessities of life at reasonable prices, they are the essential factors in our social organism, without which the individual cannot prosper and the nation cannot survive.

GILBERT L. EBERHART.

THE COFFEE-HOUSE AS A RIVAL OF THE SALOON.

BY I. W. HOWERTH.

SOCIAL reformers are agreed that the saloon is an evil. Now and then, to be sure, we may hear one contending that the saloon is necessary to satisfy the social sense of a certain class, but such persons confuse the necessity of satisfying men's social desires with the necessary permanence of a particular institution. There can be no doubt that the social ministry of the saloon is great, and no one objects to that feature. The objection is that that feature is used as a means to lure men to indulgence of appetite which in turn leads them to seek gratification of *unsocial* desires. The saloon is, in truth, considered in the light of its social ministry, a benefactor, but it is one of that numerous class of benefactors whose benefactions are subsidiary and auxiliary to their malefactions. If by the necessity of the saloon is meant the indispensableness of some place of social resort for the masses, there can be no dispute. But such a place is not a saloon. You may say it is the saloon reformed, but a reformed saloon is not a saloon, any more than a reformed drunkard is still a drunkard.

Owing to the fact that saloons are allowed almost a monopoly of catering to certain legitimate wants, they have some excuse for their existence. They flourish because they supply these wants. In Chicago, for instance, there are about 6,500 places where liquor is sold, or about one saloon for every two hundred and thirty of the population, including men, women, and children. Because of their social ministry, and because they bring in a large revenue, many citizens with peculiar notions of municipal welfare wish there were more of them.* Others demand their abolition *in toto*. But it is idle to suppose they can be abolished without substituting something in their place. Not

* This is the wish expressed by the Chicago Chief of Police.

abolition but displacement is the true method of reform. And to displace the saloon something better must be offered. As General Booth has somewhere said, "reformers will never get rid of the drinkshop until they can outbid it in the subsidiary attractions which it offers to its customers."

In this country and especially in England there have been various attempts to counteract the influence of the saloon. Most of us are familiar with Mr. P. R. Buchanan's idea of Teetotum Clubs. At present there are half a dozen of these clubs in London, and about a year and a half ago one was established in the city of New York.* The main features of such a club are clubrooms, a restaurant, and a department for the sale of tea. The object of the club is "the recreation, social intercourse, and mutual improvement of its members."

Another well-known substitute for the saloon is the coffee-house. A coffee-house is a liquor saloon without liquor. It is a place where a workingman can get a well-cooked meal at a cheap rate, where he can read his newspaper and enjoy his game of chess or draughts without being preached at. It is the saloon, less the saloon's evil concomitants.† The purpose of this paper is to give a brief account of the origin and success of the coffee-house in England, and to describe some attempts to transplant it in this country.

Long before it was thought of as a rival of the saloon, in fact from the time of the introduction of the coffee berry into England,‡ the coffee-house had been a prominent feature of London life. The literature of the eighteenth century is full of references to it as the rendezvous of the celebrities of the time. The same literature is full of evidence that the amusements practiced in these coffee-houses were not always of a kind that would be tolerated in the coffee-house of to-day.|| The old coffee-houses were really taverns. A cup of tea or coffee was supplied for twopence, and a penny laid down at the bar on going out paid

* See the *Charities Review* for March, 1893.

† Mr. Robert Graham in *Christian at Work*, March 19, 1891.

‡ The coffee berry was introduced into England in 1652 by Daniel Edwards. *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XXIV, p. 733.

|| "All that fuddling and punch-drinking, that club and coffee-house boozing, shortened the lives and enlarged the waistcoats of the men of that age."—*Thackeray*.

for newspaper and lights. Hardly a relic of these old resorts now remains. In out of the way corners of Wales there is something of the sort, but new laws and new customs have about rendered them extinct.*

The change from the old to the new took place about 1865. About that time the Ladies' Temperance Prayer Union converted a notorious public house in Dundee, Scotland, into a temperance establishment and called it the "Dundee Workman's Public House, without Drink." It contained almost all the features of the modern coffee-house. † This, however, was not the real origin of the movement to substitute the coffee-house for the liquor saloon. The father of the movement was Mr. H. A. Short, of Bristol, England. Drink having killed his father, he very early became a temperance follower, and was a marked man among the public-house landlords, one of whom refused to give him the necessary hot water for his cocoa. "Very well," said he, "I'll get houses established where they'll sell cocoa ready made." Thus originated the idea of establishing coffee-houses. Mr. Short set to work and quickly had five such houses in existence. When he saw his old friend the landlord again, he was able to say, "I don't want your boiling water now." That was in Bristol. When returning from his ship one day he met a Liverpool gentleman who said he had come to see what was being done. Mr. Short took him to the five houses, and the gentleman was so pleased that he went back to Liverpool and, with the help of Mr. Short, started a coffee-house. They commenced next door to a "pub." "What are you going to do?" said the landlord. "We are going to try to shut you up," they replied. And they did.

Although this account conflicts with the claim that women established the first coffee-house, it must be conceded that much of the credit for the success of the movement, which in England seems to be great, is due to them.

After Dundee, the first town to engage in the business of supplying work-people with public houses without drink was Leeds.

* *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XXIV, p. 734.

† Mr. James Freeman Clarke's "Coffee-Houses and Coffee Palaces," p. 13.

The enterprise proved to be successful. Leeds, therefore, boasts of being the birthplace of the reformed public-house movement in England. Its first house was opened September 30, 1867, its founder and chief promoter being a woman, Mrs. R. S. Hind Smith. *

The movement thus begun rapidly spread. Strong corporations were organized to engage in the business. In 1873 the work was begun in East London. In 1874 the People's Cafe Company was formed in London, with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its president. The next year the Liverpool Cocoa Rooms were established, and in 1876 the London Coffee Tavern Company.† All these demonstrated the fact that the coffee-house could be made a success without any charitable assistance. Big dividends were paid. ‡ Houses were built where beer sellers were thickest and the men and women of untidy abodes were induced to enter their doors and be happy over a cup of coffee. || Cheerful places of public refreshment and recreation, these attractions served as a counter attraction to the public house and gin palace. They were, in fact, a reproduction of the old "publics," with a difference. "But," says an enthusiastic English reformer, "thank God for the difference!" On the 21st of June, 1877, a conference of the coffee-house men was held under the presidency of the Duke of Westminster, in which papers were read showing that public coffee-houses, opened in suitable places and conducted on sound principles, were largely used by working people, and had proved financially successful. §

One more instance is all that need be mentioned of the many which England furnishes to prove the efficacy of the coffee-house as a rival of the saloon. When an institution is well sup-

* "Coffee-Houses and Coffee Palaces," p. 14.

† *Leisure Hour*, vol. XXVIII, p. 301.

‡ In 1879 dividends were as follows ("Coffee-Houses and Coffee Palaces," p. 7.):

	No. of Societies.	No. of Coffee-Houses.	Per Cent on Capital.
London.....	4	39	4
Hull.....		11	10
Birmingham.....		16	10
Liverpool.....		35	10
Glasgow.....		12	5
Bradford.....		11	10
Leicester.....		6	6
Edinburgh.....		6	10

|| *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XXIV, p. 730.

§ *Chamber's Journal*, vol. LVI, p. 143.

ported, when it pays, it supplies a want in our social system. In the following instance the experiment paid. In 1881 in Peterborough, England, a city of 24,000 inhabitants, a company with a capital of \$5,000 was organized to build a coffee-house. After four months' trade a dividend of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was declared. The profits had not, in 1889, fallen below $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and had in some years been as high as 10 per cent. *

The knowledge of these successes in England led to the trial of the experiment here. Something was attempted in New York and Philadelphia, but with little success. Why this was so in New York has been accounted for as follows: "One reason why some of the coffee-houses started in this city have failed to meet the hopes of their projectors has been, as it seems to us, because of unfortunate location. Some have been on side streets where comparatively few transient customers could be expected; others have been located entirely out of the district where the special need of such institutions exists." In Chicago little has been done. A so-called coffee-house represents one of the numerous activities of the settlement known as the Hull House, but it hardly falls within our treatment of the coffee-house as a rival of the saloon. It is a good restaurant and is reported to be paying expenses. The following from a pamphlet lately issued by the Hull House will give some idea of the work done there:

The Hull House coffee-house has been open for six months. The room itself is an attractive copy of an English inn, with low, dark rafters, diamond windows, and large fireplace. It is open every day from six in the morning to eleven at night. An effort has been made to combine the convenience of a lunch-room, where well-cooked food can be sold at a reasonable rate, with coziness and attractiveness. The residents believe that substitution is the only remedy against the evils of the saloon. The large kitchen has been carefully equipped under the direction of Mrs. Ellen Richards, with a New England kitchen outfit, including a number of Aladdin ovens. The foods are carefully prepared and are sold by the quart or pound to families for home consumption. Coffee, soups, and stews are delivered every day at noon to the neighboring factories. By means of an indurated fiber can it is possible to transport and serve the food hot. The employees purchase a pint of soup or coffee with two rolls for five cents, and the plan of noon factory delivery is daily growing in popularity. The kitchen has

* *The Temperance Caterer*, June 22, 1889.

been supplying hot lunches at ten cents each to the two hundred women employed in the sewing-room established by the Emergency Committee of the Chicago Women's Club.

The first attempt to establish a coffee-house in Boston was made about 1881, by a woman. It did not prove to be a great success and after a time was abandoned. The undoubted success of the work in England, however, had its influence on capital and in 1885 a company was incorporated under the name, "Boston Coffee-House Company," which established two houses. The motive of this company was philanthropic, but it expected to make its business pay. The two houses mentioned were said to be "rivals of the saloon." Each had a temperance billiard-room, a reading-room, and a cafe. But the attempt did not succeed. On the site of one of these houses there is to-day a temperance billiard-room with six tables. It is upstairs and is not well patronized. If it was once intended as "a rival of the saloon" it has considerably fallen from grace. The other house has long since given place to a restaurant, the proprietress of which did not even know that there had ever been a coffee-house there. The Boston Coffee-House Company and its work may be said to be things of the past.

Prior to this unsuccessful effort to rival the saloon, the Oriental Coffee-House Company had been formed. It was incorporated in 1881. The aim was to substitute the coffee-house for the liquor saloon. Philanthropic in purpose, it meant to follow purely business-like methods. In the two houses which it established coffee was supplied at two, four, and six cents a cup, and meals at low prices. There were reading, smoking, pool, and billiard-rooms. No betting was allowed. The houses were open from 6 a. m. to 12 p. m. At first the company did not succeed. Many who had subscribed for stock in the belief that it was a paying investment, who had cast their bread on the waters hoping to gather it again in a few days, were disappointed, and their faith in the efficacy of the coffee-house system as a rival of the saloon was hopelessly shattered.†

† One of the subscribers, Mrs. Cone, ex-secretary of the W. C. T. U. of Massachusetts, told the writer that her experience satisfied her that nothing can be done against the liquor interest except to carry the gospel to the lower classes. She suggested that the coffee-house might be one way of doing that. She said: "It is no use; on the games provided they would gamble in spite of everything, and then go across the street and spend the money they had gained in drink."

After the failure of the company with the philanthropic motive it fell into new hands and has prospered, but the philanthropic motive has entirely disappeared. Two new houses are now under the control of the company. As they are all run on the same principle it will be sufficient to briefly describe one of them. Let us take the one called "The Casino."

The Casino is little more than a big restaurant. It aims to give "first-class food in every respect in great variety," and also coffee, chocolate, and tea at satisfactory prices. No intoxicating liquors of any kind are kept. Billiard and pool-tables are in this establishment and it is open day and night. Some idea of the variety of food supplied may be had from the fact that more than one hundred and fifty items are mentioned on the bill of fare. The prices on this bill of fare illustrate or suggest the business motive. The following are some of them :

Coffee, 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 cents a cup.	Oysters . . . 20, 25, 30, and 35 cents.
Tea . . . " " " " " "	Mutton chops . . . 35 cents.
Chocolate . . . 6 and 10 cents.	Sirloin steak . . . 65 cents.
Milk 5 cents a glass.	Porterhouse steak . . . \$1.00.
Pie 5 and 10 cents.	Ham and eggs . . . 25 cents.
Cake " " " "	Fried potatoes . . . 10 cents.

The dining-room is plainly furnished, not by any means attractively. The food is of excellent quality, but the billiard-room is positively nasty. Overhead hangs a sign, "Betting not allowed," and a card informs loafers that they are not wanted. It does not seem to me to be a place that threatens the supremacy of the saloon. In fact, I think I may say of the "Oriental Coffee-House Company" that it does not at all represent the coffee-house system, for its establishments are restaurants, not coffee-houses.

We come now to a philanthropic movement of which I may speak more at length. I mean the work of the Church Temperance Society. The Massachusetts branch of the Church Temperance Society, organized in 1882, has established in Boston and its suburbs six coffee-rooms. These rooms are located wholly from missionary considerations. The general aim is to make them as nearly like a liquor saloon as possible without the liquor. Reading matter, illustrated papers, etc., are provided. The rooms are furnished with substantial chairs and tables. Ex-

perience has proved that only the most serviceable material can bear the rough wear to which it is liable. Coffee at two cents a cup is provided, but it is not often called for. As a rule the frequenters of the room prefer water. They would rather spend their change for the game of billiards for which there is a small charge of two and a half cents a cue. There is no charge for any other game. Besides the games and the reading there is an entertainment given every week, sometimes two. These are free to men over eighteen years of age; in fact the privileges of the rooms are confined to this class. In the winter of 1892-93 the entertainments and lectures for the six rooms averaged 25 each month. The aggregate attendance at the six rooms averaged over 300 men each night. The average cost of each room was about \$125 per month. These "temperance saloons" are not self-supporting—are not meant to be. The manager thinks it would not be expedient to attempt to make them so. He is not converted to the idea that charity has anything to do with profits.

The rooms are open each week-day evening from seven to ten, except on the evenings of lectures or entertainments when they are not open until eight o'clock. If at any time the visitors become turbulent the doors are labeled "Closed for a week on account of disorder." "In every instance, the manager informs me, the disturbers, missing their privileges, have returned and apologized." Smoking and spitting on the floor are not reckoned breaches of good conduct. No tobacco, however, is sold. No food of any kind is supplied.

The writer once spent an evening at one of these rooms, and had a very good opportunity to see both the work and the people who are influenced by it. On arriving at the room about seven o'clock he found some boys who came expecting to hear an illustrated lecture on London, and thinking the doors were to be opened at seven o'clock. But they were all an hour too early. This gave ample time for an interview with the boys in regard to the work of the coffee-rooms. They expressed themselves as appreciating the privileges they enjoyed. One young fellow summed up the beneficial effects of the coffee-room by the

remark, "Well, it's a mighty good place for a shinheat!" Inasmuch as the rooms are founded "to rival the saloons as places of *comfort*, in contrast with a street corner, a crowded tenement, or a cold and cheerless garret or cellar," the remark is a tribute to their success.

Before the doors were opened, the writer left the boys, "a waitin' fer de gang," and went into a store near by. The proprietor was high in his praise of the neighboring coffee-room because it kept the boys off the street—and out of his store.

In a few minutes after the doors were opened the small room was filled. A count of heads showed thirty-two men and boys present. A drunken man staggered in but was immediately ushered out by the man whose business was to keep order. This officer had some difficulty in securing obedience to the order, "Hats off!" and during the lecture he was kept busy keeping the boys quiet. The lecturer stopped several times and once threatened to discontinue his lecture. On the appearance of every picture the boys shouted out their comments, some of which were amusing. "This is the Tower of London," said the lecturer; "this is the place where political offenders are imprisoned." "Democrats!" shouted one of the boys. They were quick at seeing resemblances. A London scene suggested similar prospects in Boston, and the boys vied with each other in pointing them out. In consequence the order was not good.

After the lecture the boys went into an adjoining room where they played pool, billiards, and other games. Cards were not allowed. The room they left behind was a sight to behold. The air was full of smoke, the floor was a sea of tobacco spit, and the disagreeable odor which arose from the waves of this sea striking against the red-hot stove made it altogether a very disagreeable place to be in. On expressing some dissatisfaction with the state of things, the writer was told that too much ought not to be expected, that the boys must be elevated slowly. He still believes, however, that they could be elevated more easily and more quickly if they dropped their ballast of pipes and tobacco. At the People's Institute in Boston, which was also visited, it was noticed that every young man took off his hat as

soon as he entered the room, and while he remained seemed to pretend that he was a gentleman. The manager said that there was little difficulty in keeping order in the rooms. The class of people seemed to be not greatly different.

The real secret of the disorder in the coffee-room was in the fact that the man in charge did not have the confidence of the boys. This was learned from the boys themselves, who were not only communicative but also very kind. Two of them took much interest and great pains in trying to teach their visitor to play "parchesi." This game, a kind of backgammon, is a favorite amusement among the boys. All remained at play until the manager began to put out the lights.

The work of the Temperance Society is neither extensive nor pretentious. Defects are obvious and criticism is easy. One feels more disposed to emphasize the good it is doing than to pick flaws in its methods. Its results cannot be tabulated, but no one in sympathy with reform can visit one of the rooms without seeing that they are beneficial. One thing is plain, that is, the work is not broad enough. There is not enough business in it. Not enough money either, for that matter. It is bad enough that it does not bring economic returns. It is far worse that there is no attempt to make it do so. If this were done the rooms would be made attractive. The only sign which draws attention to them is on the plain, yellow window curtain, "Church Temperance Rooms," "Coffee-Rooms," "Free Reading and Amusement Rooms." The thoughtful observer is likely to ask himself: "Why *church* rooms? or why *temperance* rooms? Especially why give such an unattractive exterior to a 'rival of the saloon'?" The inside was not more attractive. There was no refining influence in anything except talk, and talk is cheap. The discipline was much like the discipline of the teacher who threatens. Rooms of this kind can never be formidable rivals of the saloon. To rival the saloons saloon energy must be used, and business methods, and everything that makes the saloon attractive except the liquor. There is more in the saloon than the devil, though many temperance reformers think that everything connected with it smells of brimstone. If any great thing is to

be accomplished by the coffee-house system it will be in the line of all other great achievements, not by denouncing all that belongs to the saloon and waiting for some vaguely imagined providential assistance. One of the most prominent reformers * said to the writer, "We can break the saloon all to pieces if we only set about it in the right way." But what is the right way? The answer to this question he and many others believe is not far to seek. It is furnished by a practical example in the city of Boston known as "Thompson's Spa."

Thompson's Spa, in Boston, on Washington Street, near Young's Hotel, is perhaps the finest institution of its kind in America. Ten years ago Mr. Eaton, the present owner, was passing along Washington Street when, on observing a vacant building, he thought, "There is a good site for a temperance drinking saloon," an idea of which he had obtained while traveling abroad. He inquired of some workmen if the building was for rent. They replied, "It is already let." He went on, but suddenly thinking that the workmen might be mistaken, he stopped, turned about, went back, found that the workmen were mistaken, leased the building, and began business with two employees, selling nothing but temperance drinks. He soon found that his customers wanted something to eat with the drink. He then supplied sandwiches. The business grew. He added pie, cake, and other eatables and increased the number and variety of his drinks. With no other advertisement than the good words of his customers his business has grown until to-day he has almost \$100,000 invested, employs 92 men, whose aggregate wages are \$200 a day, mixes about 160 different drinks, and has arrangements and conveniences unsurpassed in any other establishment of the kind in the world.

None of the drinks sold by Mr. Eaton contain a trace of alcohol. He believes in drawing the line strictly between alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks. "I am convinced," he says, "that the drinking of light wines or beers undoubtedly creates an appetite for stronger liquors." He makes all his 160 drinks himself, using the greatest skill and pains. He is careful, he

* Dr. Edward Everett Hale.

says, to make each one suit his own taste, for he finds that here, too, it is better to try to please one's self than everybody else. The drinks are served hot and cold, and are called by names which usually suggest an ingredient or flavor. Mr. Eaton does not follow the plan advocated by some, that is, to borrow names from liquor-saloon drinks. The following are some of the drinks with the price of each :

<i>Cold Drinks.</i>		<i>Hot Drinks.</i>	
Acid phosphate	.10	Beef tea	.10
Egg phosphate	.10	Beef and celery	.10
Egg lemon	.10	Bouillon	.10
Lemonade	.05	Chicken broth	.10
Florida oranges	.05	Chocolate	.10
Coffee	.05	Cocoa	.05
Vanilla	.05	Coffee	.05
Pine-apple	.05	Lemon	.05
Orange	.05	Lemonade	.05
Ginger ale	.10	Ginger	.05
Orangeade	.05	Clam juice	.10
		Russian tea	.10
		Russian coffee	.10

The price of eatables, of which there is a large variety, ranges from five cents to 20 cents. On the second floor is a lunch-room which is open from 11 a. m. to 3 p. m. During the greater part of that time it is literally packed. There are also lunch counters on the ground floor. Girls serve the lunches, men the drinks. All classes of men visit the counters of Mr. Eaton. It is often called a "fashionable drinking saloon," but it is visited by all who desire a good "soft drink" or a lunch. Mr. Eaton says: "I have been surprised at many expressions of satisfaction which I have received from *men of all classes* for the opportunity afforded at my place of business for obtaining a refreshing drink, and I frequently find at my counters bar-tenders and owners of liquor saloons expressing themselves as gratified with the drink there obtained." He says, too, that hundreds of persons who are addicted to the use of strong drink have said to him that by taking a drink at the temperance bar "their appetite for strong drink has been satisfied."*

The success of Thompson's Spa proves two things : first, that there is a demand for such places ; second, that under the right

* *Lend a Hand*, July, 1892, p. 17.

kind of management they bring enormous returns. Mr. Eaton is already independently rich. He owns his own yacht, travels much, in short, enjoys his deserved success. What is the secret of that success? Energy and business talent. He runs his place purely on business principles. The price of success here is the price of it everywhere. He sees to it that nothing is offered his customers that is not as good as he can make it. He practices no false economy. One of his cooks was observed spreading some butter on some dough. Inquiry was made as to whether it was cheap butter or oleomargarine. It was found that it was the best butter in the market. All the materials used are the very best. All the employees are well paid and treated as gentlemen and ladies. No expense has been spared in fitting up the rooms, which are attractive in the highest degree. The decorative painting in the lunch-room alone cost \$4,700. Above a side door is a piece of work that cost \$200. A beautiful and artistic sign attracts the passerby. There are seventeen telephones in the building and all the improved apparatus for cooking and serving. The lunch-room on the second floor is served from above; the street floor from below. For a small space, 42 square feet, occupied by the elevator, Mr. Eaton is charged the highest rent paid in Boston, \$700 a year.

This establishment, then, answers the question how to make the coffee-house a success. "It is not," says its proprietor, "a Sunday-school," but it surely furnishes a most instructive object lesson to every one interested in social reform. It has led its founder to the belief that "temperance would be advanced by encouraging places for the sale of non-alcoholic drinks, and, if possible, by making the opportunity for sociability prominent." It is the best example of the coffee-house which Boston affords, and it gives to one who studies it a feeling of confidence in the ability of the coffee-house to rival the saloon. One cannot help regretting that it is an isolated example, for surely a number of such places would largely decrease the patronage of liquor saloons. Men have long been saying, "The saloon must go!" Here seems to be what can make it go. At any rate, we who believe that it ought to go must all agree with Bishop Paddock

that "any honest and fairly promising effort is safer than sleep while such countless souls are being lost, such untold misery being inflicted, such snares and pitfalls laid for our sons and daughters, yes, for our very ministers of Christ."

It would be a mistake to suppose that the coffee-house is the only factor in the solution of the drink problem, or that it is advocated as such. All that is claimed is that by intelligent management the coffee-house may become a formidable rival of the saloon, and thus weaken its power. This is the opinion of most men who are qualified to judge. The late Bishop Brooks, writing to the author of this article in regard to the coffee-house movement in Boston, said: "I am not an expert regarding the coffee-house system, but I have known enough of its working to be sure of its usefulness and good results. It has been very limited in its scope compared with the evils with which it has to fight, but it has proved its right to be carefully considered and energetically pushed." Clergymen, heads of temperance organizations, employees and business men, persons interested in reformatory and philanthropic societies and movements, as well as managers of coffee-houses in England, declare the coffee-house to be a valuable auxiliary in temperance work. Is it not about time, then, that temperance reformers give up the idea of driving the saloon out of the field by a unanimous cry of "shoo!" and devote themselves to an attempt to beat it on its own ground, and to rid our people of the appetite for drink by "the expulsive power of a new affection"?

I. W. HOWERTH.

THE ISSUE IN NINETY-SIX.

BY GEN. A. J. WARNER, PRESIDENT OF THE BIMETALLIC LEAGUE.

THE thing first to be settled in this country is, What shall be our money. And until this is settled nothing can be settled. Everything else hinges on this. It is the cornerstone on which rests the whole fabric of our industrial system. There can be no certainty in business of any kind until we have determined what shall constitute the standard of value in the United States, what standard or primary money shall consist of, how it shall be supplied, and how and by whom the paper currency shall be issued, and its volume regulated and controlled. Until these questions are settled a general revival of business cannot take place and become permanent for the reason that conditions absolutely essential to safe business undertakings are wanting.

Hence the money question is and *will be* the issue in this country until it is settled and settled rightly. It is not made the issue at the mere behest of a party, or of any body of voters. It is of necessity the supreme issue and can be displaced by no other in the election of 1896.

But it is asked : Can a new party be formed on a single issue? When, in a free government, people take sides on a dominant issue, parties are then and there formed. Those in favor of the gold standard already form one party, albeit that some call themselves Democrats and others Republicans. On this issue, however, they all vote one way, and they will vote one way for president in 1896.

Those opposed to the single gold standard and in favor of restoring the constitutional standard of gold and silver, must also vote together for a president in 1896, or the battle will be lost. With those for the gold standard united, in the presidential election, and those against it divided, there can be no doubt as to the result. The gold party, in such an event, will win.

Successful parties always form on single issues. The first party in this country was the party in favor of independence. They separated from the Tories on that issue. After independence had been won all were patriots and at first there was no division into parties. The Democratic party, under Jefferson, was formed on the idea of keeping the power of government in the people and against federalistic tendencies to centralization of power. The Republican party was formed on the single idea of opposition to slavery, or, more strictly, against the extension of slavery into the territories.

What issues, other than the tariff, keep the Republican party together now? And yet everybody knows that the tariff is no longer a distinctive party issue. Every shade of opinion on the tariff can be found in both parties. But if this were not the case, under present conditions protection cannot be made effective, and therefore, through force of circumstances, the tariff question cannot be a controlling issue.

A very brief analysis of the situation will make this clear. First, the United States is a debtor nation. It is estimated that from three hundred to four hundred millions of dollars must be paid annually to other countries as interest on loans, dividends, for the carrying trade, etc. That is, besides offsetting imports with exports, from three to four hundred millions additional must be paid annually to even up accounts. This large balance that accumulates yearly against us must now be paid in gold or in commodities.

It is evident that it could not be paid entirely in gold for a single year without overthrowing the gold standard. If paid in part even in gold, a gold famine immediately sets in, followed necessarily by a contraction of money and credit, that precipitates a rapid fall in prices.

On the other hand, this annual debt can be paid with commodities only on condition that we will sell our products enough lower than other countries to induce our creditors to take commodities of us rather than demand gold.

In supplying commodities we must compete with other debtor countries—with South American states, with inflated paper

currencies ; with India, with a silver currency ; with Asia, trading on a silver basis ; and with debtor nations of Europe under suspension of specie payments. Moreover, as Mill long ago showed, no debtor nation can maintain an even level of prices with creditor countries. Prices, for manifest reasons, must always be somewhat lower in a debtor country than in a creditor country, the difference in price levels depending somewhat on the amount of annual payments required as compared with the entire trade of the country.

About eighty per cent of the exports of the United States are the products of farms, mines, and forests. As to all these products, therefore, it must be clearly manifest to every one that prices in this country must be kept as low as in any other country in the world, no matter under what system, or at how low wages production may be carried on. Any attempt to raise prices in any class of the products we export must operate to at once check exports and thus lead to a demand for gold to make up the loss, which in turn sends prices down. Hence, tariffs cannot possibly be made, directly or indirectly, to raise prices in this country above, or even fully up to, the international level of prices without expelling gold.

Second, as to the products which are not exported, while a protective tariff may to some extent keep out competing products and give the home supply to home producers, even as to such products a tariff cannot, if it were right to attempt it, keep prices in the manufacturing industries greatly above the level of prices for other products.

Manufacturers in order to sell must have somebody to buy—must have somebody able to buy, and it is manifest that they who produce from farms, forests, and mines what must go to pay debts abroad can buy of manufacturers only to the extent of the value of what they themselves produce. In other words, the power of any class to buy is limited to the value of what they have to offer in exchange. Hence, if in order to compete with other countries and pay debts abroad, half our population can earn but fifty cents a day, they cannot buy what the other half can produce at a dollar a day ; they can only buy one half of it.

Therefore, those who produce at high wages being able to sell but half what they produce, must be idle, or they must produce at lower cost so that more can be evenly exchanged. Competition, after more or less resistance, always operates to bring things to a common level, or, at any rate, to prevent wide differences.

Therefore, no debtor nation, under a common gold standard, can keep up prices by protective tariffs, and hence the tariff can no longer be a controlling issue, because it is economically impossible to accomplish by a tariff what the friends of protection have claimed for it. It is proper, however, to state in this connection that, if instead of paying our annual debt abroad with either gold or commodities, we should go further in debt and issue more bonds, while such a policy was in force and new bonds were accepted in lieu of gold, the law as to prices above stated would be in some degree modified, and the price level in this country might then be raised even above the level of other countries. This, in fact, was the condition of things from 1879 to 1892, during which period we increased our debt abroad at least \$3,500,000,000, or an average of over \$300,000,000 a year. Like a man who has mortgaged his farm and then, instead of paying interest out of the products of his farm, gives new notes and has a good time till final pay-day comes, we had a good time till our creditors would take no more of the kind of notes or securities we had been sending them, and demanded gold or government bonds.

The object of this diversion is to bring out into clear light the great fact that a debtor nation, with a common gold standard, cannot make protection effective, and hence that the tariff is not and cannot be made a controlling issue in this country as long as these conditions exist. The Republican party, therefore, has no longer a distinctive issue. It has nothing left but the money question, and a candidate for president will be selected with reference to the money question rather than the tariff.

What distinctive issue has the Democratic party? Will it be a lower tariff? There must at least be duty enough laid for revenue, and that will be more than can be made effective for

protection. There is, therefore, no controlling issue before the country, for any party, but the money question.

The issue on the money question is, first, between the single gold standard and a return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver, and, second, the issue and regulation of the paper currency. In any discussion of the change made in the money standard of the United States in 1873, the fact can never be lost sight of that the change then made was a downright fraud upon the people. The claim that the act demonetizing silver was passed openly, in the full light of day, after free and full discussion and with the knowledge of the people, is simply an egregious lie. No other word adequately expresses the real fact. Not forty men out of forty millions of people then in the United States knew or suspected that such a change was about to be made. No mention of it can be found in a single paper of that day. Not a citizen in the state of Ohio, in Congress or out, except the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, had any knowledge of what was being done. At most, but two senators and not half a dozen members of the House knew that the Mint Act of 1873 contemplated changing the money standard of the United States from gold and silver to gold alone. They who would make coming generations believe that the act of 1873 was an honorable act, deliberately passed, are guilty of trying to make a falsehood stand in history for the truth. This act was the result of a cold-blooded conspiracy to spoliage the world, and no more effective way could possibly have been devised.

With the gold standard, the supply of standard money is limited to the annual production of gold, which, although for the time being is increased by recent finds in Australia and Africa, is certain to become in the near future a waning supply.

On the other hand, the needs for gold to supply new countries and an ever-increasing population must go on increasing indefinitely. As the supply of standard money diminishes relatively to the demand for it, all forms of currency and credit resting on gold must be restricted and the level of prices go down accordingly. In brief, on the basis of gold alone money and credit can be but half the volume it would be with gold and silver both

forming the basis of other money and credit. The question, therefore, of the money standard involves primarily the entire question of money and credit, and through these the question of prices generally. For this reason the question of the creation and regulation of a paper currency is inseparable from that of the coinage of the metals.

If the states or private corporations or individuals may create a paper currency, government control of coinage will amount to very little. The issuers of paper money may put it out in such volume as to expel coin entirely from the country. This has been done more than once during the present century. This has taken place, too, and may again while the currency is ostensibly redeemable on demand. Webster, in his subtreasury speech, in 1838, said: "The circulation of paper tends to displace coin, it may banish it altogether. At this very moment it has banished it." Again, "If others may drive out the coin and fill the country with paper which does not represent coin, of what use is that exclusive power over coins and coinage which is given to Congress by the Constitution? Wherever paper is to circulate as subsidiary to coin, or as performing in a greater or less degree the functions of coin, its regulation naturally belongs to the hands which hold the power over coinage. This is an admitted maxim by all writers; it has been admitted and acted upon on all necessary occasions by our own government throughout its whole history."

It has become the fashion of late to repeat as a sage remark the saying that the government should go out of the banking business, which has been well answered by proposing that the banks shall go out of the government business. That the creation of money is no part of legitimate banking, was long ago settled. Mr. George Ward Norman said in his testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of 1857: "The issue of paper money is a perfectly distinct operation from the ordinary business of banking and you cannot mix up together the issue of paper money and ordinary banking business without doing mischief."

Lord Overstone in his testimony before the same commission said:

I certainly think it quite essential that the issue of paper money should be kept entirely separate and distinct from everything connected with the banking business.

Again,

The supply of the current coin—that is, the money of the realm—ought to be entirely separated from the banking business, which is simply trading in money, borrowing at a lower rate and lending at a higher rate.

And again,

The sole privilege of coining money, whether copper, silver, gold, or paper, ought to be vested in one institution, established for that exclusive purpose and subject to strict regulation of law; no share of such privilege ought to be conceded in any form to banks or to private individuals. . . . Perfect freedom of competition should be established in the business of banking, correctly understood, and effectually distinguished from the functions of coinage or from that of issuing paper tokens or representatives of coin—that is, bank notes, which, in fact, is coining under a form peculiarly susceptible of abuse—because the undue issue of paper notes is not restricted by that intrinsic value which effectually regulates the issue of metallic money.

This has been the settled doctrine in Europe for at least half a century and certainly no enlightened country outside of the United States would entertain for a moment a proposition to turn over to ten thousand banks the issue and control of a paper currency. By what principle are banks governed in the issue of paper currency? By no principle whatever but their own interests. Is it, then, really proposed to turn over to thousands of banks the right to issue notes to circulate as money, each bank being left to act independently as its own interests may dictate? The bare statement of the proposition to subject the volume of currency in any country upon which the prices of all commodities, the wages of labor, and the value in money of every man's property depends, is enough to shock the sense of propriety of any man of competent understanding.

Neither can anything be more absurd than the claim that such a currency would be flexible—increasing automatically as currency was needed and returning again upon its issuers when not needed. Suffice it to state here, that no such relation exists between money supply, when that supply comes from the printing press, and needs for money as admits of automatic regulation. A single reason for this statement will be sufficient to

bring this fact out. A sudden increase in the volume of money, or an increase beyond the increase of population, will always be attended by a rise of prices; and as prices rise the demand for money increases *pari passu*. This, too, is a demand unlike that arising from increase in the number of transactions, which never gives back. Hence if prices double, as the result of an increase of currency, the demand for two dollars in every transaction will be as great as the demand for one before.

But enough has been said to show that the question of supplying a substitute for coin is inseparable from that of coining the metals. The only automatic system of regulation of money supply possible is through the production of the precious metals; and the question comes back to this: "Shall the money function be conferred on both gold and silver, as through all the ages of the past, or shall this function henceforth be limited to gold alone?"

This will be the issue in this country until settled by the people, and in the opinion of the writer that will be in the election of 1896.

A. J. WARNER.

WHY MUNICIPAL REFORM IS A FAILURE.

BY CHARLES E. BURTON.

THE question of whether municipal reform is a failure is unfortunately no longer a debatable question. There was a time when any abuses or corruption that might happen to come to light in some particular city seemed to be a shock to the community ; seemed to bring to bear, in some degree, a force of public opinion that carried with it at least a hope of victory over those who were, in effect, engaged in piracy upon the community's treasure. That conditions have changed in this respect, more especially during the last decade, cannot be denied. Nor is there any ignorance abroad upon the subject of corruption in city government. I have heard it said that the government of large cities is always a "boodle" government. Any well-informed New Yorker has known for years practically all that has been proved by the Lexow investigations. These investigations brought nothing new to the New York public ; they only brought out specific instances of corruption and succeeded in adducing legal proof of the same.

How, then, shall we account for this curious condition of affairs ? How account for the undoubted fact that a city, whose inhabitants are numbered by millions, quietly and consciously submits to having its public treasury looted by a little band who constitute but a small fraction of one per cent of the community ? The substance of these questions being put to various persons of intelligence with whom the writer has chanced to converse upon the subject brought out such a curious diversity of views as to the causes and proposed remedies that I am prone to give a few of them in brief, as they seem to epitomize the opinions of what are known in a general way as the "better classes."

1. "The foreign voter." Remedy : anti-immigration laws.
2. "Ignorant voters." Remedy : compulsory education.

3. "Decline in public morality." Deplorable, but no definite remedy proposed.

4. "Drink evil," with its concomitant corruption. Remedy: prohibition.

5. "Socialistic teachings." Remedy: individualism.

6. "Individualism." Remedy: socialism.

These various expressions of opinion give us glimpses of the field that require much thought and discussion; but it can easily be shown that not one of them, or all of them, account for the widespread and seemingly mysterious indifference of a majority of the voters in large cities in regard to waste or robbery of the public funds.

The first reason, except for its wide and thoughtless acceptance, seems hardly worthy of consideration. Are we Indians? Was not our nation with all its cities created by immigrants and their descendants? Why, then, is it so suddenly alarming that our kith and kin are still coming to join us? The second reason is scarcely entitled to more consideration, for the proportion of ignorant voters is annually decreasing under the influence of our common school system and widespread current literature. In regard to the decline in public morality, in spite of all the corruption in public places there are abundant reasons for thinking that the public conscience was never more sensitive and awake than at present. The very widespread manifestations of a disposition to recognize the universal brotherhood of man; the extension of missionary systems; the recognition, among both religionists and non-religionists, of the element of justice in the treatment of social questions—these and many other facts indicate that the eternal verities of religion have a stronger hold upon the public conscience than ever before.

In regard to the evil of drink, while it is less general than formerly, the very fact that it has become a more potent factor in politics is only concomitant to the very condition we are discussing—the condition of indifference to the welfare of the public funds. Of socialism and individualism it may be said that while the latter has always been counted as a bulwark of strength in a free community, it finds less scope now than formerly, and

the former is not yet sufficiently prevalent to produce an appreciable effect upon the body politic in metropolitan government.

Standing on the ocean beach one sees the perpetual roll of waves toward the shore and wonders how there can be danger for the bathers, but the student of science knows that underneath the surface there is a silent current known as the "undertow," which sometimes overcomes and drags under the most strong-limbed of bathers. The student of sociology knows that underneath all the talk about the rule of the majority there is a dangerous undercurrent of indifference in regard to what shall become of the public funds; a feeling among the majority of the voters that the public funds are not their funds. In brief this may be expressed as an alienation from the commonwealth, a feeling among the employed, non-property owning classes that they have no part, and can have no part, in the *common wealth* of the community. It is this alienation from the commonwealth that constitutes the dangerous political undertow, for preach purity in politics as we may, so long as a majority of the voters believe that a robbery of the public funds is in no sense a robbery of their funds, just so long will they decline to sacrifice time or means to check such robbery.

In this matter the public have instinctively recognized a great principle that is being more slowly reached by logic and reason. It is undeniably true that the final effects of either good or bad government is measured in its financial results by land values. Municipal reform never raises wages; municipal corruption never lowers wages. If the whole government of New York, for instance, could be made pure and free from all jobbery, or even if some philanthropic millionaire should come forward and defray the city's expenses so that no taxes at all would be required, what would be the result? The wage-workers, the professional and business classes, and all who do not own land would be no better off than now; for while the city would have greater advantages as a place in which to live and do business the owners of the land would charge for that increased advantage. The increase of rent would fully balance the decrease of

taxes, and in the end no one would be benefited but the owners of land. So entirely does this principle hold sway that great public bequests always fail of their object, all of their material benefits, at least, going finally to the owners of land.

In the small city from which I write, some years ago a wealthy lady gave several hundred thousand dollars to establish a free public library and city water supply. Of course it made the city a better place to live in and of course the owners of the land charged people a higher price for living here. In another town in the same state a millionaire presented the town with public buildings and library, all sufficiently endowed to renew, insure, janitor, light, heat, and attend them forever. It was probably intended as a benefit to the public, but building sites in that vicinity went up with a bound and the whole financial benefits of the bequest went to the owners of land. The wage-worker found his rents increased whether he had any time to spend in the new library or not.

It is this instinctive recognition of the fact that all public benefits go eventually to the owners of the land that causes the increasing indifference to municipal reform among so large a number of voters, and the percentage of people who do not own land is steadily increasing.

To remedy this evil, then, it is evident that some new social adjustment must be brought about by which every voter shall be made to feel that the public interests are his interests. This can only be accomplished by means of the single tax, which would appropriate for public uses the ground rents. As these would be expended to pay public expenses, each person would soon learn to know that the common wealth was his wealth—as much his as it was any one's; that public benefits of whatever kind which increased the value of land, instead of going entirely to swell the gains of a few individuals, as at present, would benefit the whole community.

With this quickened interest in public affairs, when every voter would feel the stimulus of self-interest, there would soon be a purification that would make civil reform a reality, and its reflex influence would greatly improve both public and private morals.

As all business and industry would be relieved of taxes, they would prosper without hindrance and nothing would suffer but the "vacant lot industry." After all, justice is the only safe public policy. As land values are created entirely by the public, it is simple justice to tax such values to pay the public expenses.

CHARLES E. BURTON.

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES: HON. JOSEPH C. SIBLEY.

BY HON. H. M. IRWIN.

JOSEPH C. SIBLEY, of Franklin, Pa., who has been suggested by the Bimetallic League as a suitable candidate for the presidency of the United States in 1896, was the second child and eldest son of Dr. Joseph C. and Lucy Elvira Sibley, and was born at Friendship, Allegany County, N. Y., February 18, 1850. His father was highly esteemed for his character, learning, kindly manners, and public spirit, as well as for his skill in his chosen profession of medicine and surgery. It may be interesting in passing to note, for the benefit of the antiquarian and genealogist, that the surname signifies "land of peace," and that the first-known ancestor who bore it in America came from England to Salem, Mass., in 1629. His mother, whose ancestors were co-workers with Roger Williams, the pioneer of religious liberty, still retains, although she is past the line of three-score and ten, a bright mind, an attractive presence, and an all-absorbing devotion to the welfare of her children.

As both father and mother in their youth had taught school successfully, it was natural that the children should be early impressed with the value of education. Their son Joseph seemed to have a strong natural liking for books, and it soon became necessary to curb instead of to encourage him in study. As illustrating his tastes as a child, and as confirmatory of the old adage that "the boy is father to the man," it may be mentioned in this connection that at the age of seven, while convalescent from a severe spell of sickness, he amused himself by reading through a two-volume history of the life and campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte. Two years later he was sent to a German school to acquire the language, as his father had a high appreciation of the sterling qualities of the German people and the rich treasures of their literature.

Fortunately his love for outdoor life and sports of all kinds

was second only to his love for books, and conduced to build up a grand physique, without which mental abilities, however brilliant, must always hobble along their course on crutches. Probably no little of his health and muscular development he owes also to the work which in boyhood he performed on his father's farm in Erie County, N. Y., where he often proved a willing and serviceable hand during the busy seasons.

At the age of sixteen, while a student at the Friendship Academy, his plans for a college course were suddenly upset by the death of his father. The six hundred dollars which he received as his share of the estate was turned over to his brother-in-law, Charles Miller, whom he chose for a guardian. From that time to the present the business interests of these two gentlemen have been closely identified. However, the loss of a course in college did not mean with him the loss of an education. He had acquired a love for literature, history, and political economy, and has been a diligent reader and close student of the masters in each of these fields from that time up to the present.

For the five years prior to 1871 he was variously engaged. A part of the time he continued at school, taught a district school one winter, worked on a farm for an uncle during haying and harvesting, then clerked in a drug store, and commenced to read medicine. Finally he came to Franklin, Pa., and assisted in the dry goods store which his brother-in-law had started in 1866, and in which all his little moneyed capital was invested. Owing to the steady fall of prices after the war, the store was at length closed out at a considerable loss.

From 1871 to 1873 Mr. Sibley was the representative in Chicago of the Galena Oil Works. Here he met with a full share of the discouragements incident to establishing a new business. During the great fire he lost all his effects and came near losing his life. In 1873 he returned to Franklin and organized a company for the manufacture of valve and signal oils, which, after many experiments, he had finally succeeded in perfecting. At the outset he did much of the manual labor incident to the manufacture, as well as making the sales, attending to the correspondence, and keeping the books.

To the now noted trotting-horse and Jersey-cattle enterprise of Miller & Sibley, which had been started in 1881, Mr. Sibley devoted himself very zealously. When free from office cares, if not found in the enjoyment of his large and well-selected library, he was pretty certain to be found at the farm, outlining numerous improvements and supervising the progress of the work. It was while thus engaged that the changed condition of the farmer from what it was in his boyhood days impressed itself upon his mind, and suggested an inquiry and examination into the underlying economic causes which had brought about the disastrous result. What conclusions he finally reached need not be here entered upon, inasmuch as they have on several public occasions been ably set forth by him. Among the many successes which the firm have achieved, we may quote that of having the champion trotting sire for the year 1894, the holding since 1886 of the championship yearly milk record in the Jersey breed, and the breeding and developing of the cow that won the sweepstakes prize in the show-ring at the World's Fair. As a director of the American Jersey Cattle Club Mr. Sibley labored successfully for the adoption of the practical scale of points now in use, which it is believed has been of great value to dairy interests. As a member of the State Board of Agriculture, president of the State Dairymen's Association, and a director of the National Association of Trotting Horse Breeders, he also rendered active and efficient service to the agricultural and live stock industries of the country.

Following the footsteps of his father, Mr. Sibley was for several years a member of the Republican party, but in 1884, after a thorough study of the subject, he came to the conclusion that its ultra high-tariff policy, which is now so conveniently designated as "McKinleyism," was unwise and unjust. Since that time, although he has been classed as a Democrat, he has on many occasions shown that he regarded the duty of patriotism as immeasurably above the duty of party fealty. In 1879 he was elected mayor of Franklin, but was never a candidate for any other political office until in 1892 he was tendered the nomination for Congress by the Democratic, People's party, and

Prohibitionists, in the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania District, although he was a resident of the twenty-seventh. The district, while giving Harrison a majority of 2,315 votes over Cleveland, gave Sibley a majority over Flood, the Republican nominee, of 3,387.

His record in Congress is too well-known to need more than a brief recapitulation. When the repeal of the Sherman Act was taken up in the House in 1893, he voted for the free coinage of silver at the different ratios, then for the substitution of the Bland-Allison Act, and finally against the bill. His speech on the floor of the House August 18, 1893, in support of his position, attracted general attention throughout the country, and nearly a million and a half copies of it have been called for. Probably no other speech in Congress since the war has had so wide a circulation.

In the last session of Congress he opposed with great earnestness the Cleveland-Carlisle Currency Bill, and also the Gold-Bond Resolution. His speech of January 8th, 1895, condemning all makeshifts, and contending for bimetallism as the only real solution of our financial difficulties, is considered by the adherents of free silver to be one of the most logical, powerful, and comprehensive answers in a short compass that has ever been made to the contentions of the gold monometallists.

He favored the income tax amendment to the tariff bill, but he voted against the bill itself, inasmuch as it failed to provide sufficient revenue for the expenses of the government, and crippled certain American industries without compensating advantages.

His course in opposing bills which were desired by the president brought him into disfavor at the White House, and finding he would be able to do but little toward positive measures of relief under the present administration, he declined to be a candidate for reelection, and left the state. The Democrats persisted in keeping his name in nomination, and the ballots when counted showed that, though Griswold, Republican, had been elected, Sibley had run several thousand votes ahead of his ticket, and it was generally admitted that if he had entered the

contest and made a canvass, he could easily have been his own successor.

His business record is one of which any man might well be proud. He has never appeared in court either as plaintiff or defendant. He has never had a strike, never lowered wages, or lengthened the hours of labor. His employees when sick have received half pay, and, in short, he has treated all who work for him with humanity and consideration. To a large circle of friends it is not a matter of surprise that Mr. Sibley's name has been mentioned in connection with the presidency. If marked natural abilities, wide business experience, exalted patriotism, extensive research into the realms of political history and finance, unswerving personal integrity, and a deep sympathy with those who toil for their daily bread, do not render a man a suitable candidate, it is a pertinent question what more desirable qualities should the people demand of one upon whom they propose to bestow the highest gift at their disposal.

H. M. IRWIN.

JURY REFORM.

BY HORACE F. CUTTER.

ON THE 7th of August, 1894, one of the most important bills ever presented in the United States Senate Chamber was very quietly introduced by Senator George C. Perkins of California, and the senators then present were called upon to resolve as to what action should be taken in reference to a measure which if adopted will modify and eventually change materially the criminal procedure in every state in the Union. The bill introduced by Senator Perkins was read twice and then referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. It is as follows :

A BILL IN RELATION TO TRIALS BY JURIES IN UNITED STATES COURTS.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the laws in relation to trials by juries in the United States courts are hereby amended so that hereafter in civil actions and cases of misdemeanor the jury may consist of twelve or any number less than twelve upon which the parties may agree in open court, but in criminal cases amounting to felony the jury shall consist of twelve persons.

"SEC. 2. That in civil actions three fourths of the jury and in criminal cases five sixths thereof may render a verdict: Provided, That a trial by jury may be waived in criminal cases not amounting to felony by the consent of both parties expressed in open court, and in civil actions by the consent of the parties signified in such manner as may be prescribed by law."

Senator Perkins had introduced this bill with the approval of several of his constituents, some of them occupying positions of great prominence ; one a federal judge, one an ex-judge of the state Supreme Court, one the sub-treasurer of the United States, and one the president of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco.

The attention of the people of California had already been called to a similar proposed measure for themselves, and the entire press of the state appears to be unanimous in desiring that the criminal jury system shall be changed so as to conform as nearly as possible to that of the civil, which provides that three quarters of the jury can render a verdict. This has proved so successful and satisfactory for several years that it would be difficult to find any one who would be desirous to return to the old custom.

While many thought that the criminal system should be the same as the civil, yet there was a leaning by others to the merciful and prudent by providing that there must be *ten* out of the *twelve* agree upon the verdict which should decide the fate of the *criminal*, and in conformity with their wishes the bill was drawn up, and after having been submitted to one of our leading lawyers was sent by me to Senator Perkins, who thought it best to place it without alteration in the hands of the Judiciary Committee for them to determine upon its merits and what further action should be advisable.

The arguments in favor of the change seem irresistible, for in every other case where the decision is to be determined by a vote, the majority rules.

In the courts of the entire civilized world, with the exception alone of England, the insistence of a unanimous verdict is unheard of. The criminal law of France provides that a majority of the twelve jurors may find a verdict. In Russia it is the same as in France; in Germany two thirds may find a verdict. In our military trials a majority determines the fate of the accused. Other arguments are plain and self-evident; it would aid materially in inducing business men to serve on juries, as lessening the chances of wearisome hours of delay in endeavoring to arrive at a verdict.

The Constitution of the United States provides that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; but it does not say that the verdict whether of acquittal or conviction

shall be a unanimous verdict. Our Supreme Court consists of seven justices and the decision of four stands as the opinion of the entire court and determines the fate of the person under trial; and it would be considered preposterous to have it insisted upon that they, the justices, should be kept together until they had arrived at a unanimous decision.

Obviously the adoption of this measure, while assisting to insure the conviction of *anarchists*, would go far toward avoiding the necessity for "vigilance committees" and "lynch law" advocacy.

The French and Italian governments have adopted special measures, the whole civilized world is taking action against anarchism, and seemingly this change of our jury system would be a great move in the right direction for the United States, and I hope will meet with encouragement from the press all over the Union.

HORACE F. CUTTER.

INDETERMINATE SENTENCES.*

HON. GEORGE M. BUCK.

THE subject which gives its title to this paper cannot be profitably considered solely from the point of view of the sentimentalist, the philanthropist, or the sociologist, but must be regarded from the standpoint of plain, practical common sense. Nevertheless a practical, common sense view of the subject cannot be obtained if we disregard feelings of sentiment, the claims of humanity, or the welfare of society. Reproach is cast upon the law, the fair name of justice is aspersed whenever it is taught by word or example that the administration of the law is a matter of the head only and in no way concerns the sentiments, the emotions, the sympathies of the human heart. We, the judge on the bench, the jury in their box, the advocates at the bar, the spectators in the court room, and the trembling criminal in the dock are all children of one common Father; and this relationship of every human being to every other human being is something more than a figure of speech, more than a mere sentiment; it is a living, commanding, controlling fact, a fact which, whether we recognize it or ignore it, will continue to exist, to exert its influence on the race, and to determine in no small degree the destinies of mankind as long as humanity endures. And because this is so, the conduct of organized society—which we call the state—toward those who disobey the laws of the state, must ever be a matter calling for the broadest philanthropy and the highest regard for the welfare of society, combined with the greatest practical wisdom. Any system or scheme for the punishment of criminals which has regard only to the protection of society and which takes no account of the welfare of the criminal must in the very nature of things be inhuman and wicked; while too great tenderness for the individual and too little care for the protection of society is not only in the highest degree un-

* *Michigan Law Journal*.

wise, but is also downright cruelty to the innocent, law-abiding members of society who are left without adequate protection from the assaults of the vicious; and society itself cannot long endure unless it affords ample protection to the humblest and feeblest member of the community. As Gibbon well observes in his matchless work on the rise, decline, and fall of the Roman empire: "A sin, a vice, a crime are the objects of theology, ethics, and jurisprudence. Whenever their judgments agree, they corroborate each other; but as often as they differ, a prudent legislature appreciates the guilt and punishment according to the measure of social injury."

All this is trite enough, but we need to have our attention sharply called to these primal principles which underlie all social and political organization if we would have a clear conception of the matter of the prevention and punishment of crime.

Now, it may seem to be unbecoming for one who is an administrator of the law to find fault with the law which it is his duty to administer, and it may seem to be presumptuous in any one to criticise a system which has been in vogue for so long a time as the present method of punishing criminals by imprisonment for a stated, fixed, and determinate period. But I want to suggest, with all due deference to the wisdom of the lawmakers who have given and continued this method for ages past, whether there is not much room for grave doubt whether this method is not so wanting in justice, so inadequate and ineffectual in its results, as to call for a very decided modification. And I shall refer to a few of the imperfections of the present system before discussing the remedy which, in my judgment, ought to be adopted.

In the first place, the sentencing of criminals for a fixed time works inequality and is thereby inequitable. "Equality is equity" in the administration of the criminal law as well as in the decision of chancery causes. But this equality cannot be secured, nor can there be anything approaching equality under the present system. It must be remembered that infractions of the law amounting to crimes are as various as other events in human history and there can be no such thing as two offenses

which are precisely alike or very nearly alike. We have very convenient divisions of crimes into offenses against the state, offenses against life, offenses against the person, offenses against property, offenses against public justice, offenses against public peace, offenses against chastity, offenses against the public health, and various other titles too numerous to recite, and these we divide and subdivide almost endlessly, but no two offenses named in any division or subdivision can be alike; for who does not know that no two murders, for instance, which were ever committed, were or could have been exactly alike in their circumstances or incidents. So that in considering the grade of offense, where can we find scales of justice of such fine poise as to indicate with anything like certainty the degree of atrocity involved in the act itself? It is evident from the very statement of this question that the utmost obtainable information must leave much unknown that ought to be known, and that the court in investigating the circumstances under which a crime was committed must often grope in the dark in a vain quest for facts which, if known, would have great weight on the side of severity or of mercy.

But when all the facts and circumstances attending the commission of the offense have been learned so far as possible, the difficulties in the way of pronouncing a just judgment have only begun to make their appearance. It must be conceded, I think, by all who have made the matter of crime and punishment the subject of thought, that all the woes and evils pronounced by law against criminals have one main object in view, namely, the protection of society by the prevention of crime, and this in three different ways: first, by reforming the offender; second, by putting it, for a time at least, out of the power of one who has committed a crime to commit other crimes; and, third, by deterring others from committing crime for fear of the penalty.

But the idea of punishment as a means of inflicting pain or suffering on the criminal has no place in the law. The law is as incapable of enmity, retaliation, or revenge as it is of sympathy. Hatred, malice, vindictiveness have no more place in the heart of

society than in the mind of God. And so it is or should be recognized as a truth in penology that the first and chief object of punishment is the reformation of the offender and that the other two objects which have been stated, though not to be lost sight of, are still of less importance than the one first named. But in order that the offender may be induced to reform, in order that the deprivation of his liberty may be for such a period as to justify an expectation that society will be henceforth free from assaults by him, and in order that the punishment inflicted on him may have a salutary effect on others, the one who prescribes the limit of incarceration should have an accurate knowledge of the history of the offender in all its details, his birth, parentage, education, environments, life. But these are the very things which, in nine cases out of ten, the judge who pronounces the sentence does not know and cannot know. In this regard the most usual criminal cases may be thus described :

A crime against property has been committed. The criminal has been arrested and pleads guilty or is tried and convicted. He is a stranger in the neighborhood where he is condemned. The judge appeals to the prosecuting attorney, but that officer, however zealous and efficient he may be, can learn nothing of the man's history and the sheriff is equally ignorant. The offender on being interrogated tells a smooth story of greater or less plausibility which, if true, would make him a fit subject for judicial clemency, but which, if not true, shows the culprit to be a hardened, lying villain. To disbelieve his story might be to do a gross injustice and harden the heart of the offender past all hope of reformation ; to believe it might be to make the way of the transgressor easy instead of hard and lead him to conclude that continuance in crime is better—all things considered—than to abandon his vicious course. What can the judge do ? He is but human, fallible, and however wise and shrewd he may be he is a being of limited knowledge and limited judgment, liable to make mistakes, and a mistake at this point must be fraught with consequences which will be disastrous alike to the criminal and to society. A single incident from the experience of the

writer will illustrate this part of the subject. Two men were arrested for burglary. According to their story, corroborated by the officers who made the arrest, there was a third person who though concerned in the crime had escaped arrest. The two who were caught were honest looking, apparently candid young men, with hands hardened by toil, and with nothing in their words or demeanor which betokened habitual criminals. Their story was a straightforward one and a separate examination and cross-examination failed to reveal any flaws in it. According to their story, briefly told, they were honest, rural workingmen, coming from different states and meeting by accident in the city and had there fallen in with a stranger and by him plied with drink and were, while in that state, easily led into assisting in the burglary. Testimonials from men apparently of intelligence and veracity supported their story which was further corroborated by facts learned by the officers. With some reluctance and not a little misgiving a light sentence was pronounced in the case of each, and within a week thereafter it was learned by accident that the men were professional criminals who had each served time more than once in different prisons for short terms, escaping a long term each time through testimonials prepared by confederates, and that the calloused condition of their hands was the result of toil in the workshops of the prisons from which they had recently been discharged.

But it would be impossible in a paper of much greater length than this can properly be, to mention one half the glaring defects in the system of determinate sentences, defects which are, I think, apparent to every judge of the circuit courts of this state. So that these other imperfections, although quite as serious as any which have been mentioned, must pass unnoticed so far as this paper is concerned in order to afford space for a suggestion of that which the writer believes would do away with many if not the greater number of the elements of uncertainty, injustice, and failure in the present method of dealing with criminals. This suggestion is not by any means a new one, as the title of this paper shows. The plan of imposing an indeterminate sentence in most cases of conviction of crime would,

it seems to me, be so great an improvement on the present method as to be worthy of at least a partial adoption. I say "in most cases" because, in the opinion of the writer, there are crimes against the person of individuals of such peculiar and marked wickedness that he who commits such a crime ought to know in advance of its perpetration that for him the bars of the prison and the door of hope will never uncloze during his life save by the clemency of the chief executive of the state.

But as to other offenses, the punishment ought to be based on the theory before stated, namely, that the correction is for the reformation of the offender, and instead of the sentence of imprisonment being for a fixed period let it be until the offender shall be discharged according to law, and let the law be so framed that when he has reformed and not until then he may be finally and absolutely discharged from imprisonment, surveillance, and the fear of further punishment. To this end the law should provide that upon sentence being pronounced in any case of felony whenever such sentence shall be to imprisonment at Jackson, Ionia, or Marquette, or (in case of women) at the House of Correction in Detroit, a statement and history of the case, so far as known, shall be sent by the clerk of the court to the board of control of prisons and also to the advisory board in the matter of pardons, and that it shall be the duty of the former board to investigate fully the past history of the prisoner, his place of birth, his parentage, education, conduct, in short everything which could throw light on the question of the degree of criminality involved in the offense, all these to be made a matter of record. Then at any time after a certain minimum and not later than a certain maximum period of time, on the recommendation of the board of control or by order of the circuit judge without such recommendation, let the prisoner be brought before the court in which he was sentenced and his case fully inquired into and such order made therein as justice may require. If he has fully reformed let him be discharged; if he has not let him be re-manded; if the matter is in doubt let him be released, either with or without bail, to appear at a fixed time to be further dealt with according to his behavior in the meantime. In short, let

the hand of the law remain upon him until he shows by his conduct that he can be trusted again with all the privileges that belong to other members of society. And during the whole period of his probation, beginning with his sentence and ending with his final discharge, let him be under the restraining, encouraging, helpful observation not only of the board of control but of the court as well.

In this way the judge could deal with the case understandingly and in the light of a complete history of the individual who is the subject of correction and restraint. Some provisions ought to be made for the final discharge of the prisoner at the end of a specified term of years, so that one could not be imprisoned for life for simple larceny, but this term should be so very long that the mere possibility of so great a period of imprisonment would be continually before the eyes of the criminal during the whole time that he is under restraint and operate as a wholesome deterrent to those who might be disposed to enter upon a course of crime. This may seem a hard course of treatment, but in the practical working of this system it would bear hard on none but persistent, habitual criminals. The writer was once called upon to pass sentence on a man sixty years of age, who, according to his own statement, had been in prison over forty years in all, the result of ten or more convictions, and under sentences not one of which was for more than ten years. Why should the state be put to the trouble and expense of repeating arrests and convictions of men like this one, men who on being discharged from imprisonment go back at once to crime, hoping each time to escape punishment altogether or in part, through the tenderness of the jury or the sympathy of the judge?

It does not need to be said that no attempt is here made to do more than outline the plan by which this reform could be carried out. Enough has been written, I trust, to suggest the need of a decided change in the penal system now established in this state and the way by which this change might be wrought. And let me suggest further that this is an opportune time for the discussion of this subject. For there has never before been a time in the history of the civilized world when social questions received

so much attention as now, and when hope was so high in regard to the betterment of the race through the improvement of social conditions. In ancient times the songs of poets and the dreams of philosophers and philanthropists related to the fabled Age of Gold, a time in the remote and misty past, when all mankind dwelt in a realm of peace and virtue and happiness. But in the closing years of the nineteenth century we have transferred the Age of Gold to a future day; a day distant, undefined, and visionary it may be; a day in which peace and social order shall reign and virtue be crowned and happiness be the possession of the humblest of the race through social reforms which shall be the outgrowth of man's true and wise humanity to man.

GEORGE M. BUCK.

DECENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

FOUNDATION WORK OF A NOBLE NATIONAL INSTITUTION.

BY HENRY RANDALL WAITE, PH.D.

MORE than ten years ago, when it seemed that the people of America were approaching the apogee of a departure from the highest standards of civic virtue, eminent citizens of different states, especially distinguished by their unselfish patriotism, were brought into consultation through correspondence and personal conferences, with a view to earnest, wide-reaching, and permanent efforts for the promotion of better and safer civic and social conditions.

The American Institute of Civics, founded in 1885, was the outcome of their deliberations. In accordance with the aims of its founders,* it seeks to enlist the conscience, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the country, in efforts to establish and maintain a worthy national institution, devoted solely to the promotion in all parts of the Union of the character and qualities in citizenship which are the only real safeguards of representative government.

THE DESIRE OF WASHINGTON.

When Washington sought to secure the establishment of a national school or university, his paramount purpose was to make the federal capital, in the midst of the then small popu-

* Among its projectors, founders, and first members were such eminent and devoted patriots as Morrison R. Waite, late Chief-Justice United States Supreme Court, F. A. P. Barnard, S. T. D., late president of Columbia College, Mr. Justice William Strong, United States Supreme Court, General U. S. Grant, General William T. Sherman, Samuel J. Tilden, Theodore W. Dwight, George Bancroft, Senator Justin S. Morrill, Theodore Woolsey and Noah Porter of Yale College; General William Preston Johnson of New Orleans, President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, Ex-Governor Hugh S. Thompson of South Carolina, Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, Orlando B. Potter of New York, General John Eaton and N. H. R. Dawson, late Commissioners United States Bureau of Education; Senator A. H. Colquitt of Georgia, Ex-Governor James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania, Professor John LeConte of California, President M. E. Gates of Amherst College, Dr. Josiah Strong, secretary Evangelical Alliance; Ben. Perley Poore of Washington, Ainsworth R. Spofford, librarian of Congress, Hubert H. Bancroft of California, and several hundred other citizens of like high character, representing different states and territories.

lation of the republic, the center of influences which he clearly foresaw would be necessary to its welfare. To him, and to Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and other patriotic statesmen of that day, it seemed of the highest moment that a school should be established at the national capital, especially intended for that instruction of the young men of the nation which would contribute "to the security of a free constitution." While their prescience led them to anxiously anticipate the political perils of the future, they could not foresee the marvelous increase in territory, population, and higher institutions of learning, with which have arisen serious doubts as to the wisdom of the general university features of their plan for a national institution. But the motive of their solicitous desire still remains; and the realization of the principal object which they had in view is not the less worthy of anxious thought and earnest effort on the part of American patriots at this time because altered conditions necessitate different methods.

With four universities already provided for at the nation's capital, and numerous other institutions throughout the country devoted to the higher instruction of the students within their walls in the arts, sciences, literature, and other branches of learning, all of the subsidiary objects of the national university contemplated in the plans of Washington would seem to be fairly provided for. But an institution devoted wholly to the realization of the paramount ends sought by him* and his compeers, whose activities are centralized only that its influence may go forth through all available channels for the promotion everywhere of the highest standards in citizenship and govern-

* While Washington's proposal for the establishment of a national university contemplated an institution devoted to learning in all its branches, his chief object was the provision of means which should contribute "to the security of a free constitution . . . by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasion of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; . . . to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness; . . . uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments with an inviolable respect for laws." (Address to Congress, Jan. 8, 1790.) Again he says: "A primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the guardians of the future liberties of the country!" (Eighth annual message, Dec. 7, 1796.) To this the Senate unanimously replied in an address to Washington, Dec. 10, 1796, approving the idea of such an institution on the express ground of its advantage to "the science of legislation."

ment, is a need more exigent and manifest to-day than at any previous period in the nation's history.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS represents the only practical and serious effort which has been made by the people of the United States for the establishment of a permanent national institution specifically intended to meet this need. With constantly increasing usefulness, the Institute has for ten years directly and entirely devoted itself to the one object of promoting the ideas, aims, and activities on the part of American citizens, which are the necessary antecedents of honesty, wisdom, and justice in governmental affairs, and the maintenance of civic virtue, social order, and the general welfare.

FORMATION IN PLACE OF RE-FORMATION.

That there was no mistake as to the imperative need of a nation-wide work such as that inaugurated by this institution, subsequent events have demonstrated beyond doubt. The years of the last decade have repeatedly presented the disgraceful and humiliating spectacle afforded by the perversion of the machinery of public administration, in towns, municipalities, and great commonwealths, to the basest of selfish ends. Even the National Congress has not altogether escaped the influences of the prevalent political corruption, and there have been instances in which the surrender of the judiciary to the most dangerous foes of good government has brought desecration into the very sanctuaries of human rights.

These results, the culmination of long precedent conditions, have followed the general neglect of the means essential to the ascendancy of good citizenship. The restoration and the permanent maintenance of these conditions, is a work which lies apart from that represented by political revolts against unbearable evils, as when a temporary popular movement sweeps corrupt politicians out of office. Civic movements in all parts of the country have lately been organized for the displacement of corrupt officeholders, and the election in their place of honest and capable men. Some of these are also wisely devoting attention to the correction of the conditions which have not only permitted, but fostered, the political corruption against which they are con-

tending. Civic federations, good government clubs, municipal leagues, and many organizations composed of intelligent and patriotic women, are beginning to seek the only possible remedy for the lamentable conditions out of which spring our Briaerean civic ills, by seeking to establish the conditions in citizenship which will prevent the conditions in politics which are reformed only to be reformed again and again.

The Institute of Civics represents the purpose to accomplish by the formation of right conditions in citizenship what can be but temporarily and imperfectly accomplished by the re-formation of wrong conditions in politics and administration. Those who have assiduously labored in the belief that the postulate of the Institute must be everywhere accepted and acted upon preparatory to any general and permanent betterment in civic and social conditions, rejoice in the multiplying number of local civic organizations which, directly or indirectly, are coöperating in the work of which it is still, as when established ten years ago, the only national institutional representative.

THE INSTITUTE'S PLANS.

The plans of the Institute include (1) a national and representative *corporation* or board of control, and a national body of *councillors*, composed of members in communities everywhere, to whom it looks for advice, practical coöperation, and financial support; (2) a *faculty* composed of citizens possessed of special qualifications for assistance in the shaping and directing of its methods and efficiencies; (3) *departments*, such as its Extension Department, Department of Educational Institutions, and departments devoted to publications, to the enlistment of Christian citizenship activities, attention to affairs of legislation, etc., each having a special director; (4) *associate members of its faculty* in the faculties of higher institutions of learning; (5) a *national corps of lecturers*; (6) *special local assistants* in important centers of influence; (7) a chief executive officer, responsible to the corporation, who is the *Institute's president*, and other suitable officers.

MOTIVES OF ITS FOUNDERS AND SUPPORTERS.

The founders, the representative citizens who have sustained it, and the trustees and officers who have directed its already

wide and useful activities, have been solely actuated by the highest of patriotic motives. Resolutely determined that no selfish aim should enter into the work of its foundation, its officers have thus far devoted themselves to its service entirely without pecuniary reward; and its dependence for moral and financial support has been wholly upon the voluntary manifestation of the spirit in citizenship to which it appeals and which it seeks to promote.

These facts alone will be regarded as entitling it to public consideration. But it is not upon the manifestation which it thus presents of high qualities in citizenship that it now rests its appeal to the people of the whole country for the support which shall enable it both to reap the fruit of past labors and to enter upon its second decade with the equipments necessary for the larger realization of its worthy objects.

WORK ACCOMPLISHED.

The inquiry will be made, How does it seek to realize these objects, and what has it thus far accomplished. It is of the very essence of good citizenship that questions such as these shall be asked; and if this national institution is to command a degree of public support commensurate with the undoubted importance of the mission which it seeks to fulfil, they must be satisfactorily answered.

The Institute seeks to realize its aims by the reënforcement of the character and qualities in citizenship which are essential to the commonweal under the rule of the people, through every suitable agency within its reach. The instrumentalities thus far employed and the results accomplished may be outlined as follows:

AMERICAN HOMES.

As the center and source of influences vitally affecting individual character, the Institute seeks to energize every influence which can be brought to bear in promoting high civic ideals in connection with life in the home. Its first appeal is to the manhood and womanhood which has its highest manifestation in the sacred domain where the proper ideal of an American home has its nearest realization. It purposes to bring the representatives of the best type of citizenship here found into close, active, and

honorable relationship with it, and with each other in efforts to realize its aims, by inviting their coöperation as members of its body of councilors. With the aid of the press in all parts of the country, it has appealed to the family through the publication of popular and useful articles; it has distributed, chiefly among the heads of families, the equivalent of about 9,000,000 pages of octavo matter, or about one half of the printed matter issued; and through its department devoted to miscellaneous popular work (now known as the Extension Department) it has enlisted numerous members of families, connected with local organizations in the different states, in studies and discussions promotive of intelligent and upright citizenship.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The Institute has sought in all the states, and in a large and encouraging measure has secured, the coöperation of school officers and teachers in efforts to secure increased and more specific attention to the imparting of the knowledge, the inculcation of the sentiments, and the formation of the character, which can alone make the common schools of America in any true sense of the word nurseries of good citizenship. The census of 1880 disclosed the significant fact that only about 10,000 of the then 230,000 public schools reported any efforts to give specific instruction with special reference to preparation for citizenship. Within five years after the establishment of the Institute, as indicated in statistics presented in the *Journal of Education* by Hon. W. E. Sheldon of the Institute's board of trustees, instruction in civics had been undertaken in more than 5,000 schools of the grammar grade alone. The subject of specific provisions for citizenship training has been again and again presented to teachers in their national, state, and local assemblies. With a growing recognition of its importance, provisions for instruction of the character desired have notably increased throughout the country. Some states have specifically added civics to the list of school studies, and others have practically accomplished the same result in other ways. Other influences have contributed to the promotion of the hopeful revolution in school methods, the progress of which is thus indicated, but

the Institute of Civics has undoubtedly been the most potent factor in its inauguration and accomplishment. Two of its honored councilors, now deceased, G. W. Howland, superintendent of schools in the city of Chicago, and Col. George T. Balch, of the board of education of the city of New York, the one by efforts to promote the observance in public schools of special occasions designated as "Patriotic Days," and the other by efforts to have the national flag raised over all school buildings during school hours with appropriate and impressive ceremonies, have been instrumental in giving an impulse to patriotic sentiments among public schools everywhere.

HIGHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING.

The Institute at the beginning of its work sought the co-operation of higher institutions of learning as recognized sources of the most salutary influences in modern civilization. Indirectly, all of these higher schools have at all times nobly contributed to the development of intelligent and upright manhood, and therefore to the highest interests of the republic. But until recently these results have been chiefly incidental and without the increasingly necessary provisions directly intended to equip the educated youth of America for the exercise of wise, wholesome, and commanding influence in affairs of citizenship and government.

When the Institute was founded, barely a half-dozen of these institutions had departments especially devoted to governmental and cognate affairs, and instruction in such affairs in such institutions generally was chiefly confined to the elements of political economy.

The appreciation of the Institute's objects on the part of college instructors was immediate and cordial, and no citizens have contributed more effectively to the success of its work, both by personal efforts and by gifts from limited incomes. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that councilors of the Institute now represent it, and effectively promote its aims, in the faculties of more than two hundred and fifty colleges, universities, and professional schools; or that reports to the Institute from these institutions indicate a continually increasing degree of at-

tention to studies in civics. To its members in college faculties the Institute is also indebted for much valuable coöperation wholly disconnected from college work.

The income of its "Hall Prize Fund" enables the Institute to award annual prizes for meritorious theses in civics submitted by students in the colleges above referred to.

SCHOOLS FOR BUSINESS TRAINING.

Five years ago the Business Educators' Association of America made itself an auxiliary of the Institute for the purpose of promoting preparation for the intelligent and faithful discharge of civic duties on the part of youth, now numbering some seventy-five thousand, in annual attendance on business schools. Much has been accomplished, but much more remains to be done, in exerting a salutary influence upon the great army thus annually recruited, from every walk in life, for service in the business enterprises of the nation.

THE PRESS.

Since no influence is more potent in the molding of opinion and character, the Institute looks to the press as an efficient ally in the work set before it. Whatever their excesses in the manifestation of partisanship, no citizens are more sincerely desirous than American journalists of contributing to the highest good of country. Publishers and editors everywhere are among the most useful councilors of the Institute; and their aid, when sought, whatever their party affiliations, has been uniformly extended and with the utmost cordiality. Through their coöperation, articles by the ablest writers, calculated to inspire hopeful civic activities, were for a time provided by the Institute and published in a large number of newspapers, thus enabling it, at frequent intervals, to influence upwards of 2,000,000 readers. The success of this experimental effort indicates an open and wide field for usefulness of which the Institute may continuously avail itself whenever its financial resources permit the necessary provisions.

The Institute is specially and worthily represented among periodicals by its own official organ, *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS*, edited and conducted by Institute members. This

periodical, which presents 125 pages of reading matter monthly, is an open forum for the impartial presentation of all worthy views upon important public questions. Honest and intelligent judgment can only be passed upon opposing views when these have been made the subject of careful study. Such study, while begetting due respect for the opinions of others on the part of patriotic citizens and thus preventing needless and mischievous animosities, serves to reveal and correct false theories and to confirm right conclusions. To have the false thus weighed with the true in the scale of honest judgment, is one of the effective methods employed by the Institute in counteracting the influence of false political and social theories.

Aside from the useful literature given to the public in the periodical officially representing it, the Institute is generously aided in its work by the well-known and highly esteemed national periodical, *Public Opinion*, which has interested itself in increasing the number and promoting the efficiency and usefulness of the numerous organizations connected with the Extension Department, through the weekly publication of valuable articles and notes specifically devoted to this object.

The Institute's special publications, such as pamphlets, leaflets, and other printed matter, have swelled the total of printed material which has thus far emanated from its Press Department and been distributed throughout the country, to an aggregate amount equivalent to about 18,000,000 pages of octavo matter.

EFFICIENCIES OF RELIGION.

All religious influences, including the pulpit, should assuredly be always and everywhere uncompromisingly arrayed on the side of that which is best in civic and social life. It is nevertheless the shame of religion in the United States that so many of both the ministers and the people who represent it, shrinking from the so-called "pollution" of politics, have contributed by their unpatriotic and unchristian failures in civic duty to the triumph of the worst elements in politics and society. Among the earliest and most active of the Institute's councilors were clergymen and laymen who hoped to find in it an efficiency which could be used in awakening the conscience and the patriotism of citizens who

profess to be governed in all things by principles which they fail to apply in their citizenship relations. Efforts, limited in extent by the Institute's financial resources, have continuously been put forth for the fuller enlistment of these dormant influences in the overcoming of the forces hostile alike to morals, religion, and all of the best interests of society and government. In these efforts the Institute is now represented by its Christian Citizenship Department, through which efforts are put forth for the promotion in local centers everywhere of non-sectarian and non-partisan union conferences of professedly Christian citizens, devoted to the dispassionate study and discussion of civic and social problems, the awakening of Christian patriotism, and the general reënforcement of the elements in politics and society which represent, and must be depended upon to maintain, civic virtue. The fact that thousands of clergymen, representing all denominations, have in the last decade responded willingly to the Institute's requests for coöperation in the way of pulpit utterances, denotes the general willingness of religious leaders to promote its objects, and gives promise of a degree of usefulness in this most important field of effort only limited by the Institute's efficiencies and financial resources.

NATIONAL LECTURE CORPS.

The extent to which public speakers—including some of the ablest statesmen, scholars, writers, editors, educators, lawyers, and clergymen in the different states—have been enlisted in the Institute's service, is indicated by its large and increasing corps of lecturers, now numbering two hundred and thirty-five members, whose services, whenever possible, have been subject to command in the delivering of lectures and addresses before popular audiences, secular and religious societies of adults and youths, educational meetings, clubs, workingmen's organizations, and miscellaneous assemblies, in every part of the country.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS.

While the Institute, with the aid of its councilors, seeks to extend its influences into communities everywhere, it is its purpose to do this as far as possible in connection with existing organizations, by interesting these in its objects. Large numbers

of such organizations in every state have been thus interested, and through lectures, discussions, and otherwise, have aroused wide and serious interest in civic affairs. The Institute's Extension Department, already referred to, and which follows the methods of University Extension, has also promoted the organization of numerous clubs, directly related to the Institute, which are devoted to studies promotive of civic intelligence and virile patriotism.

Aside from the local activities above referred to, the Institute's councilors have effected organizations devoted to the realization of its objects, such as the large and flourishing Patria Clubs in New York City and Pawtucket, R. I., the Civics Clubs in Chicago and Wilkesbarre, Pa., and "Councils" of the Institute in Pittsburg and other important places.

It is especially gratifying and encouraging to note the fact that in the numerous municipal organizations for the promotion of political reforms, recently effected, councilors of this institution are everywhere active and useful members, and in very many instances promoters and leaders, and that through their instrumentality cordial and helpful relations between these organizations and the Institute are being established.

LAWS AND LEGISLATION.

It is a part of the work of the Institute to induce general and careful attention to laws and legislation. In many states it has thus repeatedly influenced the presentation of memorials, and the exercise of other proper influences, intended to induce legislation necessary to the protection of the suffrage, honesty in government, and right social order. Numerous public officials, including the governors of twenty-five states, many of them members of the Institute, have willingly aided in this department of its work.

COUNCILORS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS.

The activities and results above outlined have been made possible by personal coöperation, in these ten years of effort, on the part of more than two thousand five hundred different citizens, in places throughout the country, acting in the capacity of councilors. The present number of active citizens by whose personal

efforts the work of the Institute is thus conducted, and by whose gifts chiefly it is financially sustained, is something more than two thousand, representing every part of the country, with about three hundred local officials in as many important centers of influence. The latter, as members of the National Committee of Councilors, have recently entered into coöperation with the Institute's executive officers with a view to such an enlargement of the Institute's activities and influence as shall worthily inaugurate the beginning of its second decade.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

The Institute's efforts thus far have been almost wholly confined to efforts for the realization of its objects under the plans and through the efficiencies above outlined. It has until now held in abeyance any serious effort to accomplish its further purpose of securing a suitable center for the permanent conduct of its activities. As an institution chartered under the laws of Congress and intended to promote the realization, throughout the country, of the chief end sought by Washington a hundred years ago in his efforts for the establishment of a national university, the obviously appropriate place for this center of influence is the city of Washington. The beginning of the Institute's second decade may therefore properly be marked by vigorous efforts for the provision, at the national capital, of a building devoted to its uses, worthy of its noble aims, and in the occupation of which it shall command in increasing measure the support of the patriotic citizens of the land.

Washington, as the federal capital, is the central arena where the representatives of the people of every state and territory assemble to execute the behests of the electors of the republic under commissions which obligate them to bring to the direction of its affairs unselfish patriotism conjoined with the exercise of the highest wisdom of which they are capable. Set apart from all the states as the one city and peculiar possession of the whole people, the District of Columbia is the center of political influences of the profoundest importance to all citizens; the common ground where the powers of independent commonwealths are more significantly and manifestly blended in those of a sover-

eign nation than in any other place on American soil. Here we find an elect and favored spot, where citizens are filled with the consciousness that all lesser allegiances, all sectional claims and obligations, are secondary; and where they can give ear to but one voice—that of the proud nation which, as their common country, claims their highest love, undivided homage, and supremest devotion.

By reason of these facts, and because of the historic associations which link this territory with the names of America's greatest statesmen, jurists, and soldiers, the District of Columbia will always be the Mecca of American patriots, a center upon which all eyes will converge and to which all feet will turn, under the inspiration of the common sentiments and ideas which constitute the firmest bonds of national unity.

NATIONAL MEMORIAL BUILDING.

A national institution devoted to the promotion of the highest qualities in citizenship, including the purest patriotism, may well embrace in its plans a National Memorial Building, devoted to the collection and preservation of material illustrative of the nation's history and progress, and to memorials of its illustrious dead. This national edifice, dedicated by enfranchised manhood to the cause of human freedom, may include provisions for (1) a Hall of History and Civics for the collection of appropriate relics, manuscripts, and books of colonial, continental, revolutionary, and subsequent periods; (2) an Army and Navy Hall, devoted to exhibits illustrative of military and naval affairs, including battle-flags, arms, accoutrements, and similar material; (3) a Memorial Hall, where the memory of illustrious Americans, statesmen, soldiers, philanthropists, and other great leaders, may be honored, and their memory perpetuated in statuary, painting, mural tablets, and other appropriate ways, and which shall be to the people of America what Westminster Abbey is to the people of England—a place where the great exemplars of virtue, wisdom, and patriotism, the noblest citizens of the passing years, though dead, shall yet speak and have salutary influence, through successive generations; (4) a Hall of Instruction, which shall be the center of the nation-

wide activities of this noble American institution, and also of a school of civics,* to which American youth may come from every part of the land to avail themselves of exceptional opportunities for studies and investigations which shall qualify them for highest usefulness in the public service and in all the walks of citizenship.

These are the worthy aims which it is proposed that the American Institute of Civics shall seek to realize as it enters upon the second decade of its labors. The progressive labors of the ten years now ended may be regarded as representing a necessary and fitting preparation for efforts which shall be crowned with the wider usefulness and nobler results which the Institute has had constantly in view, and the hoped-for realization of which has inspired the citizens who have thus far supported and directed its activities.

A ROLL OF HONOR.

If any honor attaches to the citizenship in which intelligent, loyal, and unselfish devotion to the highest interests of country are made paramount, the names of those who have united in efforts for the establishment of this Institute of Patriotism constitute a roll of honor. The ability of this institution to fully realize its objects is dependent upon the number and the efforts of those whose names are upon this roll.

With its claims upon public approval and confidence established by the facts above presented, there is ground for the confidence that citizens everywhere will gladly coöperate in efforts to assure the success of the notable forward movement with which it is proposed to mark the commencement of the Institute's second decade.

AN APPEAL TO PATRIOTISM.

There are many directions in which benevolence may be directed to the accomplishment of good, but here is a neglected channel through which it may exert a power unparalleled in

* The city of Washington obviously affords opportunities for the successful conduct of this part of the Institute's work which are not found in any other city in the Union. Among its residents, at all times, are many of the ablest statesmen and jurists, and other citizens of recognized eminence as writers and speakers in the entire field of civics, whose services as lecturers and in other ways can readily be commanded.

scope and results. The work accomplished with a meager income, and with the services of officers who receive no salaries, warrants the belief that with adequate equipments this national institution will assume a permanent position as the most potent of the agencies devoted to the realization of the highest ends of citizenship and government. Its dependence is upon the unsolicited offerings of patriotism. It is fitting that it be supported by the manifestation of the spirit which it represents and seeks to foster. This spirit should prompt those who have wealth to bestow funds which shall enable it to keep pace with its opportunities. Here is an opportunity for, and an appeal to, patriotic citizens. Money cannot be more worthily or wisely bestowed than in feeding the streams in whose life-giving power is the strength of the republic. Honorable names may find their noblest memorials by the gifts and endowments which shall forever connect them with this National School of Patriotism.

It will be one of the chief purposes of its newly-appointed National Committee of Councilors, composed of representative citizens in communities throughout the land, to aid in enlarging the Institute's opportunities and power for usefulness.

For the source, the spirit, and the results of its activities, the sole dependence of the Institute is upon the exemplification by individual citizens of the very qualities which it asks their aid in promoting wherever the absence of such qualities engenders political and social corruption.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.

The citizens who thus participate in its councils and aid in the accomplishment of its work should obviously include only those who possess the requisite qualifications of unselfish and intelligent patriotism. In order that this result may be assured, its national councilors, who constitute the entire body of its membership, are elected by its trustees only upon nomination by those who are already councilors. Citizens desirous of admission to the body of councilors can readily secure the presentation of their names by applying to councilors in their own vicinity, or if these are not known to them, to some member of the National Committee of Councilors, one of its corps of lec-

turers, one of the associate members of its faculty in the faculties of American colleges,* or they may apply directly to the president of the Institute. Membership should not, however, be sought under any misapprehension as to the intent of that relation. The Institute's chief purpose is to give to the public the benefit of the unselfish labors of all who are in association with it, and any personal advantages or benefits which it may meanwhile bestow upon these associates, while not unimportant, are secondary considerations.

The obligations resting upon councilors are wholly voluntary. They are expected to promote, as opportunities and circumstances permit, the aims of the Institute. They may do this by their personal activities or by contributions to its expense fund, either or both; and those who can annually render financial aid to the extent of three dollars or more will receive all of the Institute's publications free, including 125 pages of valuable matter presented monthly in *THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS*. Efficient coöperation may be easily rendered in some of the many directions which will be suggested from time to time.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES.

The present executive offices of the Institute, provided through the liberality of one of its founders and trustees, the late Hon. Orlando B. Potter, are in the Potter Building, 38 Park Row, New York, where the president of the Institute may be reached in person or through correspondence by its councilors or other citizens who desire information not here presented, or who seek the aid of the Institute's efficiencies in efforts anywhere put forth for the promotion of the better citizenship which must everywhere prepare the way for any satisfactory solution of the serious problems which press upon the public attention and for any marked and lasting betterment in civic and social conditions.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE.

* The names of these are presented elsewhere.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS. CORPS OF LECTURERS.

THE eminent citizens named below, councilors of the American Institute of Civics, have consented to entertain invitations to deliver popular addresses, lectures, or "talks" calculated to promote intelligent and salutary interest in matters relating to good citizenship, good government, and right social order.

The demand for useful services such as the Institute's lecturers are especially qualified to render, has steadily increased since the beginning of its work in 1885, and was never so great as at this time.

Those desirous of arranging for addresses before audiences of adults or youths, secular or religious associations, educational meetings, school children, workingmen's societies, good citizenship and good government clubs, patriotic holiday assemblies, etc., etc., may correspond directly with the Institute's lecturers, or may address the Institute, whose officers will gladly aid in the promotion of plans for the discussion by suitable speakers of pertinent topics, having in view the character of the audience, and other indicated conditions.

In writing to lecturers, applicants should be explicit in their statements, and if they seek gratuitous services, should tender full payment of traveling and other expenses. It is proper to remark that those who make lecturing wholly or in part a profession, cannot ordinarily be asked or expected to comply with requests for services without satisfactory remuneration. In all cases postage should be inclosed for replies.

Citizens interested in the promotion of the better civic conditions which will follow intelligent and just views of civic affairs, and the right use of the powers of citizenship, are invited to write to the Institute for suggestions as to plans in connection with which they may easily secure results of the highest value to the communities in which they reside. They are also asked to present to the Institute the name of any lecturer in their vicinity, who may seem to them qualified for useful service as a member of the Institute's corps of lecturers.

LECTURERS AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

ALABAMA.

Clayton, H. D.,
President University of Alabama Tuscaloosa.

ARIZONA.

Comstock, Theodore B., D. S.,
President University of Arizona Tucson.

ARKANSAS.

Conger, J. W.,
President Ouachita College Arkadelphia.
Edgar, Colonel George M.,
President Industrial University Fayetteville.

CALIFORNIA.

Allen, Professor Charles H., State Normal School	San José.
Bacon, Professor Thomas R., University of California	Berkeley.
Bancroft, Hubert H., LL. D.	San Francisco.
Beard, Professor J. N., Napa College	Napa City.
Childs, C. W., State Normal School	San José.
Dozier, Melville B. P., State Normal School	Los Angeles.
Garber, Judge John, 327 Pine Street	San Francisco.
Gayley, Professor Charles M.	Berkeley.
Howison, Professor George H.	Berkeley.
"The Real Nature of Representative Govern- ment."	
"Popular Fallacies Regarding the Principle of Representation."	
"The Nature of a State and of a Nation."	
"The Necessary Interdependence of Liberty and Law."	
"The Basis of Suffrage."	
"The Nature of Inalienable Rights and Their True Inventory."	
Hughes, Professor David E., Pierre Christian College	College City.
Kellogg, Martin, LL.D.	Berkeley.
Keyes, C. H., President Throop Polytechnic Institute	Pasadena.
"Educating for Citizenship."	
"Ballot Reform."	
"The Machine in Politics."	
"The Initiative and the Referendum."	
Moses, Bernard, Ph. D., University of California	Berkeley.
Reid, Professor W. T., A. M.	Belmont.
Swett, Professor John, Principal Girls' High School	San Francisco.
Whiting, Professor Harold	Berkeley.

COLORADO.

Allen, J. H.	Rockvale.
Cook, J. B.	Greeley.
Gove, Aaron, Superintendent Schools	Denver.
Ingersoll, C. L., President Colorado Agricultural College	Ft. Collins.
Keasby, Prof. Lindsey M., Ph.D., Professor Political Science, Univ. Colorado	Boulder.
"The Economic Duties of Citizenship."	

CONNECTICUT.

Bouton, Eugene, Ph.D., Superintendent Schools	Bridgeport.
Northrop, B. G., LL.D., Ex-Supt. Schools State of Connecticut	Clinton.
"The Home and the State."	
Pratt, Rev. Llewellyn, D.D., 148 Broadway	Norwich.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Brosius, Hon. Marriott, M. C.	Pennsylvania.
---------------------------------------	---------------

Craven, Prof. A. F., Ph.D., Columbian University	Washington.
Curry, Hon. J. L. M., M. D., 1736 M. Street	Washington.
Hailman, W. N., Ph.D., Superintendent Indian Schools	Washington.
Sewall, Frank, 1618 Riggs Place	Washington.

GEORGIA.

Henderson, F. H. M., Superintendent Public Schools	Tallapoosa.
Hopkins, Rev. I. S., Ph.D., D.D., President Emory College	Oxford.

IDAHO.

Gault, F. B., President University of Idaho	Moscow.
--	---------

ILLINOIS.

Allyn, Dr. Robert, President S. Illinois State Normal Univ.	Carbondale.
"How We Govern Ourselves."	
"A Universal Ballot and the Obligations it Implies."	
Bemis, Professor Edward P., Ph.D., University of Chicago	Chicago.
Edwards, Rev. Richard, LL.D.	Princeton.
Foster, William H.	Geneseo.
"Applied History."	
"The Genesis of the American State."	
"The Battle of King's Mountain."	
"Party Politics."	
"Columbus and the Discovery of America."	
Foss, Rev. C. W., D.D., Professor Augustana College and Theo. Sem., Rock Island.	
"Compulsory Education."	
"The Dangers of Hyphenated Americanism."	
"Municipal Government in the United States."	
Fulcomer, Professor Daniel, A.M., University of Chicago	Chicago.
"The Need of Social Science."	
"Social Aims and Their True Realization."	
"Sociology Applied to Government."	
"Social Reforms."	
"Industrial Problems."	
"The New Social Ethics."	
Jones, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd, D.D.	Chicago.
Joslyn, R. Waite, 36 La Salle Street	Chicago.
Kephardt, Rev. J. L., D.D., President Westfield College	Westfield.
Lane, Albert G., Superintendent Public Schools, City Hall	Chicago.
Lyman, George A.	Amboy.
Mack, W. S., Superintendent Public Schools	Moline.
McCord, Professor W. E.	Peoria.
Murray, Rev. O. E., D.D., Vice-president Chicago Civics Club	Morgan Park.
"The Little Red Schoolhouse."	
"Politics and Skeptics."	
"Misrule in American Cities."	
"Morals in Politics."	
Nichols, J. B., Superintendent Schools	Mt. Vernon.
Parker, Colonel F. W., M.A.	Normal Park.

Peabody, Dr. S. H., 4200 Berkeley Avenue	Chicago.
Raab, Hon. Henry, Superintendent Public Schools	Springfield.
Shepherd, Rev. Robert D., D.D., Northwestern University	Evanston.
Sherman, Hon. E. B., LL.D., President Chicago Civics Club	Chicago.
Slade, Hon. James P.	E. St. Louis.
Swing, Rev. David,* 66 Lake Shore Drive	Chicago.

INDIANA.

Coffin, Charles F., Superintendent Schools	New Albany.
Cumback, Hon. William, LL.D.	Greensburg.
Devore, Rev. Elcharles A., Union Christian College	Merom.
Irwin, John S., M.D., LL.D., Superintendent Schools	Ft. Wayne.
Jenckes, Rev. Joseph S., LL.D., 1044 N. Illinois Street	Indianapolis.
Moncrief, J. W., D.D., Franklin College	Franklin.
Ogg, Robert A.	New Albany.
Stott, W. T., President Franklin College	Franklin.
Stout, Professor W. H., LL.B., 34 Ohio Avenue	Jeffersonville.

IOWA.

Bissell, Rev. J. W., D.D., President Upper Iowa University	Fayette.
Brooks, Rev. William M., A.M., President Tabor College	Tabor.
"The Liquor Traffic."	
"Studies in Human Nature."	
"Personal Experience in College Work."	
"Political Economy."	
Eldridge, E. R., President Eastern Iowa Normal School	Columbus Junc't.
"Public Education and Governmental Stability."	
"Republican Government and its Citizenship."	
Fellows, Rev. S. N., D.D., State University	Iowa City.
Frisble, Rev. A. L., D.D.	Des Moines.
Herron, Rev. George D., D.D.	Iowa City.
"The Political Appearing of Christ."	
"The Christian State."	
"The Christian State the Social Realization of Democracy."	
"The Christian State the Redemption of Law from Anarchy."	
"The Christian State the Salvation of the Church."	
"The Christian Revival of the Nation."	
Kratz, Professor H. E., Superintendent Schools	Sioux City.
McConnell, J. J.	Atlantic.
Sessions, F. J., Superintendent Schools Lime County	Marion.
Wilson, Hon. James S.	Fairfield.
Von Coelin, Hon. C. W.	Des Moines.

* Deceased.

KANSAS.

Farnsworth, Hon. Hiram W., B. A.,
 Secretary Board of Education, City Building . Topeka.
 Hoenschel, E. J.,
 Campbell Normal University Holton.
 Stevenson, Professor W. F. Wichita.
 Taylor, A. R., Ph. D.,
 President State Normal School Emporia.
 Tillotson, D. C.,
 Superintendent City Schools Topeka.

KENTUCKY.

Blanton, Rev. L. H., D.D.,
 Chancellor Central University Richmond.
 Boon, Professor R. G.,
 Superintendent Schools Frankfort.
 Carothers, R. H.,
 Editor *Educational Courant* Louisville.
 Goodknight, Hon. Thomas M.,
 First Assistant Department of Education . . Frankfort.
 Graham, Professor Robert,
 Kentucky University Lexington.
 Greathouse, C. H.,
 Editor *Home and School*, 352 Third Street . . Louisville.
 Obenchain, Major William A., A. M.,
 President Ogden College Bowling Green.
 "Our Heritage."
 "What Constitutes a Good Citizen."
 Thomas, T. W. Bowling Green.

LOUISIANA.

Garrett, Hon. Franklin Monroe.
 Goodale, Hon. Wilmot H.,
 State University Baton Rouge.
 "True Patriotism."
 Holland, Rev. R. A., D.D.,
 Trinity Rectory New Orleans.
 Jack, Colonel W. H. Natchitoches.
 Johnston, William Preston, LL. D.,
 President Tulane University New Orleans.
 Rogers, William O.,
 Tulane University New Orleans.

MAINE.

Pepper, Rev. George D. B., D.D., Waterville.
 Robinson, Professor Franklin C., LL. D.,
 Bowdoin College Brunswick.

MARYLAND.

Randall, Daniel R., Ph. D. Annapolis.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Adams, Hon. Brooks Boston.
 Bellamy, Francis,
 The Youth's Companion Building Boston.
 Capen, Hon. Samuel B. Boston.
 "Problems in Municipal Government."
 Carrington, General H. B., LL. D., U. S. A. . . Hyde Park.
 Clark, Rev. J. B., Ph. D.,
 Amherst College Amherst.
 "Current Economic Issues, including Wages,
 Competition, and Socialism."

- Gates, Merrill E., Ph. D., LL. D.,
President Amherst College Amherst.
- Gilman, N. P.,
Editor *Literary World* Boston.
"Coöperation in Labor."
- Hale, Rev. Edward Everett, D.D.,
39 Highland Street Boston.
- Hoag, Charles E.,
476 Main Street Springfield.
"The Labor Question."
"The Church and its Relations to Society."
- Hudson, Edmund Boston.
"Municipal Lessons from Europe."
"Workingmen's Homes in Europe."
"The Capital and Congress."
- Mead, Edwin D.,
Editor *New England Magazine* Boston.
- Moxom, Rev. Philip S., D.D. Springfield.
"The Citizen's Duty to the City."
"The Good Citizen."
- Phelps, Rev. Lawrence,
Prin. Berkeley Temple Applied Christianity, Boston.
"A Righteous Citizen."
"The Ethics of True Americanism."
- Sheldon, Hon. W. E.,
3 Somerset Street Boston.
- Winship, Rev. A. E.,
Editor *Journal of Education* Boston.

MICHIGAN.

- Adams, Professor Henry C., Ph.D.,
University of Michigan Ann Arbor.
- Daniels, Professor Joseph L.,
Olivet College Olivet.
- Estabrook, Professor Joseph,
Olivet College Olivet.
- Kendall, F. M., A.M.,
Superintendent Schools Jackson.
- Payne, W. H., Ph.D.,
University of Michigan Ann Arbor.
- Sperry, Professor Willard C.,
Olivet College Olivet.
- Willitts, Hon. Edwin,
President Michigan Agricultural College . . Lansing.

MINNESOTA.

- Cleary, J. T.,
Macalester College Minneapolis.
- Cooper, Professor Charles H.,
Carleton College Northfield.
"Political Leaders in America since 1789."
- Folwell, W. W., LL.D.,
University of Minnesota Minneapolis.
- Galbreath, Louis H.,
University of Minnesota Minneapolis.
- Knox, Hon. J. T.,
Superintendent Schools Jackson.
- Northrop, Rev. Cyrus, D.D., LL.D.,
University of Minnesota Minneapolis.
- Parr, Professor S. S.,
Superintendent Schools St. Cloud.
"Currency and Taxes."
"Merit Civil Service."
"The Qualifications of Citizenship."

- Pearson, F. B.,
 Macalester College Minneapolis.
 Searing, Edward, LL.D.,
 President State Normal School Mankato.

MISSISSIPPI.

- Libby, Rev. Charles E., S.T.D.,
 President Rust University Holly Springs.
 "Political Rights and Duties of Citizens."
 Smith, General J. A. Jackson.

MISSOURI.

- Carter, Captain Lucien E.,
 410 Francis Street St. Joseph.
 Hawkins, Professor W. J.,
 Superintendent Public Schools Nevada.
 Holcomb, V. E. Creighton.
 Loughlin, G. H., LL.D.,
 Garfield University Kirksville.
 "The Sovereignty of the Nation."
 "The Nation and the Individual."
 "The Nation and the Family."
 Mead, James P.,
 Third and Main Streets Joplin.
 "The Hope of Our Country."
 "Personal Liberty."
 "The Power of Education."
 "Economics for the Masses."
 "My Native Land."
 Morrison, Rev. N. J., D.D.,
 President Drury College Springfield.
 Snow, Professor Marshall S., LL.D.,
 Washington University St. Louis.

NEBRASKA.

- Barrett, Jay Amos, M.A.,
 Librarian of Nebraska State Historical So-
 ciety, 1611 Q. Street Lincoln.
 "Ideals in Citizenship."
 Duryea, Rev. Joseph T., D.D.,
 2402 Cass Street Omaha.
 True, M. B. C. Tecumseh.
 "Education and the State."
 "What Should be Taught in Our Public Schools."
 "The Need for Higher Education."

NEVADA.

- Brown, Hon. Leroy, Ph.D.,
 University of Nevada Reno.

NEW JERSEY.

- Barringer, Professor William N.,
 Superintendent of Education Newark.
 "Reform in Municipal Government."
 "Education as a National Force."
 "What Constitutes a Practical Education."
 "The Individual in Government."
 Case, Professor Richard, A.M.,
 Superintendent Public Schools Red Bank.
 Enright, Professor John,
 Principal High School Freehold.
 Fox, Rev. Norman, D.D. Morristown.
 "Parties and Principles."
 "Political Education."
 "Christianity, the Pulpit, and Politics."

Roeder, Rev. Adolph,
Ed. *Bote der Neuen Kirche*, 735 Landis Ave., Vineland.

English:

"American Citizenship and How it Differs from
that of Other Nationalities."
"The Evolution of the Citizen."

German:

"Bürgerthum und Bürgerrecht."

Sprague, Homer B., Ph.D. Orange.

Wilson, Professor Woodrow, Ph.D., LL.D.,
Princeton University Princeton.

NEW YORK.

Brown, S. Reid, A.M. St. Johnsville.

Burdick, Hon. Francis Marion, LL.D.,
Columbia College Law School New York.

Cook, E. H., Ph.D.,
Ex-Pres. National Educational Association . Flushing.

Crafts, Rev. Wilbur F. Clifton Springs.

"Moral Aspects of Current Politics."
"The American Civil Sabbath."
"Liberty or Liquor?"
"What Sort of Citizens Should Sunday-schools
Seek to Produce?"

Dickinson, Mrs. Mary Lowe,
President Women's National Council,
158 W. Twenty-third Street New York.

Hunt, Professor Leigh,
Superintendent Schools Corning.

Jenks, Professor Jeremiah W., Ph. D.,
Cornell University Ithaca.

"Economics." "Immigration."
"The Negro Problem."
"Election Methods in Different Countries."
"Methods of Lawmaking."

Jones, E. N.,
Principal Plattsburg Normal School Plattsburg.

Logan, Walter S.,
58 William Street New York.

MacArthur, Rev. Robert S., D.D.,
Pastor Madison Avenue Baptist Church,
358 W. Fifty-seventh Street New York.

Martin, Professor D. S.,
Rutgers Female College,
54 W. Fifty-sixth Street New York.

Milne, W. J., Ph. D., LL. D.,
Principal State Normal School Oneonta.

Morey, William C., Ph. D.,
Rochester University Rochester.

Myrick, Rev. Henry Lewis Sing Sing.

Palmer, A. Worth,
School Commissioner Fairport.

Parkhurst, Rev. C. H., D. D.,
133 E. Fifty-fifth Street New York.

Payne, Rev. C. H., D. D., LL. D.,
150 Fifth Avenue New York.

Peabody, Rev. H. H., D. D. Rome.

Peters, Rev. Madison C., D. D.,
Pastor Bloomingdale Reformed Church,
Broadway and Sixty-eighth Street New York.

"The Fate of Republics."
"Shall Rum Rule America?"

Potter, Rev. E. N., D. D., LL. D.,
President Hobart College Geneva.

- Prentice, W. R. Elmira.
 Rainsford, Rev. W. S., D. D.,
 209 E. Sixteenth Street New York.
 Roberts, Hon. Elis H., LL. D.,
 15 W. Twentieth Street New York.
 Rogers, Professor L. C.,
 Department Civics, Alfred University Alfred Center.
 Round, W. M. F.,
 65 Bible House New York.
 "Charities and Corrections."
 Sandford, Hon. Jared,
 Dept. Supt. Public Instruction Mt. Vernon.
 Shaw, Albert, Ph. D.,
 Editor *Review of Reviews* New York.
 Skinner, Hon. Charles R.,
 State Superintendent Public Instruction Albany.
 "Education for Citizenship."
 Smith, Hon. Hannibal Watertown.
 "The Relation of Religious Freedom to the State."
 Stevens, Professor Edward L. Chateaugay.
 "An Experiment in School Civics."
 "The School of the Citizen."
 Taylor, Frederick,
 47 W. Seventy-third Street New York.
 Terrett, Rev. William Rogers, D. D.,
 Hamilton College Clinton.
 Thompson, Hon. Hugh S., LL. D.,
 160 Broadway New York.
 Thompson, Daniel Greenleaf,
 Secretary Department Legislation, A. I. C.,
 111 Broadway New York.
 Waite, Henry Randall, Ph. D.,
 President American Institute of Civics,
 38 Park Row New York.
 "The Sovereignty of Manhood."
 "The Scholar in Politics."
 "Politics Without Religion."
 "True Americanism."
 Whiton, Rev. James M., Ph. D.,
 43 W. Forty-seventh Street New York.
 Williams, Professor S. G., Ph. D.,
 Cornell University Ithaca.
 Williams, Dr. S. H.,
 165 W. Eighty-second Street New York.
 "The Sociological Bearings of Heredity."
 Woodford, Professor A. B., Ph. D.,
 School of Social Economics,
 34 Union Square New York.
 "Who Pays the Taxes?"
 "Are we a Plutocracy?"
 "How Shall Immigration be Restricted?"
 "Good Government Clubs."

NORTH CAROLINA.

- Alderman, Edwin A.,
 N. C. State Normal College Greensboro.
 Butler, Hon. Marion,
 Member of U. S. Senate Goldsboro.

OHIO.

- Blanchard, Professor C. Elton,
 Grand River Institute Austinburg.
 "Glimpses of a Better Future."
 "Humbugs, Political and Other."

- "The Tramp Question."
 "The Teacher, Parent, and Child."
 Hall, Professor Edwin L.,
 Hiram College Hiram.
 Hays, Rev. George P., D. D.,
 13 McCormick Place Cincinnati.
 Knight, George Wells, Ph. D.,
 Ohio State University Columbus.
 "Municipal Reform."
 "Administrative Reform."
 "Financial and Immigration Questions."
 Lehr, H. S.,
 President Ohio State Normal University Ada.
 Long, Rev. Daniel A., D. D., LL. D.,
 President Antioch College Yellow Springs.
 "Socialism in our Colleges and Universities."
 Marsh, T. P.,
 President Mt. Union College Alliance.
 Monroe, Professor James,
 Oberlin College Oberlin.
 Scovel, Rev. S. F., D. D.,
 President Wooster University Wooster.
 "The Limitations of Liberty."
 "The Enforcement of Moral Legislation."
 "Law and Morals."
 "The American Idea of Religion and the State."
 "American and Foreign Institutions and Life
 Compared."

OREGON.

- Stratton, Rev. C. C., D. D.,
 President Portland University Union Park.
 "Political Economy."
 "The History of the Constitution of the United
 States."
 "International Law."

PENNSYLVANIA.

- Atherton, George W., Ph.D.,
 President Pennsylvania State College State College.
 Holland, Rev. W. J., Ph.D.,
 President Western Pennsylvania University, Pittsburg.
 "The Education of a Citizen."
 "Courage and Industry."
 James, Professor E. J., Ph.D.,
 University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia.
 Lippincott, Rev. Joshua, D.D.,
 Arch Street M. E. Church Philadelphia.
 McAlister, James, Ph.D.,
 President Drexel Institute Philadelphia.
 Schaeffer, Rev. N. C., Ph.L.,
 Superintendent Public Instruction Harrisburg.
 Spayd, H. H.,
 Principal Public Schools Minersville.
 Welsh, Hon. Herbert,
 1305 Arch Street Philadelphia.
 Woodruff, Clinton Rogers,
 514 Walnut Street Philadelphia.

RHODE ISLAND.

- Andrews, Rev. E. Benjamin, D.D., LL.D.,
 President Brown University Providence.
 Stockwell, Hon. Thomas B.,
 State Superintendent Public Schools Providence.

Wilson, Professor George G., Ph.D.,
Brown University Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Grier, Rev. W. M., D.D.,
President Erskine College Due West.
"American Politics and Moral Reform."

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Skilman, Rev. William Jones, A.M.,
Editor *Sioux Falls Journal* Sioux Falls.
Young, Professor Clark M.,
University of South Dakota Vermillion.
"Democracy and the Future."

TENNESSEE.

Hopwood, Rev. J.,
Milligan College Milligan.
Ingersoll, Hon. Henry H., LL.D.,
Dean Law Dept., University of Tennessee . Knoxville.

TEXAS.

Baker, Hon. B. M.,
Superintendent Public Instruction Austin.
Cooper, Hon. Oscar H. Galveston.
Carlisle, J. M. Austin.
Evans, Ira H. Austin.
"Good Citizenship."

VERMONT.

Buckham, Rev. M. H., D.D., LL.D.,
President University of Vermont Burlington.

WASHINGTON.

Anderson, Rev. A. J., Ph.D. Walla Walla.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Turner, E. M., Ph.D. Morgantown.

WISCONSIN.

Hull, Professor John,
President Wisconsin State Normal School . River Falls.
Parker, Professor W. D.,
State Normal School River Falls.
Wilder, Amos P., Ph.D.,
Wisconsin *State Journal* Madison.
"The Government of Cities."
"Personal Total Abstinence."
"Total Abstinence from the Standpoint of Civics
and Christian Expediency."
"Ideals in Journalism."
"Immigration."

WYOMING.

Johnson, Rev. Albinus A., D.D.,
President University of Wyoming Laramie.
"Civics and Ethics in the Public Schools."
"The Coming Hero, or the Law of Service in Pub-
lic Office."
"Steam and Electricity, a Study in Sociology."
"Civilization and the State."

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK.

A department devoted to notes and comments concerning affairs of interest to intelligent and patriotic citizens. Communications relating to local and other efforts for the improvement of governmental and social conditions, on the part of individuals or Municipal Reform, Good Government, Law and Order, and similar organizations, including ethical and religious efforts for the promotion of good citizenship, are especially invited.

DECENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTION of which THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS is the official organ, was founded in May, 1885, and has therefore reached its decennial year. This fact receives special recognition in this and the July numbers.

The Institute's National Board of Trustees will meet at the Ebbitt House, Washington, May 28. The following, quoted from the call for that meeting, cannot fail to interest every reader of this magazine :

"The constantly growing importance of the Institute's work and the unexampled opportunities for nation-wide usefulness which are now open to it, certainly merit the serious attention of those to whom the direction of its affairs is intrusted, and a special effort on the part of every trustee to attend the coming meeting of the board. Those who have not found it possible to attend recent meetings may not be fully aware of the real importance, magnitude, and wide usefulness of the undertaking in whose direction they have consented to take part. It is not too much to say that the Institute of Civics, at the end of its ten years of unostentatious activities, represents the foundation and framework of what may easily be made the noblest and most influential of American popular institutions. Its body of councilors, including citizens of the highest character in communities throughout the country, now numbers over two thousand. In its National Committee of Councilors it is represented by local officers, citizens of prominence, in about three hundred important centers of influence in the different states. It has a National Lecture Corps including two hundred and thirty-five public speakers of the highest qualifications, many of them of national reputation, representing every state in the Union. No such body of lecturers was ever before associated with any institution in the country. It is represented by associate members of its own faculty, who are members of corps of instruction in more than two hundred and fifty universities, professional schools, and other higher institutions of learning. All of these associates are seeking to realize the Institute's aims in connection with the work of their several institutions.

"Its Extension Department, which follows the methods of university extension, is promoting the study of affairs of vital importance to the

interests of the republic, in connection with Institute clubs and other organizations in communities throughout the land.

"The leaven furnished by the Institute in the last ten years is manifest everywhere in non-partisan efforts for political reform. Institute members are found among the chief promoters and leaders in municipal leagues, civic federations, good government clubs, etc.

"The Institute has issued and distributed throughout the country the equivalent of 18,000,000 pages of octavo matter. It is now represented among public journals by THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF CIVICS, a periodical of equal rank with the older American reviews, but devoted solely to the impartial consideration of questions of government, citizenship, and social order. Other work undertaken and accomplished by the Institute is scarcely less worthy of consideration. For example, its councilors in different states have actively aided in efforts to promote in the several states legislation necessary to the correction of civic evils resulting from improper laws or the inefficiency of laws relating to naturalization, the protection of the suffrage, etc. In these efforts it has had the aid of twenty-five state governors, many of them Institute councilors, and of other state officers in sympathy with the Institute's objects.

"With the coöperation of state and local officers of public instruction and teachers in public schools, it has inaugurated a practical revolution in the matter of public school instruction as related to preparation for citizenship. In 1880 only ten thousand out of two hundred and thirty thousand public schools, as indicated by the United States census reports, gave any specific attention to preparation for citizenship. Five years later, in over five thousand public schools of the grammar grade alone the study of civics had been introduced. To-day, the importance of the study of civics is everywhere recognized and is taught with more or less efficiency in an increasing number of public schools of every grade in all the states.

"In addition to these results, due to the initiatory efforts of the Institute, the Business Educators' Association of America has allied itself with the Institute in efforts to provide for the instruction, with reference to citizenship duties, of the seventy-five thousand American youths in yearly attendance upon American business schools.

"The foregoing incomplete statements as to the Institute's work in the last decade certainly justify strenuous endeavors on the part of all charged with the direction of its affairs, to realize for it the possibilities of larger usefulness which these results have made possible."

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES.

CIVICS FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS.—Prof. W. F. Blackman, who has spent the past year abroad in study, has begun his work as professor of Christian ethics in Yale Theological Seminary. He will lecture before the senior class twice a week "on some important social problems, especially such as affect American life. The course will include a discussion of such topics as Socialism, Communism, and Anarchism, the

Ethics of Party Government, Civil Service Reform, Races in the United States, Immigration, the Modern City, the Wage System, the Relations of Employer and Employed, Social Classes, the Causes, Prevention, and Punishment of Crime, Commercial Ethics, the Church as a Social Influence, City Missions and University Settlements, etc."

.

NEW YORK EAST SIDE FEDERATION is the name given to a union of churches and charitable societies recently formed. Every phase of life affecting the workingman and his family is to be studied, and an effort made to remedy existing evils.

It will seek to provide courses of lectures on practical topics, including the care of the home, the training of children, the rights and duties of citizens, the relation of capital and labor, wages, rent, improved dwellings, temperance, etc.

The Sanitation Committee will study the tenement-house problem, aid in enforcing sanitary laws, suggest reforms, create a public interest in favor of improved dwellings, public baths, and small parks, and generally consider all questions relating to the health and comfort of the working people.

The leading spirit in this movement is Rev. John B. Devins (A. I. C.), pastor of Hope Chapel, formerly a newspaper man, a graduate of Union Seminary, who is now devoting his life to mission work in the tenement regions of New York.

.

MILWAUKEE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.—The work of this organization is being vigorously pressed with excellent results. At a late meeting the president, John A. Butler, said:

"The placing of all executive responsibility in the hands of the mayor and heads of departments by giving the former unlimited appointing power, will, if carried out, make it possible, together with the other measures, to control and curb open and delegated authority, whereas the powerful though hidden authority of a party 'boss' and the scattered responsibility of the present municipal system is well-nigh irresistible in the one case and past finding out in the other."

.

SUMMER SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY.—A summer school of sociology will be held in Oberlin during the last week of June and the first week of July next. Among the speakers who will be present and deliver lectures are the following: Professor J. B. Clark, A. I. C., of Amherst; Dr. Josiah Strong, A. I. C., of New York; Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus; Dr. Levi Gilbert, of Cleveland; Professor Weston, of Adelbert College; Z. Swift Holbrook, A. I. C., of Chicago, and Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago.

.

THE CLOVER LEAF.—Miss Ella Clementine Rodgers, 44 E. Fourteenth Street, New York, formerly a lecturer for the New York State Temperance Society, has inaugurated a useful work under this name.

She issues handsomely engraved "Clover Leaf Pledges," whose signers and holders, without entering any new organization, pledge themselves to lives of temperance. Her services as a lecturer in the interests of temperance are highly commended.

THE MEDICO LEGAL CONGRESS will meet in New York in September, 1895, and will give special attention to medical jurisprudence, the care of the insane, etc. Clark Bell, Secretary, 57 Broadway, New York.

WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., of Princeton College, member faculty and lecture corps, A. I. C., will deliver the commencement address at Oberlin College in June.

THE HOME SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, New York, H. S. Drayton, M. D., president, has among its objects the discussion of problems in civics as related to American homes, such as tenement-house conditions and similar matters. Among the officers and members of the association are Dr. M. L. Holbrook and Charles F. Wingate, of the A. I. C.

THE GOLDEY is the name of a New York City organization, which meets at 34 Union Square and discusses civics among other subjects. It is intended to be a practical and useful school of oratory, and to fit young men for public speaking, as well as intelligent thought on public questions. Its president is Eugene F. McLaughlin. Lectures have recently been delivered by Daniel Walsh on the Labor Problem; Fielding L. Poindexter on Protection or Free Trade; Harry Glyn on Popular Socialistic Delusions, and Joshua Meltzer on Citizenship.

MUNICIPAL REFORM IN CHICAGO.—Prof. Daniel Fulcomer, of Chicago University, and of the faculty of the A. I. C., writes that "the Christian Citizenship League of Chicago, which was organized one year ago, has recently been enlarged as a national organization, its president and officers for the most part remaining the same. The former statement of the aims of the organization is reaffirmed, viz., to exterminate the saloon, to preserve the Sabbath, to prevent the election of corrupt candidates, and to secure faithful official service. The chief methods are the following: Monday noon lectures at the Y. M. C. A. Building, by Rev. Dr. Carlos Martyn, from January until the April election; mass meetings with the coöperation of the churches; the distribution of literature; the organization of leagues in other cities; coöperation with the Civic Federation in securing new legislation; and the publication of *The Christian Citizen*. The latter, a monthly publication of twelve pages, was started as the organ of the league last January, with Dr. Martyn as editor-in-chief and an able list of contributors. Since then *The New Republic*, a monthly started by Henry W. Adams, the originator of the New York *Christian at Work*, has been

merged into it. Some eighteen or twenty auxiliary leagues have been organized in other cities of Illinois, and other organizations are projected in Iowa, Kansas, and Arkansas. The local efforts of the league are hardly as widespread as those previous to the last city election when about five hundred public meetings were held and leaflets were distributed giving a list of unworthy candidates.

"The Civic Federation is still the great representative of all good movements in Chicago. It gained national renown immediately after its organization one year ago, in the administration of the vast philanthropies of that desperate winter, and followed this up with a more effectual suppression of gambling in the city than had been known for twenty-five years. A good portion of its energy at present is directed to carrying out the program of February 18 laid down for the Ward Municipal Committees. The four chief lines of work entered upon were: the collection of evidence of irregular assessments, the watching of the city council in its granting of franchises, the enforcement of contracts for scavenger service, and especially the promotion of legislation at Springfield. A number of important bills have been introduced by the Civic Federation, as follows: for a civil service law, a special assessment law, a law governing primary elections, modifications of the city charter, and a labor arbitration law. Perhaps the most important work now being carried on by other committees is (1) the prosecution of election frauds, for which \$50,000 has been raised; (2) the completion of what was proposed as a campaign of one thousand speeches before the spring election, especially directed to arousing the civic conscience at the primaries; and (3) the crystallization of the great work of the Central Relief Association of last winter into a true charity organization society, which the city has heretofore lacked.

"It must be remembered that the Municipal Committee, although occupying a large share of the public attention at present, is only one of seven similar centers of energy, the others being the Industrial, Philanthropic, Morals, Educational, Political, and Ways and Means Committees. Among the great variety of undertakings now being pushed by them are the following: the organization of a board of health; the inspection of food, water, etc.; the mitigation of the smoke nuisance; the elevation of tracks; the cheapening of gas; the improvement of street car service; the passage of a bill for parental schools; the establishment of a public loan bureau; the investigation of sweat shops; the investigation of employment agency abuses; the establishment of a Civic Federation employment agency; the care of homeless children; and the investigation of professional begging."

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

CITY GOVERNMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.—

Dr. Albert Shaw, A. I. C., the editor of *The Review of Reviews*, has made a special study of municipal government in Great Britain, and has embodied his observations and conclusions in a volume entitled "Municipal Government in Great Britain." Summing up, he says: "The English model, an

elective council, with full and undivided powers, the mayor having no veto, is as simple, logical, and effective as the American system is complicated and incompatible with harmonious and responsible administrations." He has come to the conclusion that city government in America defeats its own ends by its checks and balances, its prostitution of duty and responsibility, and "its grand opportunity for the game of hide and seek." No doubt the glamour of "checks and balances" in American state constitutions has misled the American people in constituting municipal governments everywhere, until we have effectually sacrificed the substance to the mere form, and the end has come in all of them—*St. Paul Dispatch*.

THE CHRISTIAN VOTER is coming in for some pretty hard blows nowadays. Politicians are beginning to speak their thoughts of men who belie their professions with their votes. Men of the world were disposed to think that resolutions of church courts should be taken at their face value, but recent events have shaken their confidence in the men who make such corporate declarations. The Rev. Charles Roads, in a recent article on "Good Citizenship of Christian Endeavor," in the *Christian Statesman*, says: "A political editor told me some time ago that the party manager simply ignored with utter contempt the heated resolutions and protests of Christian ministers and churches known ordinarily to vote with them. 'They do not mean it. They will vote the whole ticket more faithfully than the worst ward henchman, or the average saloon-keeper in the party.'"

CALIFORNIA POLITICS.—The citizen of California who is zealous for the cause of righteousness has at the present time much to cause him shame and indignation. He sees party politics largely in the hands of conscienceless bosses and self-seekers. The courts of San Francisco are busy unearthing the most bare-faced frauds upon the ballot. He rejoices in the hope that those who thus conspired to defeat the will of the people will be convicted and adequately punished. But he has a well-grounded fear that only the tools of the corrupt bosses will be caught, while the men who planned and organized the frauds will escape. To denounce such things is not crime; it is duty. Indeed, such wrongs and outrages against free government call for an organized campaign on the part of good men of all political parties to purge both city and state of such villainies.—*California Christian Advocate*.

UNDER THE RED FLAG.—De Tocqueville defined a plutocracy as a government of wealth, where "the offices are put up at a sort of auction." This system is not mitigated but rather aggravated when the auction is avoided through the action of corporations and ambitious millionaires in buying up the legislators in advance.—*New York World*.

REFORM IN ELECTION METHODS.—Hon. Moorfield Story, of Boston, proposes an election law with provisions as follows :

1. For the election at large by all citizens of aldermen, councilmen, and members of the school board.

2. Any party or body of voters presenting a petition signed by one per cent of the voters at the previous city election may nominate candidates not to exceed in number the places to be filled.

3. Each voter shall have as many votes as there are persons to be elected, which he may distribute as he chooses among the candidates, giving not more than one vote to one candidate, and each vote shall count individually for the candidate receiving the same, and for the ticket to which the candidate belongs.

4. The total number of votes cast for the members of each board shall be divided by the number of persons to be chosen, and the quotient, ignoring fractions, shall be known as the unit of representation.

5. The total number of votes cast for the tickets of each party shall be severally divided by the unit of representation, and each party shall be entitled to a number of representatives equal to the quotient thus obtained, ignoring fractions. If the sum of such quotients be less than the number of seats to be filled, the body of electors having the largest remainder after the decision aforesaid, shall be entitled to an additional representative, and so on until all the seats are filled, provided, however, that if a candidate who is on more than one ticket receives in all more votes than any person who would receive a certificate of election under the preceding provision he shall be counted as a representative of the party upon whose ticket he receives the largest number of votes, and shall receive a certificate of election in place of the candidate on that ticket receiving the smallest number of votes of those who, under the said provision, would receive such certificate.

6. When the number of representatives to which each party or body of voters is entitled shall have been determined, the candidates of such party who shall receive the most votes, not exceeding the number of representatives to which such party or body is entitled, shall receive certificates of election. In case of a tie with but one seat to be filled, the choice shall be determined by lot between the candidates so tied.

.

CITIZENSHIP BEFORE SUFFRAGE.—The Institute of Civics, through its councilors in various states, has sought for years to secure the action necessary to the correction of the evil and unjust system which permits aliens, who may never become citizens, to vote. The Institute rejoices in the able championship of this important reform by the *St. Paul Dispatch*. Referring to the increasing strength of the sentiment in favor of the demand that the exercise of American civil rights shall involve citizenship, it says :

“A number of circumstances are operating to direct public attention to the anomalous condition which invests a foreigner with even more of the privileges attendant on citizenship than him to the manner born. For the promotion of rapid sentiment in the West, we have

passed and enforced laws in contravention of the spirit, if not the letter, of the United States statutes on naturalization, and we have carried the principle so far that in every community there are numbers of men who exercise the elective franchise, too often for the money that is paid them by corruptionists, who are no more than mere sojourners, and who make it a settled practice, like the Chinese, to return periodically to their homes on the other side of the Atlantic until necessity calls upon them to return to their place of sojourn in the United States. There are hundreds of such men in these two cities at the present moment.

"We have always recognized the wickedness and wrong of the consideration which lay behind the public toleration of such an evil, and we sincerely hope that the remedy will be found and applied.

"Minnesota has now become one of the oldest, as well as one of the most conservative, of the later western additions to the list of states. While our population is, in large proportion, of foreign birth, it might be said that there never was a time when the attempt to enforce the obligation on the part of all *bona fide* residents to possess themselves of the privileges of citizenship would not receive the approval of our people, foreign and native born alike. Representative Schurmeier may not be able to secure the adoption of his proposed constitutional amendment; but it is peculiarly fitting that the effort should have emanated from him, who, while native to the soil, still represents, by kinship, a large and important element of Minnesota's population."

POLITICS AND THE ROMAN CHURCH.—*The Columbian Catholic*, of Kansas City, under this title, says:

"Much has been said and written during the past few years about the influence of the church in political affairs, the claim being set up by her enemies that in all matters political the Catholic voter casts his ballot at the dictation of the clergy.

"Every intelligent citizen knows that not only local priests, but eminent prelates in America have always been divided in their political views, and there is probably not a parish whose voters are all of one political belief. True, the bulk of the Catholics in this country are Democrats—or have been—and where Democracy is triumphant it is but natural that Catholics (or at least men who pretend to be Catholics) should hold some of the offices. And right here is where Catholics themselves are often at fault, and their course has justly brought reproach upon them and their religion. It is well known that the church has always condemned intemperance, and as a logical sequence it must in this age also condemn the men who cause much of the intemperance, viz., the saloon-keeper. Its advice (given through the council of bishops) to saloon-keepers who are Catholics is to quit the business, yet there remain scores of men who defy the advice of the church, some of them keeping the lowest of grog-shops, and yet calling themselves Catholics. This class of men understands politics pretty well, and by the influences of their grog-shops are enabled to secure for themselves

or others nomination to office. Then, because they claim to be of the faith, and perhaps show their piety (?) by liberal contributions just before election, Catholics, as well as others, vote for them, and the result is the indignation of the body politic, and thus odium is cast upon the church. If Catholics would take more advice upon questions of local politics from their spiritual advisers, they would scorn to vote for a man who claims to be a Catholic, and yet who is never seen inside a church except just before election time, and who is never seen at the altar rail or the confessional. While the principles of that unpatriotic and unconstitutional organization known as the A. P. A. should be denounced by all good citizens, Catholics should not forget that they are in a measure responsible for it, by electing to office men who are totally unworthy to be classed as Catholics. Better to vote for the veriest infidel than to injure the church by electing a renegade Catholic to any office in the gift of the people."

.

EMIGRATION TO EUROPE.—In an interview with a reporter of *The New York Sun* the representative of the Hamburg-American Line declared that the number of steerage passengers going to Europe from this country during the past five months was surprisingly large, as compared with the same period of 1893. In the case of the Hamburg-American Line the increase has been almost 80 per cent. The representative of the Anchor Line reported that the exodus by his line had never been equaled and was 125 per cent greater during the first five months of the present year than during the same period of 1893. One of the vessels of the Red Star Line on her last voyage brought in eighty immigrants and returned with 450. The French Line reports almost the same condition of affairs. The North German Lloyd, while not carrying so many eastward as some of the other lines, reports a decline of about 100 per cent in the westward bound emigrant traffic. The Cunard Line's eastward bound emigrant business increased about one third over the figures of last year for the period named. This is the first year in the history of the traffic when the outgoing steerage passengers outnumbered the incoming.

.

BALTIMORE PLAN OF BANK REFORM.—In reply to the question as to what it is, we quote from an editorial in the *New York Times* as follows:

"Briefly, this plan provides for the issue of bank notes to the amount of 75 per cent of the paid-in capital of the banks, to be guaranteed by the government, and the government to be secured by a fund raised by taxation and by a first lien on all assets of the banks. A check on over-issue is an added heavy tax on the notes beyond 50 per cent and up to 75 per cent of the capital. What possible security or advantage does government paper have that would not be had by these notes? They would be safe, for the government guarantees them. Their volume would be ample, for the maximum limit is high.

They would be uniformly current in all parts of the country, as national bank notes or greenbacks now are, and for the same reasons. And beyond these advantages are others that no government paper can have. In the first place, expansion would be easy and certain whenever needed, because it would be profitable. Contraction, when the need ceased, would follow of itself, because that would then be to the interest of the issuers. Above all—and this is the most important fact of all—the safety of the currency would not depend on the treasury or on any action of Congress or the executive or on political action of any kind. The most dangerous and most costly element in the transaction of business in the United States would be done away with, and every man, from the smallest retailer to the most extensive dealer, from the savings bank depositor to the greatest capitalist, could make his calculations without fear that they would be upset by forces he could neither control nor estimate. Such a change would be a beneficent revolution, and all sensible and honest men should do their utmost to aid in bringing it about."

OUR FOREIGN-BORN CITIZENS.—There is a widespread impression that the lawless and corrupt elements in the country are largely recruited from the foreign-born sections of our population. But the figures do not always sustain the impression. New York City may be cited in illustration. If any part of our country is under "foreign control" it is the great metropolis. The foreign-born population of that city was, in June, 1890, 636,986; the native-born of foreign parents was 582,154, and the native-born of American parentage, through ever so brief a line, was but 270,487. Those inhabitants of New York, therefore, who can lay claim to being American, of even the second generation, are only 17 per cent of the entire population. This is according to the figures of the last United States census. At that time there were in New York City 39,961 Italians, 190,418 Irish, 210,723 Germans, 10,535 Frenchmen, 10,139 Scandinavians, 55,549 Russians and Poles, 12,222 Hungarians, 8,099 Bohemians, 27,193 Austrians, and 72,157 representatives of various other nations. According to the impression we have referred to, these figures would suggest New York as utterly corrupt and incapable of political and moral virtue. But everybody knows what splendid victories were won by reform in that "foreign" city last fall. Chicago might also be cited. Perhaps the relative proportions of the foreign and native elements are about the same as in New York, and yet the late election witnessed the triumph of the better element of the citizenry by a majority of 45,000. After all that can be said there is no cause for political pessimism in America.—*Indiana Baptist.*

VOL. VI

"Good Government Through Good Citizenship."

The American Magazine of Civics.

CONTINUATION OF

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

Devoted to the Science of Civil Government and the Application of its Principles to Society.

ANDREW J. PALM, EDITOR.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE, ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

JANUARY, 1895.

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE SINGLE TAX	ISAAC FEINBERG.
THE DOCTRINE OF MALTHUS AS IT RELATES TO MODERN SOCIETY	LOUIS R. HANLEY, A.M.
GOLD AND SILVER BOTH	PROF. H. A. SCOMP.
WHAT AILS UNSKILLED LABOR IN AMERICA?	P. VEDEL, C.E.
SOME OF THE DANGERS OF FREE COINAGE	ARTHUR H. DALE.
AN INTERNATIONAL PAPER CURRENCY	JOHN F. BUME.
THE DECADENCE OF HOME-OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES	J. A. COLLINS.
THE CHURCH AND THE LABOR QUESTION	PROF. HENRY H. BARBER, D.D.
THE PROBABLE BENEFITS AND DANGERS OF THE RECENT ELECTION	HON. JOHN WANAMAKER. CHARLES A. BRINLEY. JAMES M. BECK, ESQ. HON. WM. B. ALLISON. HON. WM. J. BRYAN.
ETHICS AND POLITICS	REV. HOWARD MACQUEARY.
THE FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY	HON. W. M. FISHBACK, LL.D.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK:

The Opportunity and Peril of the Republican Party.—National Aid to Southern Schools.—Cities Devoted to Civics.—A Non-partisan Standard and Tariff Commission.—A Baltimore's Model Mayor.—Fruits of the Peabody Fund.—A Model School for Colored Youth.—Citizenship Prize Essays.—Bibliotheca sacra and Christian sociology.—A Periodical for Voters Growing to Manhood.—A Stern upon the Ghost Name of Denver.—Good Government Activities.—The Christian Endeavor and Politics.—The Press and the President's Message.—Christian Education.—The Unit League of Chicago.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

NEW YORK:
ANDREW J. PALM & CO.,
38 Park Row.

Single Copies, 25 Cents.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

One Year, \$3.00.

YOU CAN STUDY LAW AT HOME

BY THE CORRESPONDENCE SYSTEM

AS TAUGHT BY THE

SPRAGUE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LAW DETROIT, MICH.



WHAT MR. POWDERLY SAYS.

Perhaps no name is more widely known than that of THOMAS POWDERLY, ex-General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor. He has always been recognized as one of the wisest and most conservative of the leaders of labor. He recently took up the study of law, and student of our school. A few days ago he was admitted to practice in Pennsylvania. He writes us the following letter:

SCRANTON, PA., October 15, 1894

J. COTNER, JR., Sec'y and Treas. Sprague Correspondence School of Law.

Dear Sir:—Whether studying in an attorney's office or elsewhere, the student of law can do nothing more profitable than take a course in the Sprague Correspondence School of Law. One great advantage is that by means of the "Lesson Sheets" the student is prepared for his reading before opening the text-book; his attention is directed to the essentials, so that his time is not taken up with non-essentials. After learning one lesson, his review of it before beginning another is very important. The "Quiz Book" method is so admirably adapted to the wants of the student that it cannot be recommended too highly. I began the course several months before being admitted to the bar, and it was of material aid to me. Later every student to enter upon a course with the Sprague Correspondence School of Law. Its discipline is perfect, its plan is admirable, and lessons learned are so impressed upon memory that they cannot readily be forgotten.

I consider it a pleasant duty to assist in widening the circle of your scholarship.

Yours very truly,

Certificates of Graduation

recently issued by our School.

During the month of October, 1894, certificates of graduation on a completion of the regular two years' course were sent to the following persons:

J. H. Zuver, Jackson, Mich.
A. McMaster, Salt Lake City, Utah.
H. C. Peters, Neillsville, Wis.
Henry DeH. Waite, Toledo, Ohio.
S. Laut, Wisner, Neb.
Thomas Coghill, Seymour, Wis.

W. H. Dearth, Red Lion, Ohio.
Edward M. Seymour, Chicago, Ill.
S. E. Smalley, Cuba City, Wis.
G. F. Wheeler, Beaver City, Neb.
D. W. Schenck, Oak Tree, Va.

The four first named have been admitted to practice law in the states in which they reside within the past few weeks.

What Mr. Waite says.

Mr. Waite is related to the late Chief Justice Waite of the United States Supreme Court. He says to us under date of October 5, 1894:

"I was yesterday admitted to practise by the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio. I wish to thank you for your most excellent course in law, which was just what I needed to enable me to prepare for examination. It was a very thorough course, and I feel that it has been of great value to me. With many thanks for your great kindness and courtesy at all times, I remain, etc."

HUNDREDS OF SUCH LETTERS ON FILE. YOU CAN DO AS WELL AS CAN THESE MEN

We offer three courses:

1. Preparatory Law Course.
2. Regular Law Course for Practice or General Culture.
3. Business Law Course for Business Men and Women.

Handsome particulars sent free on application. Address

J. COTNER, Jr., Sec'y and Treas.,
No. 68 Telephone Building, - - - DETROIT, MICH.

A Weekly Feast to Nourish Hungry Minds.—N. Y. Evangelist.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

1844-1895



Over half a century has passed since its first number appeared, and now, as it enters its 52d year, it still maintains the high standard of literary excellence which has characterized it from the beginning.

OBSERVE! The Living Age is a Weekly Magazine giving fifty-two numbers of sixty-four pages each, or more than **Three and a Quarter Thousand** double-column octavo pages of reading matter yearly, forming **four large volumes** filled with the ripest thought of

THE ABLEST MINDS OF THE AGE,

and presenting a mass of matter **Unequalled in Quality and Quantity** by any other periodical. It presents in convenient form a compilation of the world's choicest literature, Encyclopedic in its Scope, Character, Comprehensiveness and Completeness, and with a freshness, owing to its frequent issue, attempted by no other publication.

Ablest Essays and Reviews,

Latest Results of Scientific Research,

Stories of Travel and Exploration,

Every Phase of Culture and Progress in the European World.

Biographical Sketches,

Literary Criticism,

Fiction.

INDISPENSABLE to every one who wishes to keep pace with the events of intellectual progress of the time, or to cultivate in one's self or one's family general intelligence and literary taste.

A NEW SERIES was begun with the first number of its 200th Volume, January 1st, 1894. With it were begun entirely new tales, already embracing three *Copyrighted Serials*, from the pens of noted French and German novelists; and shorter stories by prominent foreign authors. Below are named some of the many eminent authors already represented in this, the sixth, series.

Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE,	Prof. HUXLEY, F.R.S.	Gen'l Sir ARCH'D ALISON, G.C.B.
Prof. VAMBERY,	Prince PAUL KROPOTKIN.	Sir ROBERT BALL, F.R.S.
W. H. MALLOCK,	PAUL PERRET, (French)	REGINALD B. BRETT,
Countess COWPER,	FRANK E. BEDDARD, F.R.S.	ERNST ECKSTEIN, (German.)
LESLIE STEPHEN,	BEATRICE HARRADEN,	WM. CONNOR SYDNEY,
FRELERIC HARRISON,	Mrs. ANDREW CROSSE,	W. W. STORY.
J. P. MAHAPPY,	MULJI DEVJI VEDANT,	Sir BENJ. BAKER, K. C. M. G.
ANDREW LANG,	CHARLES EDWARDES,	Sir HERBERT MAXWELL,
WALTER PATER,	J. NORMAN LOCKYER,	Count LEO TOLSTOI,
FRIDTJOF NANSEN,	CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI,	The ABBE PREVOST, (French)

With the steady improvement in all lines of trade and commerce, and increased confidence in financial circles, the publishers anticipate a large gain over the past year. To aid in its realization and to furnish to every lover of choice literature the strongest possible inducement to become a reader of **THE LIVING AGE**, is made the following

ADVANTAGEOUS OFFER TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

To each NEW Subscriber NOW remitting \$8.00, for the year 1895, will be sent

ABSOLUTELY FREE,

The Thirteen Weekly Issues of The Living Age, forming the last quarterly volume of 1894, (October, November, December.)

AND

A Year's Subscription to any one of the following publications:

The Cosmopolitan,
Domestic Monthly,
Electric Power,
McClure's Magazine
Midland Monthly,
The Etude,
Godey's Magazine,
American Teacher,
S. S. Times,
Golden Rule,

National Popular Review,
The Puilpit,
N. Y. (Weekly) Sun,
Springfield (Weekly) Republican,
N. Y. (Weekly) Mail and Express,
Boston (Weekly) Transcript,
Boston (Weekly) Journal,
Weekly Courier Journal,
Weekly Detroit Press,
N. Y. (Weekly) Post,

or a 6 months subscription to Scribner's Magazine.

Or, to new subscribers preferring to begin with the first issue of the New Series (as above), and have it complete, the numbers (104) of the two years, 1894 and 1895, will be sent, postpaid, for only \$10.

THE LIVING AGE is published Weekly at \$8.00 a year, free of postage.

Rates for clubbing THE LIVING AGE with more than one other periodical will be sent on application. Sample copies of THE LIVING AGE, 15 cents each.

China and Japan

Are hereditary foes and
are seeking each other's
humiliation.

THE
**Massachusetts
BENEFIT
LIFE
ASSOCIATION**

wishes to humiliate nobody, but rather
desires to promote good will, develop
self-respect and increase the sum of hu-
man happiness by furnishing reliable
Life Insurance under three of the most
popular policy contracts ever devised.

Write for particulars concerning our
new Incontestable Policy.

\$1,100,000 CASH SURPLUS.

COST 60 PER CT. USUAL RATES.

Splendid Openings for Energetic Men to Act as Special,
General and State Agents.

GEO. A. LITCHFIELD, Pres., 52 State St., Boston.

HOT SPRINGS, ARK.

THE NATION'S

SANTARIUM AND PLEASURE RESORT

REACHED ONLY VIA THE



3 DAILY TRAINS 3

FROM

ST. LOUIS

EQUIPPED WITH THE FINEST SERVICE
USE ON AN AMERICAN RAILWAY.

Send for a copy of "Discovery of Hot Springs
Details." It is a most beautifully written, in-
telling of the historical and legendary past is
woven around the world's greatest sanitarium
pleasure resort. Mailed free.

H. C. TOWNSEND,

General Passenger and Ticket Agent,
St. Louis, Mo.

Mention American Journal in Replies.

NORTHERN TRUST COMPANY,

62 William Street, - - New York,

Offers for sale at par and accrued interest,

CONSOLIDATED MORTGAGE 6 PER CENT BONDS

-OF THE-

SOUTH YUBA WATER COMPANY,

(Central California) Warner Van Norden, President.

Principal and interest payable in gold coin at FARMER'S LOAN
AND TRUST COMPANY, New York City.

Recommended as an unusually safe investment.

Particulars upon application.

NORTHERN TRUST COMPANY,

ROBERT LENOX BELKNAP, President.

62 William Street, - - New York City.

VOL. [93]

"Good Government Through Good Citizenship."

No. 6

The American Magazine of Civics.

CONTINUATION OF
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

Civics is the subject which concerns itself solely with Affairs of Government and Citizenship.

ANDREW J. PALM, EDITOR.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE, ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

JUNE, 1895.

PROGRESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM	JOHN R. COMMONS
WOMAN'S PART IN POLITICAL SINS	ELLA W. WINSTON
IS MONOPOLY ALWAYS VICTORIOUS?	GILBERT L. EBERHART
THE COFFEE-HOUSE AS A RIVAL OF THE SALOON	I. W. HOWERTH
THE ISSUE IN NINETY-SIX	A. J. WANNER
WHY MUNICIPAL REFORM IS A FAILURE	CHARLES E. BURTON
PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES; HON. JOSEPH C. SIBLEY	H. M. IRWIN
JURY REFORM	HORACE F. CUTTER
INDETERMINATE SENTENCES	GEORGE M. BUCK
DECENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS	HENRY RANDALL WAITE

LECTURERS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

THE CIVIC OUTLOOK:

DECENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

GOOD CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES: Civics for Theological students; New York East Side Federation; Milwaukee Municipal League; Summer School of Sociology; The Clover Leaf; The Medico Legal Congress; Woodrow Wilson, F.R.D.; The Home Science Association; The Golden; Municipal Reform in Chicago.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL: City Government in Great Britain; The Christian Voter; California Politics; Under the Red Flag; Reform in Election Methods; Citizenship before Suffrage; Politics and the Roman Church; Immigration to Europe; Baltimore Plaid of Bank Reform; Out Foreign-born Citizens.

NEW YORK
ANDREW J. PALM & CO.,

Nearly 20,000 Sold in Eight Months.

The Century Cyclopedia of Names.

The Reference Book par excellence.

Not only the very latest, but the most wonderful single-volume reference-book ever made. It is just what every one wants. Here, in one alphabetical order, fully defined, are

Names of Persons:

Authors, Artists, Statesmen, Divinities
Characters in Fiction, etc.

Names of Places:

Modern and Ancient Geographical Names
Imaginary Places, etc.

Popular Names and Epithets.

Names of Notable Streets, Parks, Animals, Ships,
Buildings, Institutions, Parties, Clubs,
Works of Art, Stars, Constellations, etc.

**Names of Books, Operas, Plays, and Important
Characters therein.**

Historical Events:

Wars, Battles, Plots, Congresses, Riots,
Crusades, Alliances, etc.

A book to which one may turn when in doubt as to **any name met with in one's reading.** Sold only by subscription—not in the book-stores. For full particulars, specimen pages, etc. (free) address

THE CENTURY CO., UNION SQUARE,
NEW YORK.

FASTEST
FASTEST
FINEST

TRAINS IN THE WORLD



ARE THE

ROYAL BLUE LINE

RUNNING VIA

B. & O.

R. R.

TRAINS BETWEEN

NEW YORK,
PHILADELPHIA,
BALTIMORE,
WASHINGTON.

*Trains Vestibuled from end to end. Heated by Steam, Illuminated by Pintsch Light
Protected by Pullman's Anti-Telescoping Device, and operated under
Perfect Block Signal System*



Baltimore & Ohio Railroad

Maintains a complete service of Vestibuled
Express Trains between

NEW YORK

CINCINNATI

ST. LOUIS, and

CHICAGO

EQUIPPED WITH

Pullman Palace Sleeping Cars,

RUNNING THROUGH WITHOUT CHANGE.

ALL B. & O. TRAINS

BETWEEN THE

EAST AND WEST RUN VIA WASHINGTON.

PRINCIPAL OFFICES:

Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Madison Ave., New York.
Cor. 9th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Baltimore and Calvert Sts., Baltimore, Md.
10th St., N. W., Cor. N. Y. Ave., Washington, D. C.
Wood St. and Fifth Ave., Pittsburg, Pa.
Fourth and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, O.
Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

R. B. CAMPBELL,

General Manager.

CHAS. O. SCULL,

General Passenger Agent.

BALTIMORE, MD.

THE ST. DENIS

Broadway and Eleventh Street,

NEW YORK.

Opposite Grand Church.

EUROPEAN PLAN.

In a modest and unobtrusive way there are few better conducted hotels in the metropolis than the St. Denis.

The great popularity it has acquired can readily be traced to its unique location, its homelike atmosphere, the peculiar excellence of its cuisine and service, and its very moderate prices.

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

\$8.00

Size of
Pictures

3 1/2 x 3 1/2 in.

Weight

21 oz.



THE BULLET

A roll film camera that hits the mark every time. It's a repeater too; shoot 12 times and can be

Reloaded in Daylight.

The Bullet is fitted with our new automatic shutter. One button does all—sets and releases the shutter and changes from time to instantaneous. Achromatic lens. Handsome finish.

An Illustrated Manual, free with the instrument, explains its operation and tells how to finish the pictures—*and "we do the rest!"*—in your praise.

EASTMAN KODAK CO.

Rochester, N.Y.

Camera Catalogue Free.

Columbia Bicycles \$100

You
See Them
Everywhere



COLUMBIAS are the product of the oldest and best equipped bicycle factory in America, and are the result of eighteen years of successful striving to make the best bicycles in the world.

1895 Columbias are lighter, stronger, handsomer, more graceful than ever—ideal machines for the use of those who desire the best that's made.

Hartford Bicycles cost less—\$49.50. They are the equal of many other higher-priced makes, though.

POPE MFG. CO.

General Offices
and Factories.

Hartford, Conn.

BOSTON
NEW YORK
CHICAGO
SAN FRANCISCO
PROVIDENCE
BUFFALO



Columbia Catalogue, selling at both
Columbian and Hartford, free at any
Columbia agency, or by mail for two 2-
cent stamps.



E. O. McVICKER,
Passenger Traffic Manager

D. E. MARSH,
Gen'l Pass. and Ticket Agt.
CHICAGO, ILL.

